

# Our Changing Social Order

*Revised Edition*

RUTH W. GAVIAN, *College Preparatory School for Girls, Cincinnati, Ohio*, A. A. GRAY, *Head of the Department of Social*

*Science, Berkeley High School, Berkeley, California, and*

ERNEST R. GROVES, *Research Professor*

*of Sociology, University of North Carolina*



*Drawings by James Daugherty*

D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY

NEW YORK

BOSTON

SAN FRANCISCO

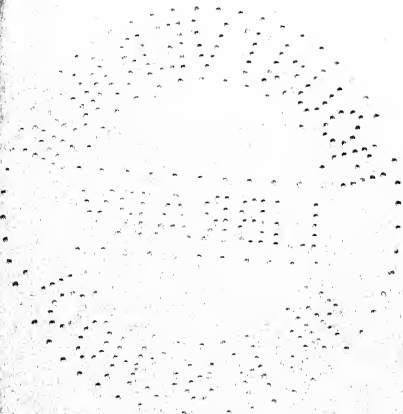
ATLANTA

DALLAS

CHICAGO

LONDON

301



COPYRIGHT, 1939, BY D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY

No part of the material covered by this  
copyright may be reproduced in any form  
without written permission of the publisher.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

*To Sea Pines School*

AND TO ALL SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS EVERYWHERE  
WHO HAVE COURAGEOUSLY ACCEPTED THEIR  
RESPONSIBILITY FOR HELPING TO SHAPE  
THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER WHICH IS  
EMERGING FROM THE CONFUSION  
OF OUR TIMES

8563



## Preface

*Our Changing Social Order* has found wide acceptance in high school classes studying contemporary problems from the sociological point of view. This new edition embodies the suggestions of many teachers throughout the United States.

New material includes chapters on public opinion, democracy versus dictatorship, the farm problem, alcohol as a cause of maladjustment, and another chapter on the family. All the chapters have been expanded and reorganized to enhance their simplicity and concreteness. The material formerly covered in separate chapters on the Negro and on population now appears in the chapters on health, housing, education, and labor. The reading lists have been lengthened, and the questions and activities carefully revised.

Consistent effort has been made to select material that will help the student to improve his own social adjustments. The first five units are designed to show him how to use in his daily life the basic principles of sociology, psychology, and mental hygiene. The authors believe that the study of such subjects in high school can and should prepare the individual to live more intelligently. It goes without saying that only those who can handle their personal problems effectively are likely to contribute to the solution of social problems.

The basic purpose for which such a study was introduced into the curriculum — to prepare the student for well-informed participation in public affairs — has not been neglected. To accomplish this it is important that students learn to think objectively about the existing social arrangements and others that might be adopted. They must develop the experimental attitude, judging traditional institutions and proposed reforms by the way they work. Tolerance, the faith that solutions can be found, the understanding that human nature even in difficulty is sound and that our insti-

tutions should be altered to fit it when necessary, and above all, a keen interest in people and society — these attitudes must result if such a course is to produce better citizenship.

Throughout the book stress is laid on the need of realistic thinking, and of what may be termed skeptical reading. If these two ideas are firmly seized by the student, he and society are well rewarded for the time he has given to the study of its problems.

The authors wish to thank all those teachers who have sent us suggestions, criticisms, and comments on their experiences in using this text. Their advice has been invaluable. We are particularly indebted to Mr. Charles H. Rinehart, instructor in American Democracy, Anaheim Union High School, Anaheim, California, and Mr. A. B. Mettling, instructor in sociology, St. Paul, Minnesota, for their help in planning the revision.

RUTH WOOD GAVIAN

A. A. GRAY

ERNEST R. GROVES

# Contents

## UNIT I. APPLYING SCIENCE TO SOCIETY

- Chapter* 1. The Beginnings of a Science of Society 3  
*Chapter* 2. The Difficulty of Straight Thinking 20

## UNIT II. THE CREATION AND GROWTH OF CULTURE

- Chapter* 3. The Dawn of Culture 37  
*Chapter* 4. The Growth of Institutions 54

## UNIT III. HUMAN NATURE AND HOW CULTURE MOLDS IT

- Chapter* 5. Our Inborn Equipment for Life 81  
*Chapter* 6. The Differences Between People 98  
*Chapter* 7. How Personality Is Made and Marred 120

## UNIT IV. INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE MALADJUSTED

- Chapter* 8. How Shall the Individual Adjust Himself to Life? 143  
*Chapter* 9. How Alcohol Increases Maladjustment 166  
*Chapter* 10. Who Is the Criminal? 183

## UNIT V. HOW INDIVIDUALS MAY IMPROVE THEIR ADJUSTMENTS

- Chapter* 11. The Wiser Management of Money 209  
*Chapter* 12. Recreation, the Great Adjuster 229  
*Chapter* 13. Making the Most of Marriage 247  
*Chapter* 14. The Family in Transition 261

## UNIT VI. EDUCATION FOR A NEW DAY

- Chapter* 15. The Widening Scope of Education 281  
*Chapter* 16. Education in Better Ways of Living 308

## UNIT VII. IS HEALTH A SOCIAL PROBLEM?

<i>Chapter 17.</i> The Public Health	329
<i>Chapter 18.</i> Housing	356
<i>Chapter 19.</i> Community Planning	380

## UNIT VIII. CAN WE PRESERVE DEMOCRACY?

<i>Chapter 20.</i> Do We Want to Preserve Democracy?	407
<i>Chapter 21.</i> How Our Party System Works	430
<i>Chapter 22.</i> Experiments in Democracy	446
<i>Chapter 23.</i> Public Opinion in a Democracy	473
<i>Chapter 24.</i> War — Can We Avoid It?	500

UNIT IX. CAN AGRICULTURE BE SAVED AS A  
WAY OF LIFE?

<i>Chapter 25.</i> America Discovers the Farm Problem	535
<i>Chapter 26.</i> Proposals for Increasing Farm Security	563

UNIT X. EARNING AND DISTRIBUTING THE  
NATION'S INCOME

<i>Chapter 27.</i> Some Problems of Labor	587
<i>Chapter 28.</i> Can the National Income Be Made Adequate?	620
<i>Chapter 29.</i> The Regulation of Business	645

## UNIT XI. WHAT IS SOCIAL PROGRESS?

<i>Chapter 30.</i> The Signs and Instruments of Social Progress	675
---	-----

<i>Appendix.</i> The Children's Charter	i-ii
Social Ideals Adopted by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 1932	iii-iv

<i>Index.</i>	v-viii
---------------	--------

# Graphs

Age Groups in Our Population	16
Urbanization of Population	74
Heredity	99
Relationship of Human Races	106
Homes of the Human Races	109
Intelligence	112
Co-ordinating Council for the Prevention of Delinquency	203
Where the Worker's Dollar Goes	210
How a Co-operative Differs from Other Types of Business	223
Per Pupil Cost	298
Percent of Nation's Children and Percent of Nation's Income in Six Geographic Regions, 1935-1936	299
In High School	310
Expectation of Life	330
Expectation of Life at Birth	332
Infant Mortality in Relation to Father's Earnings	339
How Our Medical Dollar Is Spent	347
Where the Physician's Income Goes	348
Infant Mortality Is Highest in Overcrowded Homes	366
Chatham Village	391
Good and Bad Designs for a Subdivision	398
Neighborhood Units	400
City Manager Plan	454
District Mis-Representation	464
Under Proportional Representation	465
Government Control of News	489
Population and Land	513
Surplus Food Produced by 19 Farmers in U.S.A.	542

Wheat Production	543
Eroded Lands Are Unproductive	544
Per Capita Income of Farmers and Non-Farmers	545
Approximate Net Migration of Rural Farm Population, Jan. 1, 1920–April 1, 1930	555
What the American Farm Now Supplies in One Year for One Make of Automobile	575
Tariffs and Trade	579
Movement To and From Farms, 1920–1936	580
Birth Rate According to Husband's Occupation	581
The Ranks of Labor	590
Proportion of Children 10–15 Years of Age Gainfully Em- ployed	597
Labor Supply and Employment	605
The American People — What They Do	613
How the National Income Is Divided	623
Per Capita Income, 1929	640

# Unit I

## *Applying Science to Society*

AT NO previous time in the world's history have so many persons been occupied with the question of how to make the good life possible to all. Not only in the United States but in most other countries, vast social experiments are under way. Some of these experiments are in government and in carrying out the tasks of government. Others have to do with education and housing and community planning. There is almost everywhere a new interest in the problems of society. This interest is born of universal education and of the hope that science can help us build a better world.

The last two centuries have brought tremendous changes. Except in a few backward regions, science has freed the race forever from the fear of famine. In favored areas it has almost banished many diseases that have afflicted men from the beginning of time. It is rapidly transforming all our material ways of living. Can it also create a better society?

Men have been slow to apply science to the ways in which they live together — their institutions. The idea that the social arrangements under which we live can be altered has only recently been accepted. Now people are beginning to look critically at their institutions.

Using science to correct social maladjustments will not be easy. People generally have not learned to think scientifically. They refuse to subject themselves to experiment. They are prejudiced and emotional and superstitious. Can they learn to think objectively in the manner of the scientist?

This unit deals with the scientific method of thought and why it is difficult for people to use it. Chapter 1 explains the difference between magical and scientific thinking, and tells why sociology could not exist during the Middle Ages. Chapter 2 presents some of the difficulties we all experience in trying to think straight.



# Chapter 1

## THE BEGINNINGS OF A SCIENCE OF SOCIETY

*Of all human ambitions an open mind, eagerly expectant of new discoveries and ready to remold convictions in the light of added knowledge and dispelled ignorances and misapprehensions, is the noblest, the rarest and most difficult to achieve.*

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON

"A BABY should be carried upstairs before it is carried down even if you have to take it into the garret. To carry it downstairs first would make it low minded and it would never rise in the world."

This bit of folklore from a rural community in New England is, of course, sheer superstition. Like thousands of other notions that exist in any community, it is an example of a very ancient type of thinking. It is based on a false idea of causation. This is all that separates science from magic.

*Magic.* Primitive men believe in magic, and so do many, many people who think themselves civilized. There are two principal kinds of magic, *imitative magic* and *sympathetic magic*. Imitative magic is the attempt to produce the desired effect by dramatizing it. To make rain, the medicine man dances and waves his hands in semblance of moving rain clouds. To bring victory in war the tribe rehearses the battle in a war dance. A recent plague of grasshoppers in the Southwest was blamed by Indians living there upon the flight of airplanes over the region; the similarity of shape between the grasshopper and the airplane was held a sufficient proof. Just so, the New England mother may carry her baby into the attic before taking him downstairs for the first time, that he will later rise in the world. Similarly, it is

thought that to find a penny means that other good luck will follow, while to suffer one disappointment will bring two others.

Sympathetic magic depends upon the belief that any object sheds its influence upon other objects in contact with it. A man, for instance, is thought to shed his qualities and power upon his weapons, clothes, and other possessions. At his death it seemed safer to bury his personal belongings lest his spirit linger among them. The young warrior often carried in a little leather pouch a portion of an animal he had dreamed of, thinking in this way to gain its aid. An article such as this, valued for its magic qualities and carried on the person, is called a *fetish* or charm. Even among modern Europeans and Americans there are many people who carry charms and lucky pieces, the rabbit's foot being a favorite.

Some believe "that every part strengthens a part," by which they mean that the eating of any organ of an animal develops the same organ of the person who eats it. Eating liver, it is claimed, will strengthen the liver of the eater; eating the heart will strengthen the heart. This notion is nothing but sympathetic magic.

Almost everyone has some superstitions. Only in part of our thinking are we logical, explaining events by their real causes. Only part of our information comes from observation and experimentation, the rest being mere opinion and hearsay. In so far as we think illogically and rely upon opinion and hearsay rather than on facts, we are thinking in the same way that primitive men do most of their thinking. Scientific knowledge and thought are still relatively new in the world; they have not yet overcome the superstition and credulity that are common to mankind.

*What Is Science?* The word "science" is used to mean either a special kind of thinking, or a special body of knowledge, such as chemistry, physics, astronomy, or psychology. Science is, therefore, a process or method of reaching facts, and also the product of that process.

*The Scientific Method.* All thinking tends to be influenced by desire—that is, all thinking is likely to be wishful. Usually we wish first and think afterward to explain what

we have already decided. In explaining events we are apt to give rein to our suspicions or our vanity. Men wanted to believe that the earth was the center of the universe; the discovery that the earth moves around the sun hurt their sense of importance, and they refused for centuries to accept it.

The first necessity for scientific thinking is to banish desire from the thinking process. This is not natural, and it can only be accomplished after long training and discipline. Even then it is easy to slip back into wishful thinking, and against this we must be constantly on guard. The scientist must school himself to look at facts in the cold light of reason, without emotion, without prejudice, and without any desire to prove a preconceived opinion. He must preserve the evidence against his own theory as well as the evidence that supports it.

The second necessity for scientific thinking is to suspend judgment. This, too, is unnatural, for the process of reasoning is irksome. We seek to reach a conclusion as soon as possible. Indecision is disagreeable; we wish to decide quickly and to dismiss the matter. This is, indeed, the healthiest way for us to manage most of our personal decisions; the strain and worry of prolonged indecision about some private problem is a detriment to mental health. The scientist, however, must constantly guard against making final conclusions before all the facts are at hand. He must refrain, sometimes for years, from deciding what his facts mean. Even after his facts have been accumulated, and his interpretation made and published, if he is a true scientist he must still search for new facts that might alter his conclusions.

Charles Darwin's attitude toward his work on the theory of evolution illustrates the scientific method. After almost a lifetime of patient research, he finally published his conclusions. During the remainder of his life, he searched for additional facts and investigated the arguments of his critics against his theory. If he had succeeded in finding evidence to contradict his theory, it was his intention to publish it. His mind was occupied neither with a desire for

fame, nor a wish to have the world accept his work, but only with the desire to reach the truth.

Another fine illustration of the mind of the scientist is seen in the following story concerning Dr. Albert Einstein:<sup>1</sup>

The Associated Press was fortunate enough to have a man at Mount Wilson Laboratory in California when Dr. Albert Einstein talked with two fellow scientists on Wednesday. These scientists were Dr. Edwin C. Hubble and Dr. Walter S. Adams, discoverers of what is known as the "red shift" of island universes receding from the earth. Dr. Einstein's interest in the discovery lay partly in its bearing upon his theory of the shape of the universe. "This shift of distant nebulae has smashed my old construction like a hammer blow," he told the Associated Press. "The red shift is still a mystery."

If we stop for a moment to remember the bitterness and the intolerance with which men have quarreled over questions of faith for centuries on end, the quiet remark of Dr. Einstein seems suddenly dramatic. Men have been exiled by their nations, excommunicated by their churches, and condemned to death or prison by their peers for daring to believe that the earth was round or the sun a star or the heavens millions of years older than the first sign of life upon our own small planet. Dr. Einstein reconstructs his theory of the universe on a February day in 1931; and so free from its old shackles is science in the modern world that it occurs to no one to challenge his right to picture the universe as he pleases.

Science has won its freedom in large part because it has won the confidence of modern men in its integrity. Dr. Einstein builds a theory of the shape of the universe. He buttresses this theory with observations drawn from many sources. He is confronted suddenly in a laboratory on a Californian mountain with a new set of facts of whose existence he was unaware. His theory does not fit these facts. Very well; he will scrap his theory. "This red shift of distant nebulae has smashed my old construction like a hammer blow." In the simplicity and candor of this statement is expressed at its best the spirit of modern science.

*Science and Common Sense.* "Science," wrote Thomas Huxley, "is nothing but trained and organized common sense." It is merely careful, safeguarded thinking, alert and critical of its own methods. It is a method for getting at the

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Everett Dean Martin, *Civilizing Ourselves*, p. 205.

facts and trying to understand them. "The man of science," said Huxley, "in fact, simply uses with scrupulous exactness the methods which we all, habitually, and at every moment, use carelessly, and the man of business must as much avail himself of the scientific method — must as truly be a man of science — as the veriest bookworm of us all."

When we use the method of science to find the answer to a personal or a business problem, we try to bring to bear upon it all the knowledge that is available. We do not reject any facts because we fear or dislike them, or because someone whom we dislike has presented them to us. The facts suggest one or more remedies or lines of procedure. The one that seems most promising is accepted tentatively and tested out. If it works, we accept it for further use. If it does not work, we try something else.

*The Basis of the Scientific Method.* All science rests upon the belief that observed events are due to natural causes. Among primitive men, and among modern men who are unscientific, events are thought to be due to supernatural causes — spirits, good or bad, who may interfere at any time in the movements of the universe and in the lives of men. Even the changes in the weather are explained as due to the caprices of the gods. The belief in supernatural causes gradually became less common after the Middle Ages. The new scientific knowledge, especially of astronomy, produced a new sense of cosmic order and law. People began to realize that law reigned in the development and processes of the universe, and that God was a lawmaking and law-abiding being instead of an arbitrary violator of natural laws. He could not be expected to change the weather, regardless of incantations and prayer.

Scientific method is used to discover the laws according to which the universe operates. These laws of science are not like political laws. They do not say how the universe *must* behave, but only state how it seems to behave. After a scientific law is formulated, there is always the possibility that new evidence may require it to be modified. Thus, after several centuries of use, some of Newton's laws have had to be qualified in the light of recent discoveries in physics and astronomy.

*Five Steps in Science.* There are five steps in the scientific method. The first one is *observation*. The facts must be found, measured, and recorded. Observation often requires special instruments. The telescope and the microscope had to be invented before our modern age of science could begin. The perfection of a new instrument may open a whole field for observation. The invention of the bomb calorimeter, by which the energy contained in a foodstuff can be measured, made possible the development of dietetics. Observation is frequently difficult because the thing being studied is bound up with so many other things. In trying to determine the connection between housing and delinquency, for example, it is hard to separate the effects of poor housing from the effects of low family income, the lack of adequate playgrounds, poor moral standards in the neighborhood, bad associates, and other factors.

After observation comes *classification*. The facts must be arranged and classified. Facts are not all equally important; they must be sorted out and arranged so that their meaning becomes clear. "In history as in science," recently declared an English lecturer, "there is no democracy among facts; all, it is true, have the same right to be understood, but some facts are of vastly more significance than others. The student for whom all facts are of significance and all of equal significance, never understands anything. . . . Genius has been described 'as the instinct for the fact with meaning.'"

Classification is followed by *comparison*. The investigator compares what he has found with the findings of others. If their evidence supports his, he is probably on the right track. If not, he must re-examine his data.

Then comes *generalization*. This is the attempt to interpret the facts in the form of a conclusion or a principle. Often this is the hardest part of the process. It is easier to compile a thousand facts than to have a single new idea. In thinking through the mass of observations he has made, and establishing new relations between them, the scientist needs imagination. Early in his investigation he forms a tentative explanation of the facts which he is studying. This tentative explanation is known as a *hypothesis*. After further research,

the hypothesis may be altered or discarded. If, however, it appears to be supported by a large body of evidence, it is dignified with the term *theory*. Finally, if many researches bear out the soundness of the theory, it is considered a *law*. In science a law is a declaration that a certain relationship exists between two or more variables. For instance, the area of a circle is equal to the square of the radius multiplied by 3.1416. This is a law of geometry.

In the social sciences there are many hypotheses and theories but as yet few laws. Social relations are nearly always far more complex than the phenomena studied in the natural sciences. Furthermore, it is difficult to experiment with persons or groups. Even if they are willing to submit to experiment, they change while they are being studied. For these reasons most of our knowledge in the field of social science has no such certainty as that which we know, for example, about chemistry or biology.

*Verification* is the final step during which a principle of science is tested and retested by many scientists. This may take years or even centuries. Verification is necessary before a theory is accepted as a law. In the social sciences the only verification of a principle that usually is possible is to find out whether it *works*. We may have a theory that delinquency is largely a result of inadequate opportunities for wholesome play, but we cannot prove this by laboratory experiments. If, where supervised playgrounds and play buildings are provided, the delinquency rate goes down, we shall conclude that the theory works. So long as it continues to work, it will be accepted for further use.

*The Qualities of the Scientist.* Patience and perseverance are fundamental in the character of the scientist; without them no research would ever be possible. Concentration, singleness of purpose, and the love of his work are also in the scientist's character, for only by continual application to the task at hand is a discovery to be made. He must be devoted to the truth for its own sake; the only reward to which he can usually look forward is the consciousness that he has contributed to knowledge. Financial rewards come seldom to such students; even fame comes to but few in

the modern army of research workers. The scientist needs courage, faith, and enthusiasm to keep him at a task which to ordinary men seems tedious, hopeless, or useless. Finally, the genuine scientist is noticeable for his modesty. He states his conclusions in moderate language, pointing out the weaknesses in his data, and showing the places where further research is necessary. To the outsider, the scientist may seem to doubt and lack confidence in his own work. The man who appreciates science, however, has more faith in a moderate statement than in one which suggests overconfidence. It is the quack, and not the honest physician, who promises that his medicine will surely cure.

*Four Stages in the Growth of Science.* In its early stages, science was mostly a form of entertainment. It had not gone far enough to yield practical results. Astronomy and mathematics were prominent during this period, which began in the Bronze Age and lasted through the eighteenth century. Science was held back by the scarcity of instruments and by superstitions that even the best minds found difficulty in discarding. Astronomy, for example, was cluttered up with the superstitions of astrology. Chemistry was dominated by the alchemists, who searched for the philosopher's stone, which was supposed to turn base metals into gold. Nevertheless, many discoveries were made during this period. Most modern sciences are indebted in some degree to the scientists of past centuries; a little, even, to those of the Bronze Age.

The nineteenth century brought the application of science to practical affairs. Through the aid of science every phase of industrial and economic life — the material culture — was transformed. Many kinds of machinery were invented, including the telegraph, the cable, the telephone, and the automobile. Agriculture also felt the effects of scientific discoveries as applied to the breeding of plants and animals, the fertilization and cultivation of crops, the feeding and management of livestock. Medicine, chemistry, and biology also made enormous contributions to our daily life. This was the second stage in the growth of science — the stage of material invention.



It has not, of course, come to an end. On the contrary, invention is going on at an ever faster rate. It is no longer left to individuals but is carried on by co-operative effort in research laboratories. There are some fifteen hundred industrial research laboratories in the United States, where organized research produces wanted inventions, including such recent ones as aniline dyes, radio, television, the cracking process for gasoline, nitrogen fixation, and a more practicable airplane. This new method of organized research is known as the *invention of invention*.

The twentieth century has witnessed the third stage — the democratization of science. Science is taught in all high schools and in many elementary schools. We learn in a short space of time what has taken ages to develop. Science is carried to farmers and homemakers by the extension service of the federal and state governments. It is broadcast in radio talks. The magazines and newspapers give much space to scientific matters, though newspaper reports of science are not always accurate. Almost everyone is making some use of science in his daily affairs. To a certain extent the method of science is also becoming popular; more people are trying to face facts and to avoid wishful thinking.

The fourth stage is the application of science to social life. This is the most confused field, clouded with emotion, limited by political prejudice, and resistant to clear thinking. Science has just begun to make itself felt in such matters as the management of labor, the teaching of children, the prevention of marriage failure, and the relationship between government and business.

*Sociology Is Born.* Sociology is the science of social relations. It studies all social behavior, and this includes practically everything that people do. Before sociology could be born, men had to realize that their institutions (such as the state, the church, and the family) are social creations which are responsive to social demands. That is, they had to think of their institutions as man-made and subject to change.

A few of the Greek philosophers approached this way of thinking. They thought it possible for men to improve their

government, their family life, and their economic arrangements by intelligent planning.

In the Middle Ages no one thought that human efforts should be directed to bringing about intelligent social changes. Human suffering was held to be due to the natural sinfulness of men; it could not be prevented. The institutions which shaped men's lives were thought to be divinely ordained. Sociology, therefore, could not exist.

After the Middle Ages in Europe came to an end, thoughtful men began to be less bound by tradition. They wanted to think for themselves and not in the ways prescribed by religious and political authority. There began a period devoted to exploration and discovery. Travelers brought back accounts of people living under very different institutions of government, religion, and economics. Furthermore, under the impact of world trade, the invention of the first modern machines, and the growth of population and of cities, thoughtful Europeans could see that their own established institutions were changing. New laws became necessary to regulate trade and industry. Thus the realization gradually dawned that institutions are not sacred and that they can be altered as men think best.

The idea of social progress captured the imaginations of thinkers. In 1737 the idea was proclaimed by a French philosopher, Abbé de Saint-Pierre, in a book entitled *Observations on the Continuous Progress of Human Reason*. Here was the idea that humanity had an immensely long, progressive life in front of it. Civilization is only in its infancy. (Earlier writers, even scientists such as Bacon and Pascal, had thought that civilization was in its old age.) At last, wrote Saint-Pierre, mankind, by shaking off its inertia and taking thought, can do more to improve its condition in a hundred years than it has done in two thousand years of obedience to tradition.

Saint-Pierre's book was eagerly discussed by his countrymen, and helped bring about the French Revolution. During this period American thinkers also embraced the belief that human progress could be brought about by intelligent social changes. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, George Wash-

ington, and Thomas Jefferson were fired by the idea, and did much to attract public interest to it. Thomas Paine was interested in the whole struggle of humanity against misery. He outlined plans for universal education, the abolition of poverty, the reform of the criminal law, pensions for the aged, the reduction of armaments, and international peace. He believed that science could be applied to improve the traditional procedures in every phase of social life.

During the nineteenth century sociology made considerable advance. Some of its special branches, such as economics, social psychology, political economy, anthropology, and criminology, attracted capable minds. Today sociology, with its various divisions, is growing rapidly. Nevertheless, our knowledge of human nature and of social life is still very limited. It is far behind our knowledge of biology, and very far behind our knowledge of physics and chemistry. One reason for the backwardness of the social sciences is their late start; another reason is the difficulty and complexity of the subjects with which they deal. Still another reason is that far less money is being spent to promote research in the social sciences than in the physical and biological sciences.

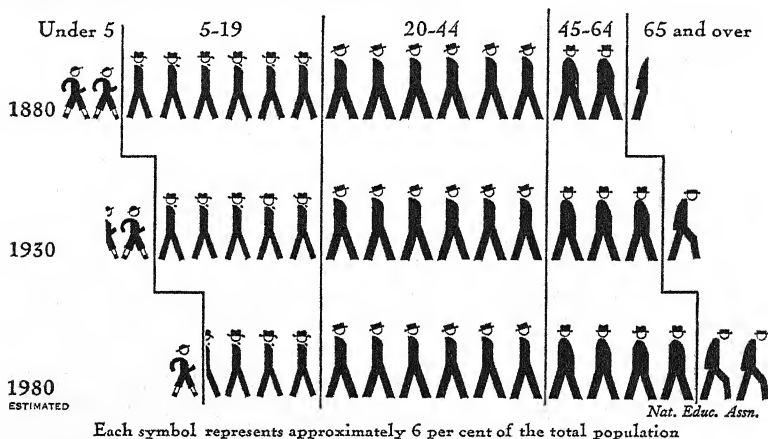
Although our knowledge of human nature and of social relations is still so meager, most of what is known is not yet widely used. How many parents and teachers apply the existing knowledge of child psychology to the training of children? How many citizens apply any part of the science of economics or of politics in making up their minds on the questions that confront our government? Who can truthfully say that his attitude toward members of other races is based on what is actually known about racial characteristics? Knowledge, and not personal prejudice or political bias, should guide us. Throughout this book an attempt is made to set forth some of the more important phases of our social order and to present impartially the facts and theories relating to them.

*Special Difficulties in Applying the Social Sciences.* No social change can ever be made by the scientist alone, no matter how intelligent and forceful he may be. Social changes are made by groups of individuals. Unless the



reasons for a proposed change are understood, and unless it is seen to be necessary, the change will never be made. No one can compel parents to adopt the methods recommended by child psychologists. They must be persuaded that these methods are better than the traditional ones. Even then, although they are willing, they may not know how to use the

### Age Groups In Our Population



Exact information about the composition of the population and its trends is essential for dealing scientifically with social problems. How will the facts shown on this pictograph affect education, child labor, and provision for old-age security?

new methods. Here, as in most other fields, social change is necessarily slow; it has to come gradually through education.

Social changes, although they may be greatly needed, generally run counter to established beliefs. People resent criticism of accepted notions. They are shocked if the scientist suggests that their traditions of morality, punishment, and property are in need of revision. To alter the treatment of prisoners in the hope of making them more fit to live in society may seem to the public like an attempt to make crime attractive. An effort to control child labor may appear to the public as an attack on the right of parents to decide what is best for their children.

The airplane mechanic takes the machine as he finds it. He does not allow his respect for the earlier forms of the gas engine to prevent him from making as many adjustments as are needed. This is not the case with social adjustments. The social scientist must expect that every change he proposes will seem to many to flout the "tried and tested wisdom of the ages," the "old sturdy virtues of mankind," or the "wisdom of the fathers."

*How Can We Approach Social Problems More Scientifically?*  
The purpose of studying sociology is that mankind may learn the rational control of social relations. In this way the grievous social maladjustments of our times could gradually be overcome. How can we help to bring about this happy result? First of all, we may learn to be more scientific in our own thinking about social problems by:

1. More clearly defining and analyzing each problem
2. Accumulating more facts about the problem
3. Being more cautious in generalizing from limited facts and observations
4. Improving our explanations of the causes of social problems through being more vigilant against our own prejudices
5. Revealing the evils of superstition and prejudice
6. Seeking to understand social trends and movements

In the following chapter we shall consider some of the special difficulties in thinking scientifically about social problems.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. List and define any words in Chapter 1 that are new to you.
2. Make an outline of the chapter.
3. Write a paper on the history (especially the early history) of a science in which you are interested. Consult encyclopedias.
4. Report to the class on the life of a great scientist. Tell of his accomplishment, method, social attitudes, and personality. The following are suggested:

Galileo	Pasteur	Huxley	Steinmetz
Bruno	Burbank	Spencer	Agassiz
Copernicus	Franklin	Comte	Pupin
Roger Bacon	Darwin	Alfred Marshall	Veblen

5. Read to the class some brief, lively excerpts from the writings of Thomas Paine. Comment on his influence upon other Americans.
6. Bring in clippings for the class bulletin board that report recent scientific progress in any field. Search especially for discoveries in the field of the social sciences.
7. Bring in clippings relating to social changes and to social trends, such as movements of population, replacement of men by machines, the regulation of business, and the advance of education. Post these under informative captions.
8. Draw and exhibit cartoons illustrating our reverence for tradition, or our resentment toward social reformers. Opposition to such inventions as street lighting, bathtubs, and baby carriages would make an amusing subject.
9. Make a list of common superstitions. Try to find the origin of some of them.
10. The class might like to take a test on what superstitions they believe. Such a test can be found on pp. 202-7 in *Do You Believe It?* by Caldwell and Lundeen.
11. Have you ever discovered and outgrown a prejudice? Explain.

## WORD STUDY

anthropology	dietetics	phenomena
astrology	fetish	sociology
astronomy	generalization	superstition
Bronze Age	hypothesis	sympathetic magic
criminology	imitative magic	theory
	law (in science)	

## QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. What is the difference between science and superstition?
2. Distinguish between imitative and sympathetic magic and give examples of each.
3. What is wishful thinking?
4. How do the stories in the text about Darwin and Einstein illustrate traits desirable in the scientist?
5. Outline the steps in the scientific method.
6. Discuss the four stages in the development of science.
7. Why could sociology not have been begun in the Middle Ages?
8. When did the idea of social progress become prominent? What were some of the influences that aided the development of this idea?

9. Can science be controlled by legislation? Have you heard of any attempts so to control it?
10. Can science be applied to the field of morals? Why?
11. Why is scientific discovery applied so quickly to material affairs?
12. Distinguish between hypothesis, theory, and law.
13. Why is the advance of science in the realm of human relationships so often opposed? (For example, in child training, immigration, labor organizations, international affairs.)
14. How can we think more scientifically about social problems?
15. How would you organize a scientific study of some social problem in which you are interested?

READINGS

Abbott, John, *The Keys of Power, a Study of Indian Ritual and Belief*

Boas, George, *Our New Ways of Thinking*

Bradford, Gamaliel, *Charles Darwin*

Caldwell, Otis W., and Lundeen, Gerhard E., *Do You Believe It?*

Darrow, F. L., *Masters of Science and Invention*

De Kruif, Paul, *Hunger Fighters. Microbe Hunters*

Fishbein, Morris, *Shattering Health Superstitions*

Fiske, John, *Myths and Myth-Makers; Old Tales and Superstitions Interpreted by Comparative Mythology*

Gibson, Charles R., *Heroes of the Scientific World*

Huxley, Julian S., *Science and Social Needs*

Moon, Grace and Carl, *Lost Indian Magic* (Fiction)

Pupin, Michael, *From Immigrant to Inventor*

Robinson, James H., *Mind in the Making* (Mature in thought but not difficult in style)

Vandercock, John W., "Voodoo," *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1928

Waterman, Philip F., *The Story of Superstition*



## Chapter 2

### THE DIFFICULTY OF STRAIGHT THINKING

*In science men have achieved the highest form of human association. The ideal of science, largely realized in practice, is that inquiry shall be completely open, responsible criticism unrestrained, data made fully public, with authority resting on consensus of free judgment. These also are conditions of democracy. Effort to control opinion by suppression of inquiry, as sometimes practiced in American education and business, and in much of political Europe, retards progress.*

ARTHUR MORGAN

THE attempt to develop a science of society is beset with difficulties. In the first place, to conduct experiments with human beings under controlled conditions is seldom possible. In the second place, it is not always easy to uncover the facts. People are fond of deceiving themselves. Especially in the realm of social relationships they often refuse to face reality, preferring to cloak it with all sorts of agreeable fictions. Thus, some argue that it is useless to do anything for the poor, since the poor are incompetent and incapable of living better than they do. Again, some insist that it is idle to talk of improving the condition of Negroes, since the Negro race is naturally inferior. Furthermore, we continually confuse facts with opinions. We cannot even describe an exciting happening that we have witnessed without unconsciously twisting the facts.

*Our Mental Stock in Trade.* By the time anyone leaves school his mind is pretty heavily stocked with facts, beliefs, opinions, theories, traditions, and rumors. Most of this mental stock in trade is not reliable, yet it is going to influence everything the individual thinks until his dying day.

A *fact* is a real state of things. It can be observed. That the sun appears in the east and disappears in the west is a fact. Anyone may observe it and check its truth. Indeed, astronomers have had enormous difficulty in persuading men that the sun does not actually rise and set. The astronomer knows that the earth moves around the sun, for he has instruments to prove it. To most of us this movement of the earth around the sun is only a *belief*; we have to take it, not upon our own observation, but upon the authority of astronomers. In every field of knowledge there are many facts that we have to accept upon the word of the experts in that field. Progress depends more and more upon our willingness to go to the experts for our facts.

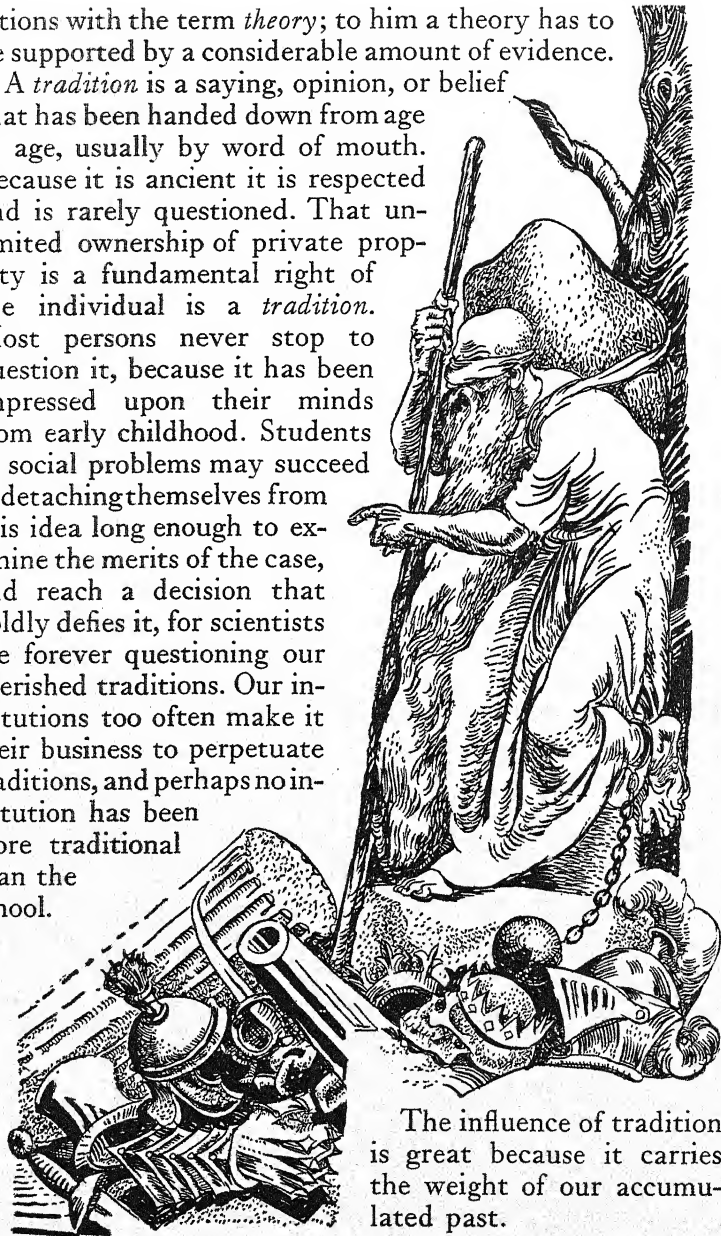
A *belief* is a state of mind. It is a conviction that something is true. It may not correspond with the facts, for it rests on grounds insufficient for positive knowledge. Many people believe in the superiority of the Nordic race, although experts tell us that there is no basis in fact for this belief.

An *opinion* is what one thinks, as distinguished from what one knows, to be true. We all have opinions on a number of subjects. These are often very dear to us. We may prize them so highly that we cannot discuss them with someone who differs from us without becoming excited or angry. For the most part our opinions are made for us by the groups with whom we associate. We hear them so often that we come to accept them as truth. Rarely do we take one of our opinions, drag it into the open, and make it stand up in fair fight with a contrary opinion. No, indeed! We are more likely to refuse even to listen to evidence that might lead us to change our views. If we do hear or read the opposite side, we may let it "go in one ear and out the other." In this way we avoid scientific thinking, which would lead us to seek all the facts and to reach a correct conclusion.

A *theory* is an explanation of how something has happened or how something should be done. It is a speculation made on the basis of such facts as may be at hand. Different individuals may hold quite different theories regarding the same happening or regarding the solution of the same problem. A scientist would not dignify most of these specu-

lations with the term *theory*; to him a theory has to be supported by a considerable amount of evidence.

A *tradition* is a saying, opinion, or belief that has been handed down from age to age, usually by word of mouth. Because it is ancient it is respected and is rarely questioned. That unlimited ownership of private property is a fundamental right of the individual is a *tradition*. Most persons never stop to question it, because it has been impressed upon their minds from early childhood. Students of social problems may succeed in detaching themselves from this idea long enough to examine the merits of the case, and reach a decision that boldly defies it, for scientists are forever questioning our cherished traditions. Our institutions too often make it their business to perpetuate traditions, and perhaps no institution has been more traditional than the school.



The influence of tradition is great because it carries the weight of our accumulated past.

A *rumor* is a statement or a story passing from one person to another without any known authority for its truth. It is a piece of gossip. That a certain individual is unkind to his wife is a rumor which may or may not be true. The chances are that even the person who started the rumor was not in a position to ascertain all the facts. The well-educated person refrains from circulating rumors, for he realizes that rumors are unreliable and often very unjust.

*How We Confuse Facts with Opinions.* When someone describes a happening to us, he is very likely to mix the facts with his opinion of what the facts are. He may believe he is describing the incident exactly as it happened, but the chances are that he is not. Some details he may have forgotten, or unintentionally have misinterpreted. When someone else relates the same happening to us he may give us a quite different account, for he, too, has probably mixed the facts with his opinions. This is particularly likely to be the case when the observer's feelings are involved. His sympathies unconsciously influence him, so that he does not observe the facts correctly.

*Can We Observe Accurately?* An experiment was conducted at a meeting of German psychologists which shows how easily even trained minds confuse facts with opinions of what the facts are.

By prearrangement, a clown pursued by a Negro rushed into the meeting hall. They fought in the center of the room; the clown fell; the Negro jumped upon him, fired a revolver, and dashed from the room. The entire episode lasted twenty seconds. It was photographed with a motion-picture camera. The members of the audience were asked to write reports of what had taken place. Of the 40 reports, 10 were largely false, while 13 had over 50 per cent of error. Only one report of the entire 40 was as much as 80 per cent correct.

Experiments of this sort invariably show that very few individuals can give a full and correct report of an exciting incident. Strong feeling seems to blind us to the facts. Afterward, when we try to remember, we merely make up a story of what happened. The strange thing about it is that we believe we are telling the complete truth. If anyone

disputes us, or gives a different version of the same occurrence, we are greatly annoyed. We think he must be telling deliberate lies. As a matter of fact, probably neither of us is more than half correct in his testimony.

*How Our Likes and Dislikes Cause Errors in Testimony.*  
The following experiment shows plainly how we unconsciously allow favoritism to influence the testimony that we give. Although it concerns a group of children, there is no doubt that adults show the same tendencies.

Each of a class of ten-year-old girls was asked to write down the names of the five classmates that she liked best. The next day the teacher chose the five girls who had been most frequently named, and were therefore most popular, and the five who had been least frequently named. These ten girls were then placed in a line in front of the class, the teacher arranging that next to each well-liked child should stand one of those least liked. She did not inform the children of the result of the popularity rating, or of the aim of her experiment.

She gave the following instructions to the class. "I am going to give the children who are placed here a short exercise in gymnastics. You must give close attention to the children who are exercising."

"Attention, right arm high." Then after a pause of ten seconds, she commanded, "Arm down."

She had privately instructed the well-liked children to raise their left arms, contrary to the command given in front of the class. Therefore, only the least-liked children obeyed the command to raise the right arm.

She then asked the class to write down the names of those who had made a mistake.

The results are of great interest. True testimony would have named only the well-liked children as in error, and only those not liked as correct. However, the results were far otherwise. To those children who were well liked, a higher percentage of correct performance was always credited; to the children not liked, a higher percentage of error.

This experiment was repeated four more times. Other experiments with a slightly different gymnastic exercise

were also used. Each experiment showed that the observers had a strong favoritism for those liked, and a strong prejudice against those not liked. This was a wholly unconscious bias. The observers thought they were giving the true facts.

Psychologists tell us that all people tend to show unconscious bias in giving testimony. Although we try to be honest and fair, our prejudices warp our judgment. This happens whenever we tell our experiences and observations, even in ordinary conversation. It happens also in law courts, despite our swearing to tell the truth. It happens when we try to remember what we have heard. It affects us when we act as judges of prize contests and debates. Never do we escape from our unconscious bias. Therefore let us be extremely cautious in reporting anything about a person we do not like, or whose opinions we do not share; for we may unconsciously twist the facts and do him an injustice.

*How Our Wishes Shape Our Thinking.* Rationalization is the attempt to give an air of reasonableness to behavior which is unreasonable. It is a human failing to do the thing we want to do, and invent our reasons later. The most bizarre and frequently unsocial behavior has thus been explained away.

It has been said that "speech was given to man to conceal his motives." This does not refer to deliberate lying, but rather to the unconscious twisting of truth to make it appear as we would like it to be. Human nature seems to be opposed to facing unpleasant facts about anything, especially those that if faced would make one feel inferior. This is seen in the way immature persons react to criticism; they do not wish to admit that they are even partly at fault, and they invent reasons to excuse themselves and throw all the blame on someone else. The pupil blames his low marks on the teacher, rather than on his lack of study. He complains that the teacher does not explain clearly, or that she dislikes him and marks unfairly. The teacher whose class is listless and unresponsive may avoid self-criticism by thinking that the pupils are spoiled, lazy, or empty-headed.

*Rationalizing about Social Problems.* Just as all of us are likely to rationalize about our individual difficulties, so are

we likely to rationalize about social troubles. This is clearly shown in the tendency to blame some small group, such as the Jews, or agitators, or foreigners, for the defects that exist in society. During a political campaign each party blames the other for evils that may have little or no connection with political policy. When labor troubles exist, one side blames the "reds," the other side the "idle rich," and it is almost impossible to get at the true facts. During the World War every calamity that happened in this country was attributed to German spies. In Germany under Hitler every kind of social misfortune is declared to be the work of the Jews.

In much the same way people decide that the most complex social troubles are due to some simple cause. Prohibition, for instance, was held responsible for every difficulty that our country experienced after it was written into the Constitution. Today many people trace unemployment to the amount of relief given; if relief were greatly cut down, they say, unemployment would vanish.

A good test of whether or not a person is rationalizing is his willingness to discuss calmly the opposite side of the question. If he can coolly talk over the evidence on both sides, and if he is willing to hear new evidence on the side contrary to his own, he is probably not rationalizing but reasoning.

*The Need of Caution in Reading.* Writers are subject to bias quite as much as everyone else. Often they are deliberately trying to make us accept a certain opinion by an unfair presentation of the facts, or by disregarding the facts and appealing to our emotions. (Either of these constitutes propaganda.) Even when they are absolutely honest, they cannot help leaning more to one side than the other.

The intelligent reader should be constantly on guard against the bias of the writer. He should distinguish between statements of fact and statements of opinion. He should be particularly suspicious of the writer who indulges in rumors, for an honest person will not state as fact things which he cannot know to be true. Much of the news unfriendly to foreign governments which is found in many newspapers is

nothing but rumor, yet the average reader does not distinguish it from the accounts of actual fact. Rumors of this type have been known to create a sentiment for war.

The opinions and policies of the owners of a newspaper or periodical are sure to be reflected in the news and the editorial columns. If they are Republicans they will wish to favor the Republican party; if Democrats, they will wish to favor the Democratic party. The paper published by or for bankers will naturally reflect the prejudices of bankers; it will endorse whatever they believe will help bankers. The paper published for or by wage earners will reflect the prejudices and advocate the special interests of wage earners. Most people select a paper that represents their own point of view. This tends to prevent them from ever hearing an impartial account of the views of other groups. It would be well not to limit oneself to a single newspaper, but rather to change frequently from one to another in order to get as many sides as possible of the leading questions of the day.

Newspaper headlines are written to attract attention and thus help to sell the paper. Very often the headlines give a most unfair impression of the news underneath. The same report published in different newspapers may bear headlines that are altogether different in meaning. The desire to favor one country or one class or one party rather than another easily results in exaggerated or unfair headlines.

In selecting what news shall be printed, it is natural that the bias or special interests of the newspaper owners will sometimes determine the final choice. News unfriendly to their point of view may be omitted altogether, or printed in very brief form, perhaps on an inside page. Only the newspaper whose owners are determined to be impartial will give equal attention to both sides of controversial matters.

*How Stereotypes Shape Our Thinking.* Nearly all our thinking is accompanied by pictures in our minds. These pictures are often highly charged with emotion. When we think of familiar institutions — the school, the corner store, the Fourth of July parade, the old swimming hole, the celebration of Thanksgiving Day, a Christmas tree — we may have no particular example in mind, but rather a generalized

picture that has been built up in our minds partly from our direct experience and partly from songs, stories, plays, and illustrations. Such generalized pictures that are common to the members of a social group are known as *stereotypes*.

Stereotypes are apt to arouse strong feeling. Virtually all thinking on public questions is in terms of stereotypes. It is emotional and not discriminating. We look at the label and ignore the contents. "Senator X is a Communist," say his enemies, and the public ceases to consider his ideas on their merits. "This proposal of the President's will lead straight toward dictatorship," says a prominent citizen, and the public shudders. The word "dictatorship" is a stereotype that arouses fear; so is the word "Communist." We are so frightened by the label that we turn away without discovering whether the label has been justly applied.

Those who wish to influence the public make constant use of stereotypes. The cartoonist and the politician could not do without them. Some of our stereotypes were invented by cartoonists, witness Uncle Sam, John Bull, John Chinaman, the Tammany Tiger, and a host of others. Great leaders owe much of their power to their skillful use of stereotypes. They invent brief, memorable, picturesque phrases. President Franklin D. Roosevelt has given us several arresting slogans — the New Deal, horse-and-buggy days, the forgotten man, economic royalists. His opponents have combatted him with stereotypes of their own, such as brain trust, court-packing, and senatorial purge.

We could not, of course, get along without stereotypes. They are vivid, easy to remember, and colorful. They bind us together in a feeling of cultural unity. They are useful and convenient. It is, in fact, their very convenience that makes them dangerous. It is so easy to label someone we dislike as an "alien agitator," a "crackpot," "harebrain," or "radical." It is so easy to denounce an idea we dislike as "dictatorship," "un-American," or "a raid on the treasury." If we accept these labels and phrases indiscriminately, we cannot think clearly about the issue.

*The Power of Propaganda.* We have been considering the natural weaknesses of the human mind — the tendency to

observe inaccurately, the susceptibility to wishful thinking and to stereotypes. These weaknesses are sufficient in themselves to impede sound thinking about social problems. But when these weaknesses of the human mind are deliberately made use of by propagandists, sound thinking becomes impossible.

By propaganda is meant the calculated attempt to persuade the public to accept an opinion without examining both sides of the question. The propagandist is an expert in manipulating other people's minds. He knows how to stir up their emotions, how to appeal to their fears, ambitions, longings, and superstitions, how, in fact, to shut off their thinking and make them believe or act as suits his purposes.

Science, by giving us the true facts about ourselves and the world around us, would set us free from superstition and prejudice. It seeks to help men live intelligently by giving them full and honest information. Propaganda does exactly the opposite. It hinders men from getting at the truth and from making decisions and choices in a rational manner.

There are many sorts of propaganda — racial, political, industrial, patriotic, and religious. Some is intended to make people better and happier. Propaganda may be used to attract support to a charity or a good cause; perhaps an intellectual appeal would fail. Yet in the long run, progress depends upon improving the quality of our thinking. Education, and not propaganda, is the only method that can possibly bring us nearer to this goal.

One of the best places to study propaganda is in the advertising pages of a popular magazine. Here one finds little information, and what there may be is carefully selected to build up the notion that the advertiser's product is indispensable for health or happiness. In place of facts there is a skillful attempt to excite emotion. The universal longings to be admired, to be recognized as beautiful, desirable, or superior, to be loved, to be secure, are fed with promises. Less worthy motives may also be played upon, such as the snobbish desire to have something that the mass of people cannot afford.

Propaganda also finds its way into the news columns and the editorial pages. It has even been known to creep into textbooks. Some of the material prepared by hired press agents is propaganda. That is, it suppresses or distorts a portion of the facts. Sometimes it also contains fabrications. Press agents are regularly employed by great corporations, governments, prominent individuals, political parties, and important organizations of every kind. The business of the press agent is to see that the public hears often and favorably concerning his employer and to prevent unfavorable news from becoming known.

Controversial issues such as public ownership, labor troubles, taxation, and proposed changes of economic institutions lend themselves to propaganda on both sides. Propaganda for the side in which we believe is apt to sound entirely fair and reasonable, whereas propaganda for the other side may sound foolish and unworthy of a hearing. If we have not made up our minds, then the side with the most skillful and persistent propaganda will probably win us. The only hope that we can resist propaganda is to arm ourselves against it by a thorough knowledge of the facts.

*Objective Thinking.* The highest type of thinking is objective or impersonal thinking. It attempts to leave behind the personal feelings and prejudices of the individual. It seeks to examine the facts — all the facts that have bearing on the matter to be decided — and to examine them from a fresh, unbiased viewpoint. It is open-minded, being receptive to new truth. It is flexible; in the light of new evidence it readily modifies or discards old theories. It is cautious, not generalizing from limited observation. It is critical, not readily accepting the suggestions of those who appeal to emotion, superstition, and prejudice.

Impersonal thinking is difficult. Only a few people learn to do it, but from them come judgments and information of unusual value. Impersonal thinking is seen at its best in the mind of the scientist. Scientists must undergo long mental training to arrive at the quality of thinking that may enable them to discover new facts about nature or society. Often their cool, critical judgment is limited to their par-

ticular field of study. Outside this special field they may be as emotional as anyone else.

Impersonal thinking is helpful not only to scientists but to everyone who can attain to it. It aids us in meeting our own problems with reason instead of with emotion. It helps us to disregard the things and the persons we do not like, and to detach ourselves from whatever makes us unhappy. It strengthens us to resist the urgent appeals of propagandists and salesmen and others who would make our minds up for us.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. Prepare a brief summary of the chapter.
2. Take an article on a controversial subject designated by the teacher, and select from it a few examples of statements of fact and statements of opinion. Is the article propaganda?
3. Find clippings that illustrate propaganda. Paste them in your notebook with a statement of what each seeks to have you believe.
4. Find one or more examples of newspaper articles whose headlines do not fairly represent their content.
5. Prepare an exhibit of advertising. Place similar advertisements together under such headings as "Snob Appeal," "Appeals to Fear," "Appeals to Superstition," "Appeals to the Longing for Admiration," and the like.
6. Make a list of slogans that have helped to determine the history of the United States.
7. Collect cartoons that make effective use of stereotypes.
8. Appoint a committee to test the ability of the class members to report an exciting event accurately. Work out the stunt carefully in advance, and get the approval of your teacher before you try it on the class.
9. Watch for the common tendency to say, "We think," "They think," "The bunch (class, school, family, etc.) think," when the speaker ought to say, "I think." Collect instances for your notebook. Call attention to it whenever such a statement is made in class, for it is a fault that makes for much crooked thinking.
10. Secure copies of an important and timely speech. Discriminate between statements that are based on facts which can be ascertained and statements that are based on individual opinion.

11. Watch for instances of rationalization, including your own. Record ten or more interesting samples.
12. The National Capital Press, 301 N Street, N. E., Washington, D. C., has a valuable leaflet, "The Scientific Method in Research," in which are listed twenty-five intellectual immoralities. A sample copy can be obtained free. It might be discussed in class and posted on the bulletin board. The class might like copies for their notebooks.

## WORD STUDY

belief	opinion	rumor
fact	propaganda	stereotype
objective thinking	rationalization	tradition

## QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Why is the expert growing more important in our civilization?
2. Why do people have to be taught to consult experts?
3. Where do we get our opinions?
4. Give examples of tradition. Why is tradition slow to change?
5. What kind of prejudice might have been shown in the reports of the psychologists on the experiment described on page 23?
6. Which is more reliable, our memory of an unexciting happening, or of one that was exciting? A slow or a rapid action?
7. What significance do you find in the experiment described on pages 24-25 concerning the well-liked and the unliked children?
8. What kinds of bias might creep into our testimony about a certain individual suspected of a crime?
9. How might the observer's physical condition and his mood affect the accuracy of his observation?
10. Who is more to be trusted, the witness who is very positive of his testimony, or the one who admits he may be mistaken?
11. Do the facts as to the unreliability of testimony have any bearing on the proposal to abolish the death penalty?
12. Give examples from recent events of the tendency to blame social conditions upon a small group. Of the tendency to find but a single cause for a complex difficulty.
13. Do newspapers as a rule represent special interests? Explain.
14. When a newspaper favors a special interest does this affect only its editorials, or does it affect the news columns also?
15. What is the disadvantage of reading only one's favorite newspaper?

16. Are advertisements written to appeal to reason or to emotions? Explain. Can you find an advertisement that appeals to the reason?
17. What are some of the earmarks of propaganda?
18. What are the sources of our stereotypes? Wherein do they serve us? Wherein do they make for a poor quality of thinking?
19. What is meant by impersonal thinking?

READINGS

- American Academy of Political and Social Science, *Annals*, Vol. 179, May, 1935, "Pressure Groups and Propaganda"
- Angell, Norman, *The Public Mind: Its Disorders; Its Exploitation* (Easy to read)
- Beard, Charles A., *Current Problems of Public Policy*, chap. xvi, Influencing Public Opinion Respecting the Utility Question
- Bent, Silas, *Ballyhoo: The Voice of the Press*
- Bernays, Edward L., *Propaganda*
- Floyd, A. H., "Newspaper Conscience — a Study in Half-Truths," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 27, No. 2, Sept., 1921
- Lumley, Frederick E., *The Propaganda Menace*
- Odegard, Peter, *The American Public Mind*, chap. ii, Social Behavior (Easy to read)
- Overstreet, Harry A., *About Ourselves* (See pp. 70-81 for examples of rationalization)
- Pringle, Henry F., "Politicians and the Press," *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1928 (An account of newspaper partisanship)
- Robinson, James H., *Mind in the Making*
- Rorty, James, *Our Master's Voice* (A stirring book on the menace of advertising)
- Thouless, Robert H., *Straight and Crooked Thinking*



## Unit II

### *The Creation and Growth of Culture*

IF WE are to use science in making a better society, we need to know something of how our society developed. What do we owe to our earliest human ancestors? Is it true that some of our customs and institutions come down to us from the childhood of the race? Is that why they do not always serve us well today? Why can we not immediately abolish the defects in our institutions? These questions are discussed in Unit II.

Chapter 3 shows what is meant by the social heritage. It explains how men learned to satisfy their basic physical needs, and how these material ways shaped their ways of living together.

Chapter 4 describes the ways men invented to make their relations with each other more orderly and satisfying. It shows how morals were created, and how they are perpetuated by institutions.



# Chapter 3

## THE DAWN OF CULTURE

*The individual by himself is helpless; he lives only through his relations with the individuals who have preceded him.*

R. M. MACIVER

*The Two Parts of Our Environment.* All the conditions and influences which surround human beings may be regarded as their *environment*. The environment into which every child is born, and which begins at his birth to shape him, has two parts — the physical and the social. The physical or the natural environment played a very great part in the life of early man. He was entirely at the mercy of the climate and of wild animals; he knew no other foods than those which nature had provided in his immediate vicinity; and his movements were strictly limited by the surface features of the region where he lived.

Gradually, by agriculture and engineering, man has modified his physical environment. Today we often forget that man is limited by his natural surroundings, so well has he learned to shape them to his needs. We very properly regard the social environment as of more importance. It includes (a) everything that man has made — tools, roads, buildings, machinery, etc., and (b) *culture*, which consists of all the established ways of doing things, and all knowledge, beliefs, language, art, organization, religion, and morals. Culture is the more essential part of the social environment, for culture is the product of hundreds of thousands of years of human struggle toward a more satisfactory existence.

*Culture Is the Social Heritage.* Another name for culture is *social heritage*. It is a heritage that every baby, even the

poorest, shares. That into which the American child is born is not the same as that of the German or the Russian child, and it is still less like that of the Eskimo or the South Sea Islander. The child of today has a much richer social heritage than the child of the Middle Ages, for knowledge has advanced amazingly since the modern age began. In prehistoric times the social heritage was so much poorer that it largely failed to protect man from the discomforts and dangers and limitations of his natural environment. The farther we go back the less elaborate we find the culture, and in its simple beginnings we see how it was developed.

*The Universal Culture Pattern.* Every isolated group of people has its own culture. For example, the Indians of North and South America lived in fourteen great culture groups. Each of the fourteen groups occupied one geographic section, though the edges merged into one another. Groups living near by were more alike than those who were a great distance apart. Whatever the differences were between the groups, some important likenesses were common to them all.

The culture of every people is found to include the following elements, in various stages of development:

1. Speech — language, writing systems
2. Material traits — food, shelter, transportation, travel, dress, utensil, tool, and weapon habits; also occupations and industries
3. Art — carving, painting, drawing, music, etc.
4. Mythology and scientific knowledge
5. Religious practices — ritual, treatment of the sick, treatment of the dead
6. Family and social systems — the forms of marriage, methods of reckoning relationship, inheritance, and social control of individuals by the group
7. Systems of property and trade
8. Government
9. Methods of defense

Pushing back into the past as far as we can go, we find man already using tools and observing social customs, probably covering every item in the list above except writing, and that, too, may have existed in the form of crude signs scratched in the mud or on the bark of trees.

*How Old Is Culture?* Science can never reveal how man lived when he first appeared on earth before he possessed any culture, for he left nothing behind that would tell us of his manner of life. Only after he began to use tools do we know something about how he lived. Various estimates have been made of the age of culture. It is generally agreed that culture began not less than several hundred thousand years ago. A recent estimate, based on the radioactivity of rocks where the earliest known tools have been found, puts the beginning of culture much farther back — to about four million years ago. Whichever reckoning is accepted makes little practical difference to the story of man's advance. Less change occurred in a hundred thousand years at the dawn of culture than occurs in a decade today.

*The Necessity for Culture.* The life of the earliest men must have been brief and terribly hard. They were in constant danger of beasts of prey. Their upright posture handicapped them in quick movement through the forest. Their helpless little ones had to be carried during flight from enemies. With their bare hands they could seldom catch fish or animals for food, and must have depended almost entirely on shellfish, eggs, roots, nuts, seeds, and fruits. These could be had the year around only in a warm climate. Early men must have spent practically all their time in the search for food, eating it immediately in its natural state, and often knowing the pangs of hunger.

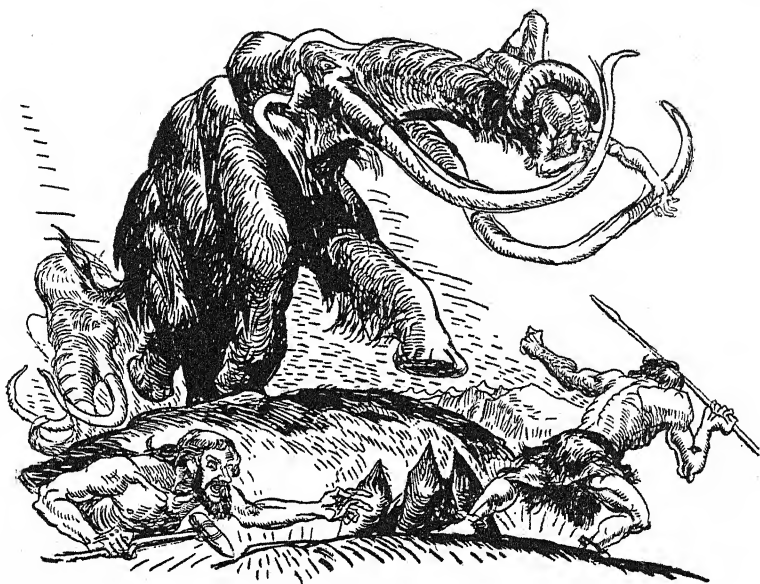
It is difficult to understand how the species, man, was able to survive. Inferior in physical equipment to the beasts of prey, only his ability to become a tool user could have saved him. Tool-using was possible to man because his erect spine freed his hands; because his flexible hand, and particularly his thumb, gave him delicate powers of manipulation; but most of all because he had a very remarkable brain. Tool-using is not known among animals. The apes, to be sure, use stones and sticks to strike or throw at their enemies, and to break open nuts or shellfish, but they drop their stone or stick as soon as it has served the immediate purpose. Only when the natural object is selected and saved can it rightly be called a tool.

Man had another great advantage over his animal enemies in the ability to speak. Because of his wonderfully sensitive brain he gradually gained a remarkable control over his vocal apparatus, and along with this control he developed a language. Speech enabled him to communicate with his fellows, and to teach his children whatever he had learned from experience. Without speech, culture could never have come into existence, and man would probably not have survived.

*Neanderthal Man.* The earliest culture about which we know anything is that of Neanderthal man, so called because the first discovery of his relics was made in the Neanderthal, a valley in Prussia. This was a hairy, low-browed race which appeared in Europe about a hundred thousand years ago. Study of skeletal remains indicates that Neanderthal man was short, thick-set, and not fully erect. His massive jaw, his lack of chin, his flat, broad nose, thick brow ridges, and receding forehead were sensual and brutal. His cranial capacity was 1400 cubic centimeters, whereas that of modern Europeans and Americans is 1550 cubic centimeters, yet he was the creator of the first human civilization.

Neanderthal man turned from the gathering of seeds, fruits, and shellfish to become a hunter. At first, besides his club, he had only a rude, almond-shaped fist-hatchet. Eventually he learned to combine this tool with the club, and little by little he developed axes, spears, and harpoons. He gradually improved and varied his implements until he could make scrapers, pricklers, borers, and sharp-edged knives from flint.

Neanderthal man lived in caves and ledges, and almost certainly possessed fire with which he could frighten prowling animals away from his lair at night. The possession of fire was of vast importance. A long time elapsed, however, before he could make a fire at will, and it is thought that he did not use it in preparing his food. Perhaps he wrapped himself in the skins of animals, for he ranged as far north as Belgium, where the winters are cold. Since tools are found in Neanderthal graves it is probable that he believed in a



future life. Of his family life, government, and other social customs we know nothing. This very early stage of culture is known as the *Old Stone* or the *Paleolithic Age*.

*Modern Men Appear in the Late Old Stone Age.* Another race appeared some forty thousand years ago, physically and mentally like modern men. Perhaps they killed off the Neanderthal men; at any rate the Neanderthal race disappeared some twenty-five or thirty thousand years ago. One group of this modern race is known as Cro-Magnon men; their culture centered in southern France and Spain. About Cro-Magnon men we know a great deal, for they left a wealth of tools, pictures, and ornaments behind them.

Cro-Magnon man was much taller than Neanderthal. He had a long, narrow skull, high forehead, thin nose, a chin, and a mouth better shaped for speaking than Neanderthal's. His brain was doubtless the equal of the present-day European's. He invented a better way to shape stone tools by flaking, and this invention marks the opening of the period called the *Late Old Stone Age*.

Cro-Magnon men were not limited to stone for making tools. They made a great variety of articles out of ivory, horn, and bone. Amongst these were needles, so we are certain that they sewed skins into clothing. Necklaces, spears, harpoons, chisels, and little statues are found in their graves. Tents and caves were used as dwellings. It is interesting to note that lamps were known. Birds and hares were killed by slings; fishing was done by harpoon; larger animals were trapped in pits dug in their paths to water.

Magic was much practiced. Use was made of amulets or charms, and the small figurines or statues that are found probably had a magical purpose. Cro-Magnon man was a remarkable painter. Very lifelike and artistic paintings of animals were made in four colors on the walls of caves. As these are often found in narrow and almost impenetrable natural corridors running far back into solid rock, it is thought that they could not have been for decoration, but rather for magical purposes. It is supposed that Cro-Magnon men had a simple tribal government, in which the medicine men were prominent, but of this we cannot be sure. Several tribes probably joined together sometimes for religious celebrations.

Sun worship arose. This is deduced from the finding of great numbers of pebbles with painted symbols of a kind later used in Crete in the worship of the sun. This use of symbols may be regarded as a forerunner of picture writing.

Cro-Magnon men liked the color red and used it to paint their bodies. They were buried with paint pots, charms, weapons, and food for use in the afterlife. They disappeared some ten thousand years ago.

*The Neolithic (New Stone) Age.* The period beginning about ten thousand years before Christ was characterized by very good ground-stone tools, and for this reason is generally called the *Neolithic* or *New Stone Age*. The early New Stone Age, from 10,000 to 6000 B.C., exhibits the bow and arrow, simple pottery, coarse weaving, and a very excellent stone axe sharpened and polished by grinding it upon sandstone. The dog had been domesticated, although he was more of a campfire scavenger than a household pet.

Food was still obtained only by collection — gathering, hunting, fishing — never by cultivation. Hundreds of acres were required to feed a family. Population was therefore very sparse, and the community remained small.

Some believe that man came to America across the Bering Straits at the beginning of this period. This is suggested by the finding of arrowheads and the bones of dogs in the oldest graves yet discovered in America.

*The Full New Stone Age, 6000-3000 B.C.* A most epochal advance marks the Full New Stone Age — the domestication of the cow, the pig, the goat, the sheep, and the hen. Domestication came about as a result of trapping animals for food. If a surplus had been trapped, some would be kept alive until they were needed, and meanwhile they would become tame. Then the idea of saving the young animals occurred to some early genius, and in time the whole herding system was worked out. Herding developed in many scattered groups, beginning, of course, with some animal native to the region. Once a species was domesticated it was diffused into neighboring areas, until finally it was known in spots far from its original home. The hen, for instance, was native to India, from which it was carried, after domestication, in all directions. Few Neolithic groups possessed all the domestic animals.

Herding led to important changes in the method of life. The family, no longer dependent upon the co-operation of the whole group as in hunting, became more independent. At the same time, a number of persons were necessary to guard the herd. It became customary for the herdsman to keep his sons and their wives and children in his household. Such a family group, commanded and led by the oldest active male, is known as a *patriarchal family*. The head of the family, if he were thrifty, and aggressive in competing with other families for the pasturage and water, might become rich and powerful.

Herding groups did not as a rule develop the art of crop-growing. It would have interfered with pasturing their animals. Nor did they advance very far in the arts of building or decoration. They were obliged to keep their shelters and

their equipment at a minimum, since they must be continually moving in search of fresh pasturage.

The position of women is low among herders. The arts of peace do not flourish. Every family must be ready to fight any other family that encroaches on its water supply and pasturage. Hence social activities that include more than a single family do not readily develop.

The discovery of seed-planting was another epochal advance. Early in the New Stone Age some people had domesticated wheat, barley, millet, and flax. This led to very striking changes in the culture. The necessity of returning year after year to the same ground to sow and later to harvest the crops interfered with the old nomadic life. Presently the crops provided so much food that less time was given to hunting, and perhaps the tribe decided to settle down permanently around a natural clearing.

Permanent shelters would be the next step, and from these would come the notion of private ownership of the land on which the house stood. Methods of decorating and furnishing the shelter would be encouraged. War prisoners, instead of being killed, would be kept for slaves, since they could be made to do the digging and hoeing, the weeding and harvesting, the threshing and the grinding, which primitive men found distasteful. Population increased as the food supply grew larger. The community grew, and more elaborate forms of government, religious observances, and social ceremonies, involving a larger group, developed.

By domestication of animals and plants, man was at last free from the constant threat of starvation. There began to be more time for other activities besides food-getting. Spinning and weaving of flax reached a high level. Beautiful fabrics and pottery were in everyday use, for primitive workers expended as much skill as they possessed on everything they made. Pride was taken in superior handiwork and new forms and patterns were eagerly sought.

The cooking of food, which may not have begun until this period, must have added greatly to the enjoyment of life. Meats were broiled, roasted, or boiled. Cereals were



roasted, or else ground, baked in flat cakes, and eaten with salt, honey, or poppy seed.

Along with cooking, pottery attained an increasingly important place. Each use of pottery, as well as each new form, had to be invented. Vases and jars were made for storing grain, oil, wine, and beer, and were gradually improved by the addition of handles, necks, and rims. As better utensils were thought of, we can imagine the gradual elaboration and refinement in the cooking, serving, and eating of food. This meant a gain in the dignity of family life and in the art of hospitality.

Neolithic peoples living by the water felt a need for boats. At first rafts were made by lashing logs together. Then came dugout boats, and finally canoes made by stretching bark or skins over a frame. Inflated skins were used for rafts in the Orient, while in the South Sea Islands the outrigger canoe was invented, by which the choppy ocean water about the Islands could be safely navigated. Eventually crude sails were added to boats, lengthening the distances which could be traveled. Each of these steps in the development of travel led to an increased number of contacts between different peoples, and the accompanying spread of inventions and raw materials. However, travel in this period was extremely difficult at best, and new ideas diffused slowly.

*Sun Worship by Neolithic Men.* Sun worship was organized into an imposing religious system. There were myths explaining the struggle between the powers of light and the powers of darkness. In spring and summer the powers of light were ascendant, but in winter, the powers of darkness. Human life was compared to the seasons of the year. Just as spring is reborn after an interval of cold and gloom, so was man's spirit thought to be. There were annual festivals, each with its own games, ceremonies, special foods, and stories. Chief of these were the celebrations of spring and of harvest. Among the numerous symbols of sun worship was the swastika, which has come down to us as a sign of luck and happiness. Traces of this ancient, joyous religion survive in our fairy tales, superstitions, games, and religious holidays. Great circles of stones, as at Stonehenge, England,

are found in various parts of Europe to remind us of our interesting ancestors. These circles of stone were probably connected with solar worship and seem to have been an attempt to picture the calendar. The sun worshippers laid the foundation of the science of astronomy. Indeed, their numerous inventions and discoveries created the framework of both our material and spiritual civilization.

*How Culture Grows and Spreads.* Each separate trait of culture begins in an invention. Invention is usually a lucky combination of traits already present in the culture. That is why culture grew so slowly during the first stages in man's advance. So long as man had few tools and few ideas, new combinations could occur but seldom. Finally culture was rich enough so that inventions could follow one another very rapidly. In the last one hundred years, for instance, more mechanical changes have occurred than in all the previous ages taken together. No invention can occur until the culture is ripe for this particular new combination to be thought of. Often an invention is made by a number of inventors at about the same time, proving that the stage at which culture has arrived is more important than the genius of a given inventor.

While some very important inventions have been made independently in different parts of the world, it is certain that some inventions were made but once and slowly spread to other groups by the process known as *diffusion*. Diffusion can occur only through the contact of one group with another. In primitive society this contact took place chiefly in war, the capture of wives, and in trade. Of course those groups who lived in natural pathways of travel, such as river valleys, were at a great advantage over groups living in inaccessible places where contact with others was rare.

In the twentieth century any invention, whether mechanical device or a new idea, soon becomes known far and wide. That is one reason for the rapid cultural changes that the world is now experiencing. Yet all peoples do not immediately adopt new inventions, be they ever so desirable. People can make use of a new mechanical device or method only if they possess the necessary technical base. An

Eskimo tribe living meagerly by fishing north of the Arctic circle can make use of few of the devices by which we make a living. A nomad tribe in distant Mongolia would have little use for automobiles, electric equipment, or plumbing. Similarly, people can adopt a new idea-system, such as democracy, only if they have the associated ideas upon which democracy depends, such as the dignity of labor, the equality of men, and the right of the individual to think and act for himself. A caste society, or a people that has had always a despotic government, cannot make democracy work, because they do not have these associated ideas. Christian missionaries have great difficulty in teaching converts to discard old beliefs and customs that are incompatible with the Christian faith. The religion of American Indians, even in tribes that have long considered themselves Christian, is a strange mixture of pagan and Christian beliefs. Generations must pass before they make their own all the associated ideas upon which Christianity rests.

*The Material and the Nonmaterial Culture.* The processes for making and using objects are known as the *material* culture. The material culture consists of the methods for



carrying on all industries. It includes the techniques and the knowledge needed for providing food, dress, shelter, transportation, travel, weapons, tools, toys, and books. Material culture is primary; it is essential to survival. Improvements in the material traits are often eagerly searched for and quickly adopted.

The nonmaterial or secondary culture includes communication, recreation, art, religion, mythology, social ceremonial, morality, law, and government. These things tend to be shaped and colored by the material culture. That is, the ways in which a people plays, worships, explains the universe, and governs itself are influenced by the ways in which it gets a living. A herding group invented the idea of God as a shepherd; a farming people first thought of having a festival to celebrate the harvest. People living in fertile river valleys which support a dense population early develop commerce and manufacturing; they are obliged to develop an elaborate system of government with specialized officials to perform the services that they find essential. Even the myths, games, and the designs used in decoration reflect the occupations of a people.

*Cultural Lag.* The nonmaterial traits tend to resist change. They do not keep up with rapid changes of the material culture and so they are likely to get out-of-date. Children still play such games as "London Bridge Is Falling Down," "Farmer in the Dell," "Run, Sheep, Run," and "Stagecoach," which dramatize events and occupations of an age gone by. Children's books still tell of ogres and fairies and magic that is strangely out of place in the Age of Science. Hymns and printed prayers are especially apt to reflect the ways and ideas of people long gone. A prayer or hymn about a modern occupation, or one that asks help in solving a distinctly modern problem, is so rare as to be startling.

Similarly, the government and the law tend to lose step with the times. For instance, as cities have grown and the number of officials has increased, the ballot in many places has been allowed to grow longer and longer, until the voter faces the impossible task of becoming acquainted with scores of candidates. Automobile laws have usually not

kept pace with the increasing use and speed of automobiles. Always the nonmaterial traits lag behind the material traits and are more or less seriously out of step with them. The period of time that elapses before the nonmaterial culture adjusts to changes in the material culture is known as *cultural lag*.

*Summary.* We live in an ocean of culture of which we are as little conscious as of the air we breathe. It has been accumulating for hundreds of thousands, and perhaps for millions, of years. It consists of innumerable inventions and discoveries by which men have little by little learned to make life safer, easier, more comfortable, and more worth living. It is the heritage with which we are endowed from birth, and it determines the kind of individuals we shall become.

The outlines of our culture were laid down before the Stone Ages came to an end. To these ancestors, who lived thousands of years ago, we owe the basic elements of both our material and our nonmaterial culture.

Because invention consists of new combinations of existing traits, culture has grown at an ever more rapid rate. Because new ideas and devices now diffuse so quickly to most parts of the world, all cultures are changing faster than ever before. Nevertheless, a people cannot adopt an invention for which they do not have the technical basis, nor can they adopt an idea-system for which they do not have the basic ideas.

The material culture changes more quickly than the nonmaterial culture, and today we have a great many cultural lags. Some of these are quaint, others are amusing, and some are dangerous.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. Make a brief outline of the chapter.
2. Make a list of new terms, together with their definitions.
3. Read one of the listed readings and write a review or a summary. Also take notes on something that would be interesting to report to the class.
4. Make a drawing of Neanderthal or Cro-Magnon man at some typical occupation.

5. Exhibit pictures of prehistoric men, their shelters, tools, ornaments, and activities.
6. Make a list of the inventions, discoveries, and knowledge which we owe to Stone Age men.
7. Prepare a report on how one of the first great inventions or discoveries may have been made by primitive men. Fire-making, pottery, seed-planting, domestication of animals, the refining of metal ore, the calendar, and the wheel may be chosen by various members of the class.
8. Prepare a report or write a story about the customs of a patriarchal family.
9. Prepare an exhibit of pictures showing the life of some nomadic people, such as the Mongolians. Perhaps lantern slides or film may be obtained to illustrate this topic.
10. Prepare a list of the cultural changes that occurred in the Bronze Age. Note the effect of population growth on government, the division of labor, public works, trade, and religion.
11. Prepare a list of modern inventions that were thought of independently by two or more individuals. A convenient source is *Social Change* by William F. Ogburn, pp. 90-102.
12. Interpret the drawing on p. 35. What two races of men are suggested? Can you identify five types of architecture?
13. Interpret the drawing on p. 45. What features of a herding people's life are depicted?
14. Account for the sales resistance of the Mongolian pictured on p. 48.

#### WORD STUDY

cranial capacity	diffusion	nonmaterial culture
Cro-Magnon	environment	Paleolithic
cultural lag	material culture	patriarchal family
culture	Neanderthal	social heritage
	Neolithic	

#### QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Give five ways in which man has changed his natural environment.
2. Why is culture more important than the things man has made and accumulated through the ages?
3. Give various estimates of the age of culture.
4. What physical traits enabled man to become a tool user?
5. Describe the life of Neanderthal man.

6. Describe the life of Cro-Magnon man.
7. Why can we not say definitely what kind of family life and government existed among prehistoric men?
8. In what two ways does culture grow?
9. How did diffusion occur among primitive men?
10. What differences in culture would develop between a herding group and crop-growing group?
11. What difficulties are there in taking the Eskimos or some other isolated people as a fair example of the life of our own ancestors in the Stone Age?
12. How do culture changes influence the density of the population?
13. What was the social importance of the invention of pottery?
14. Why did not the Indians make more use of the natural resources of the Americas?
15. In what sense did the keeping of slaves indicate an advance in culture?
16. Show how our ways of getting a living and of making things influence our recreations. Art. Religion. Law. Government.
17. Some reformers believe that mechanical inventions should belong to society (not as now, under the patent system, to the inventor), just as scientific discoveries belong to everyone. What arguments might be advanced in support of this view?
18. Make a list of cultural lags conspicuous in our society.

#### READINGS

- Bridges, T. C., *The Young Folk's Book of Inventions*  
 Burkitt, M. C., *Our Early Ancestors*  
 Burr, H. M., *Around the Fire* (Short stories dealing with primitive invention)  
 Coffman, Ramon, *A Child's Story of the Human Race* (A charming and easy anthropology)  
 Cole, Fay-Cooper, *Long Road from Savagery to Civilization* (A brief, popular anthropology)  
 Durant, Will, *Story of Civilization*  
 Forman, Samuel E., *Story of Useful Inventions*  
 Linton, Ralph, *The Study of Man*  
 London, Jack, *Before Adam* (Fiction)  
 Marshall, Leon C., *Readings in the Story of Human Progress* (Easy)  
 Osborn, Henry F., *Men of the Old Stone Age* (Well illustrated)  
 Roberts, C. G. D., *In the Morning of Time* (Good presentation of primitive man and early inventions; fiction)

Rolt-Wheeler, Francis, *The Finder of Fire* (Social life of primitive man; fiction). *The Tamer of Herds* (Social life in ancient Chaldea; fiction)

Schneider, Hermann, *The History of World Civilization*

Van Loon, Hendrik, *Man, the Miracle Maker*

# Chapter 4

## THE GROWTH OF INSTITUTIONS

*Only in society is personality at home. Only in a highly developed society can the social initiates, the children of society, develop their potentiality; only in serving society can the developed member attain the further fulfilment of life; and it is only the finely developed personality, with the self-determination, initiative and sense of responsibility which characterize such development, that can create and maintain fine and deep social relations. Society is nowhere but in its members, and it is most in the greatest of them.*

R. M. MACIVER

*The Customs and the Mores.* A given culture is made up of a great number of customs, or folkways. A custom or folkway is a habitual way of thinking or acting that is common to the members of a certain group. Both the material and the nonmaterial culture are made up of customs.

All the members of the group are expected to conform to its customs. The newborn child, by imitation of its elders and by training, gradually learns to follow the customs of his group until they are as natural to him as breathing. Those who grow up in the group scarcely ever think of disobeying its customs; if they did they would be frowned upon or ridiculed. The immigrant to the group is laughed at until he learns to behave as do the people among whom he is living.

Those customs which a people believes are essential to its welfare are called *mores* (pronounced mo'rēs). To violate the mores is always a serious offense. Among primitive men the offender was usually punished by being driven forth into the wilderness to starve, or by being put to death. Even in modern times the mores are strictly enforced, and scant



sympathy is given anyone so rash as to disregard them. The penalties today are less brutal, but they are severe enough to cause mental suffering and often financial ruin.

Those who obey the mores are moral; those who disobey them are immoral. The mores are the "right" ways of behaving, not only in courtship and marriage, but in politics, religion, and business. While the mores of most peoples have certain similarities, they also have important differences. Even murder is not uniformly condemned. Among some tribes of Eskimos, for instance, where food was always extremely scarce, it was moral to kill one's aged grandparents when they were no longer of use. At certain times and in certain regions of scarcity, it has been moral to kill unwanted infants. In the recent past it has been moral to kill strangers immigrating where they were unwelcome, and in war most people still consider that killing is the moral thing to do. The trend seems to be toward mores that will forbid all killing of human beings. Some states, for instance, already have abolished the death penalty; and some groups of people, like the Friends, have declared themselves to be conscientiously opposed to military service.

While the mores change very slowly, they are constantly

in the process of transition to ways that will serve the group better. New mores that are very much needed are often long delayed, while old ones that have outlived their usefulness survive long after they should be discarded. Thus, it should be immoral for one nation to attack another, for an employer to pay his workmen starvation wages, for a workman to destroy his employer's property in hidden ways, and for bankers to speculate with funds intrusted to them. Yet none of these things has become wholly a matter of morals, although the trend of the times is to make them immoral.

*The Taboo.* Among primitive people and to some extent even among the most civilized, the mores are enforced by means of the taboo. This is a ban or a prohibition of actions thought likely to cause injury to the tribe by evil spirits, or, in later times, to incur the wrath of God. It is so strongly impressed upon the minds of the group that no one would think of violating a taboo under any circumstances. Certain foods are taboo in most primitive tribes. Some of these foods are harmful; often they are not. Our own taboos prevent us from so much as thinking of eating a chicken in the shell, a dog, a roasted grasshopper, and other foods thoroughly approved in other cultures. Many taboos were highly useful, and today are incorporated in the law. The prohibition against killing female game in the breeding season is an example, also the taboo against opening a grave, which has tended to prevent the spread of disease.

*Taboos Often Become either Manners or Law.* As civilization advances, society depends more on the written law than on the taboos. The more important taboos are gradually written upon the statute books, and then they are enforced chiefly by officers of the law rather than by the community at large. As conditions change it is often necessary to make laws against actions, like speeding, or the use of dangerous machinery without mechanical safeguards, that are not yet forbidden by the mores.

Some taboos, as time goes on, are no longer felt to be vitally important. These are reduced to the rank of manners, and the individual may observe them or not as he chooses. Speaking evil of the dead was once taboo under all circum-

stances, but is now regarded merely as a question of manners. Among the Puritans it was taboo on the Sabbath to cook a meal, read a book other than the Scriptures, laugh, or engage in any form of recreation. This taboo was gradually relaxed, until today even among very devout people the individual has much freedom on the Sabbath. When taboos are reduced to manners, there is more individual freedom. Good manners are not obligatory. The unmannerly person is, however, unwelcome because he creates a feeling of awkwardness, unexpectedness, and maladjustment in the group.

*Conscience.* In most people conscience is merely the inward response to taboo. It makes the individual feel guilty and ashamed when he does something that is forbidden by the mores. This feeling of right and wrong is acquired early in life from those with whom the child grows up. Whatever these persons have strongly and habitually forbidden him to do is so strongly impressed upon his mind that he is miserable if he goes contrary to their teachings. His habits of obedience to these early teachings are deeply rooted. They are automatic rather than thoughtful. If the teachers were wise and forbade him to do whatever might be harmful to himself and to others, his conscience will be a useful guide so long as he lives. If they were not wise, his conscience may trouble him more about some trifling offense than about some act that is very injurious to the community.

The highest type of conscience is ruled less by tradition than by intelligence. Its possessor is sensitively aware of the effects of what he does upon himself and upon others. He refrains from many acts not yet forbidden by the mores or the law. He is striving to attain the ideal human character — that is, he is *ethical*.

The ethical person demands of himself a higher level of conduct than society could demand. For instance, he regards the saying or doing of anything that is hurtful to another's personality as one of the gravest sins. He therefore strives never to say or do anything that might cause someone else to lose confidence in himself. The ethical person obeys the law not so much from fear as because he sees

the meaning behind the law. Socrates, awaiting death in prison, refused to avail himself of the opportunity to escape.

Jesus taught, "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you" — conduct so noble that society could never expect it. The great have always upheld principles of behavior higher than those of the general run of men. Their consciences have not been exact reflections of the prevailing morality, but superior to it. Such enlightened individuals are not always appreciated; they may be disliked or even martyred for saying that the accepted moral beliefs are not good enough.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTIONS TO ENFORCE THE MORES

*Institutions.* The mores tend to crystallize into institutions. An institution has three parts: (a) a set of customs carried over from the past, (b) people organized to observe and to perpetuate them, and (c) a group of things used by the people for the observance and perpetuation of these customs.

A school is an institution. It consists of a group of customs; a group of people — parents, children, taxpayers, and teachers — who are interested in observing and perpetuating these ways; and the material things used for this purpose — buildings, books, equipment. The church, the state, the family, the store, the bank, the factory, the theater, the Girl Scouts, the Boy Scouts, the fire department, the police department, are among our institutions.

Any organized form of social activity is an institution. Buildings and elaborate equipment may or may not be present. The organization may be very loose or very complex. The care and decoration of graves is an institution; so is the giving of a play, the celebration of a birthday, a game, group singing, and a chain letter. It is difficult to think of any social activity that is not more or less organized, that is, institutionalized.

*Institutions Not Instinctive.* Many institutions serve basic human needs. The family is the most outstanding example.

Many of the institutions of homemaking — the cooking and serving of meals, the use and care of beds, the arrangements for the care of the person, storage places for food, clothes, and belongings, and countless others — also seem to have grown directly out of human needs. For this reason religious people have often thought that institutions must be divinely ordained, while others have thought that they must be instinctive. These views are still widely held by those who have not traveled or studied the cultures of other peoples. They cannot be held by persons trained in social science.

Institutions to serve any human need are varied almost beyond belief. There are, or have been, many forms of the family. Homemaking institutions are different among every group of people, and new ones are continually being developed. These facts suggest that institutions appear primarily in response to *cultural* needs. The institutions of the cave men were few and simple. Scarcely any of those we have today would have been of any use to a cave dweller. Yet his physical needs were the same as ours. He slept well on the bare ground; we sleep on soft mattresses in comfortable beds. Our institutions of sleeping are plainly a response not to our bodily needs but to what is thought fitting in our culture.

*How Institutions Control Us.* Institutions control most of our behavior. For the most part we do not think of acting in any other way than that prescribed by the institutions with which we have grown up. We do not, as a rule, rewrite the rules of our games, change the words of old songs, or seek to make over our church or school. Thus, so long as we conform to it, the institution perpetuates the customs and mores of the group. Often an institution exhibits cultural lag, that is, it is partly out-of-date and needs to be reformed.

Sentiment, which is a cluster of emotions, tends to cling to an institution. Thus the sentiment of mother love, with its mingling of tenderness, fear, pride, and loyalty, is bound to the institution of the family. The sentiment of patriotism is linked to the institution of the state. Any attempt to change an institution disturbs people's emotions, causing them strongly to resist the change. When, for instance, it is



proposed to modernize the constitution of a state, many persons oppose "any meddling with the sacred documents left us by our forefathers," while an attempt to change the organization of the school may be met with loud protests at interfering with the traditional or long approved ways of training our children.

Before we can understand modern social life and its problems, we need to know more about our institutions. They, like other parts of our culture, are sometimes rooted in the remote past, in the social life of primitive people.

*The Family.* The earliest of all institutions was undoubtedly the family. Many forms of the family have been observed among primitive men, and we do not know which is the oldest. Apparently the simplest type of family life is the horde, in which a score or more of adults and children live together. The strongest male is the leader.

The great family, in which several generations live together in one household, was everywhere customary before the machine age. The sons bring their wives to their father's home and all are under his authority. The great family is very stable and very secure. It is not much affected by the

injury, illness, or death of a single member. The small family, consisting only of husband and wife and their unmarried children, is a modern development. Grandparents and other relatives may at times live with the small family, but their presence is not usually very convenient, and as a rule they are not expected to have much to say about the running of the household. The change from the great family to the small family was largely due to economic changes, such as the growth of factories and of cities.

Various forms of marriage have been known. *Polygyny*, wherein one man may have several wives, became common in pastoral and agricultural societies, where the labor of the additional women and children was a great economic asset. The first wife is often glad to have other wives added to her household to come under her authority and to share her tasks.

*Polyandry*, wherein one woman may have several husbands, is found in a few primitive societies, and is usually the result of extreme poverty of environment which has led to the practice of killing most of the female infants. Sometimes the wife marries a family of brothers and all live in one house.

*Pair marriage*, or *monogamy*, was found in the same communities in which polygyny or polyandry was recognized.





Eventually it became, among almost all peoples, the only form of marriage permitted by the mores. When it became the standard marriage of any group, it led to a great improvement in the position of women. The lifting of women from their previous low place in society led to a general improvement in culture.

The family has always been a powerful influence for perpetuating the mores. This is partly because the family has had such strict control over its members. For many thousands of years, and until modern times, the family was under the absolute rule of the strongest or oldest active male.<sup>1</sup> He dominated every detail of the family life, having even the power of life or death over its members. If any one of them committed an offense against the community, or against another family, the leader was held responsible and was expected to punish the guilty. Today the husband or father has much less power; nevertheless he is blamed when any member of his household goes wrong.

<sup>1</sup> The theory that woman originally ruled the family is no longer accepted. In the matriarchal family the husband went to live with his wife's parents and took her family name. But all were ruled by her strongest or oldest male relative.

Ancestor worship about the family hearth was widely practiced until well into the Christian era. The spirits of generations of dead ancestors were thought likely to punish any departure from ancient traditions. In modern society the admiration of ancestors, as shown in the tracing of a family tree or the display of old family portraits, tends to make us faithful to the traditional ways.

The principal function of the family has, from early times, been the training of the young. Almost from his birth, those in the child's household start to teach him the customary modes of behavior. Unless he conforms to these ways he is called "wilful" or "naughty" and is made to suffer. Yet the threat of ridicule and punishment is only one of the pressures that mold him. The desire for approval also impels him to do as those around him do. Long before his maturity he learns to think, talk, and act like the others in his household. Thus the family perpetuates the established customs and mores. It frowns upon all originality and experimentation.

*Law.* The sociologist often speaks of law as if it were the same as the taboos of a people. In the early stages of culture there was no other law but *customary law*. The group was small and variations from right conduct could easily be observed and punished. No one could hide from the anger or ridicule of the group. Since customary law is imposed and enforced by the entire group, and not delegated to officials of the government, a society which depends upon customary law is very law-abiding. Primitive societies, are, in fact, much more law-abiding than civilized societies. Today we place too much responsibility upon the police for enforcing our laws and accept too little ourselves.

Law in its early stages was chiefly used to forbid actions that might give offense to the spirit world. Injuries to the person or to private property were for a long time not considered an injury to the community as a whole. The community, therefore, imposed no punishment. The individual whose property had been stolen or damaged had to punish the offender himself or have a relative do it. Similarly, an injury to a person would be punished by the victim or his relatives.

If a person injured a member of another family, even by accident, the matter must be settled between the two families concerned. If he injured a member of another clan, satisfaction was demanded from his clan. Vengeance must be secured — an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. The desire for vengeance often led to the blood feud between opposing families or clans. At a more advanced stage of culture, a fine might be paid by the family of the guilty man to the injured family.

As groups grew larger, retaliation between families created so much disorder that it was felt necessary to restrict it. The first step was the appointment of a go-between to settle the differences between the quarreling families and to arrange punishment or compensation. Later the chief or the council of elders took over the responsibility of determining if a wrong had been committed and what amends should be made. Eventually violence was held to be a crime against the tribe itself, or against the chief, and the fines were then paid to the chief instead of to the injured party. There grew up, little by little, a body of rules for legal procedure, and this marked the origin of *political law*. Political law is enforced by a central authority — the government. The government might be vested in a single individual, the chief, but by general consent he had the duty and the power to compel obedience to the law.

During a period of rapid change, the established mores or taboos no longer cover all the situations that arise. Old mores begin to lose their authority, since there is confusion as to what kinds of actions are opposed to the group welfare. New taboos are dimly felt to be necessary. In such a time of change and uncertainty the laws of a people are first written down. The first written law known is the Code of Hammurabi, king of Babylonia, proclaimed in the twenty-first century before Christ. This code, like those established since, was a summary of the prevailing practices of the people.

The body of law is always being enlarged to meet new situations. This may be done by the decree of a ruler, by statute of a legislative body, or by interpretation of the

existing laws by administrators and judges. No statute or decree can be sufficiently detailed to furnish a complete guide to the men who administer it and to the judges who must interpret how it applies to particular cases. Therefore it can be truly said that administrators and judges help to write the law.

Theoretically, judges do not make law. They only find what the law is. When the statutory law does not cover the case that is under consideration, the court will consult legal tradition and precedent. In the English-speaking world there is a vast collection of legal tradition known as the *common law*. It consists of the recorded decisions reached by courts in every English-speaking country. It is always growing. It tends to unify the decisions of judges wherever English is spoken.

Thoughtless people often say of some practice that they dislike, "There ought to be a law against it." But it is useless to write a law in the statute books unless the majority of the people, or at least a considerable and influential body of the people, already practice it. The failure to enforce prohibition in the United States is an example. Law comes from the accepted customs of the group; it cannot, except in rare cases, be laid down successfully from above.

*Government.* The most essential trait of government is authority to compel obedience to the laws. No government has any more authority than is given it by the customs of the people. Custom designates the officials, how they shall be chosen or created, and their powers. Thus every government, even that of a primitive group, rests upon a constitution. Only in modern countries is the constitution usually written.

In a primitive tribe the strongest or bravest or wealthiest of the patriarchs is the leader, or leadership may be vested in a council of elders or in a hereditary king. Whoever the ruler, he cannot do as he pleases. He is no more free to transgress the customs of the tribe than are his subjects. When he speaks, it is in the name of the tribe. Only in an emergency can he depart from the accepted ways, and then only in so far as the people are willing to follow him. It is

the same way with the ruler of a great nation. He may imagine that he possesses absolute power, but it is only the power to enforce the mores. If he attempts to establish new rules, he must either win the consent of a large or influential section of the population, or he must rely on his armed forces to put down opposition. If most of the people are strongly opposed to his new orders, he may find it impossible to enforce them without civil war. Even the army may revolt against him and remove him from power.

*Economic Institutions.* The economic institutions regulate commerce, industry, inheritance, and taxation, and determine what things are privately owned and what things are publicly owned. They are generally more influential than the government itself, for they control the ownership and distribution of wealth. If they set up hereditary classes, they determine, in effect, who shall have prestige, and it is those who have prestige to whom the group will look for leadership. In almost every group the wealthy have the most influence and are looked up to and imitated by the less fortunate. From this section of the population will come most, if not all, of the officials, religious leaders, and teachers; their beliefs and ideas will be most likely to prevail.

Primitive people, as a rule, recognize three types of property — private, collective, and communistic. Generally the individual has complete private possession of the tools, weapons, and ornaments he has himself produced. If animals are kept, they are usually owned privately, and if separate dwellings are used, they are the property of the families which occupy them. The pasture and hunting grounds are generally owned collectively, and all may hunt or pasture their animals in any part of the common land. Sometimes the hunting lands are divided among family groups, being reassigned each year so that none should have an unfair advantage. Crop lands are usually divided among the families and reassigned at intervals. This is communistic ownership; for the property temporarily assigned to individuals is owned and controlled by the community. Today, in most countries, much land is privately owned; however, some of it is owned collectively, as in public forests, parks,

and thoroughfares. Public buildings are, of course, owned collectively. In some countries the mines, water-power sites, and public utilities are owned collectively. Many of our American cities own their own electric powerhouses, lighting systems, and water works, but communistic ownership (in the strict meaning of the term) is seldom practiced with us, — textbooks, library books, and post-office boxes being the only kinds of communistic property in many places.

Early men were afraid of the property of the dead and sent it to the tomb. The right to inherit property developed late, and was rigidly restricted. The eldest son might be required to receive all the property of the father, but sometimes custom dictated that it be divided equally among the sons. Again, all or part of the property might go to the tribe or to the ruler. The right of the individual to leave his property to whom he pleases began in modern times, and is still subject to restriction. In some states a husband cannot disinherit his wife, nor can the wife disinherit her husband.

Inheritance taxes give evidence of the popular desire to reduce great fortunes and to limit the amount of property that a family may acquire. The taxation of inheritances is part of a movement to limit the right of an individual to do as he pleases with his private property, and to restore to the community a greater degree of control over wealth.

*Religion.* Religion is the search for high values. It upholds as right that conduct which the group considers essential to its welfare. This is regarded as the will of God. But morality does not depend upon the belief in God; for the taboos and laws are first formulated by the group and then incorporated into their religion. They are enforced by social or legal penalties, or both, ranging from strong disapproval to imprisonment, banishment, or death. The belief that God punishes wrongdoing is an additional motive for good behavior, especially as it is believed that nothing can be concealed from God.

Religious institutions have always been a powerful force for perpetuating the mores. They have taught people to fear the wrath of God both now and in the hereafter.

Brought up in this fear, men have held the taboos to be sacred. Individuals have often suffered extreme mental tortures as a result of transgressing them.

Frequently religious institutions have perpetuated mores that have outlived their usefulness. Thus the worship of Moloch demanded the sacrifice of every first-born child, while the religion of the Aztecs demanded the sacrifice of multitudes of war captives. Just or friendly treatment of nonbelievers has often been forbidden. Religious institutions long upheld taboos that kept women subject to men.

Religion is not wholly traditional. Its great task is to define the ideal and show men how it should be applied.

The ideal, which religious men call God, is a developing concept. Once it was sensual pleasure, and people thought that God could be pleased by gifts of food and drink. Later the ideal became justice; God was thought to be the law-giver and judge, stern but just. In time people came to value love above everything, and they conceived that God is love. At any period in history God exemplifies those human attributes which are thought to be the highest. God is a symbol of the ideal human being. As men think about God and try to please Him or enter into communion with Him, their conduct becomes more godlike.

The application of the ideal to concrete situations is apt to lag behind. Today men are fumbling toward a new moral code, one that will promote social and economic justice in a society dominated by the machine. In the shaping of this code the churches of all denominations hope to have a part.

Several interdenominational conferences have drawn up codes expressing their ideals of social and economic justice. An example is the one formulated in 1932 by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. In publishing such lists of modern social ideals, the churches are actively helping to raise the existing moral standards. They are making people conscious of the gaps and defects of our old moral ideas.

*Education.* Each new generation must be inducted into the life of the group, learning its skills, knowledge, morals, and values, and becoming sensitive to its welfare. Other-



wise culture would disappear and the group would perish. All the processes by which the individual is prepared to take his place in his group are together known as his education. Education begins at birth and continues until death.

In primitive societies there is little or no formal instruction. The child acquires the ways and wisdom of his people as naturally as he learns to walk and to speak. He begins in early life to share the activities of his household and his clan, and in so doing receives his education. Knowledge, except of magic, is shared equally by all; anyone of ordinary ability can learn everything known by the group.

Formal instruction or schooling is unnecessary until there is a considerable fund of knowledge, with some of it too specialized for everyday use. When knowledge accumulates rapidly, and becomes highly specialized, schooling is essential, at least for part of the population. Until the last century, the great majority of human beings had little or no schooling. Such schooling as there was, was limited principally to those who were being prepared for leadership and who came from the upper social classes.

The schools have, in the past, devoted themselves almost exclusively to handing on tradition. Lately there has been a new conception of the task of the school. People are asking that the school prepare the young to take their places in a *changing* social order. This means that educators must study social trends and try to forecast the conditions that the young will have to meet. It is thought that the oncoming generation will live in a period of still more rapid change than we now know; they must be trained to adjust themselves rapidly to a great variety of conditions. Some think that in the near future our nation will require a more co-operative, less individualistic type of citizen than in the past; they urge that schools cease to emphasize competition between pupils for marks, and instead encourage pupils to develop their ability to conduct co-operative activities.

There is a second conception of the task of the school which would alter its character still more. According to this view the school should help to determine the kind of social order which is emerging. Thus the school would cease

to occupy itself chiefly with transmitting the manners and beliefs, the literature and the history of the past. In the time thus saved it would acquaint students with contemporary history, problems, and literature, and give them abundant practice in democratic school government and in carrying out projects for community betterment. Should this kind of school come into being it would join that small group of institutions which are trying not to perpetuate but to improve the mores.

#### WHY INSTITUTIONS RESIST CHANGE

*Cultural Inertia.* Once an organization of any kind has been built up, it tends to keep going. Witness the multiplicity of weak rural churches, each competing for members and funds in communities that might be better served by a half or a third as many churches. Or consider the excessive number of nonreligious organizations to be found in many communities. Sometimes a village of a few hundred people has a dozen or more clubs, fraternal orders, and civic organizations, most of them too weak to be effective and often duplicating one another's programs. Small rural schools may be maintained for years in areas which could support a consolidated school.

These are but a few instances of the general principle: namely, that *institutions are likely to perpetuate themselves after the need for them has passed*. There is a corollary to this principle: *institutions cling to their traditional form when it no longer serves its purpose*. For example, years of agitation may be needed to persuade a community to adopt the 6-3-3 division of school grades (six years of elementary school, three years of junior high, three years of senior high), although this arrangement has much to offer over the old 8-4 division (eight years of elementary school, four years of high school). Again, take the proposal to modify the high school course of study to adapt it to the needs of students who are not preparing for college. This proposal, which seems reasonable to its advocates, often encounters serious opposition.

The tendency of an institution to resist change is known as *cultural inertia*. It is due to (1) popular indifference, (2) conservatism, and (3) vested interest.

*Indifference.* Familiar ways are comfortable. It is easier to continue the institutions to which we are used than to go to the trouble of changing them. This is all the more true since changing an institution requires the action of many individuals. It is especially easy to be tolerant of conditions that do not appear to affect us closely. Few of those whose own children attend private schools are active in bettering the public school system. Those who live near good playgrounds and parks are not likely to be much troubled about neighborhoods that are less fortunate. Once our own needs are met, only those with imagination and strong sympathies are likely to work for the general welfare.

*Conservatism.* This is the desire to keep things as they are. Many people, especially those who have reached middle life, dislike change. They find it painful to adjust themselves to new ways, and they resent attempts to modify the institutions with which they are themselves associated. "What was good enough for my father is good enough for me," expresses the conservative attitude. Conservatism is particularly strong among primitive people, and among those living in small, isolated communities where it has not been necessary to make rapid changes in the institutions. In cities, ideas and customs are more fluid than in the country; people are more accustomed to change, and do not find it so disturbing as do most rural dwellers. Hence, city dwellers are less conservative, and more likely to endorse proposed reforms. City dwellers, indeed, are often too ready to accept new ways. Radical movements nearly always are more popular in the city than in the village.

*Vested Interest.* Another force which opposes reform is *vested interest*. Connected with every institution are individuals who derive support and prestige from it. They desire to protect their institution and have it continue unchanged, lest a change should lessen their own standing or imperil their own interests. They are at least partly selfish in their attitude toward it. Could a college professor, for

instance, whose salary is paid by a foundation created by some wealthy man, be expected to urge legislation increasing the income or the inheritance tax?

Suppose, for example, that it was proposed to make all banks in the United States the property of the government. The present owners of banks would oppose this, even though they were to be reimbursed for their property taken over by the government, because they have a vested interest in the present system of banking. Similarly, it was the slave traders and the owners of slaves who fought hardest against the abolition of slavery. Their prosperity, they felt, was dependent upon the continuation of slavery. They had a vested interest in it. A person usually has little interest in the zoning of a city until his district is about to be zoned. Then he becomes actively concerned, since the zoning regulations will affect his interests.

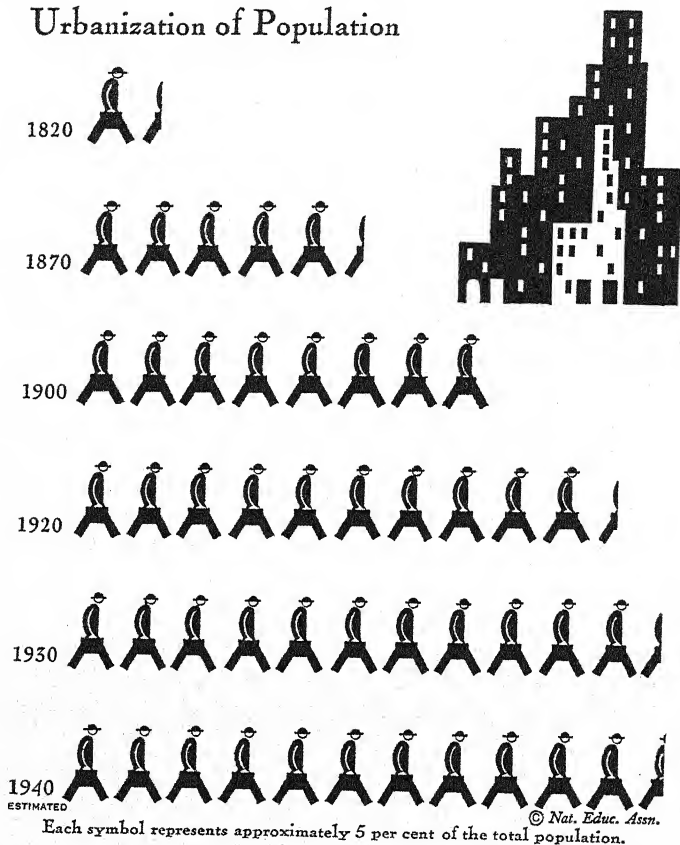
As a rule an individual is reluctant to admit that he has a vested interest in anything. He wants to believe, and to have others believe, that his motives are unselfish. To protect his institution, therefore, he searches out or even invents arguments which appear disinterested. The slaveholder found proof in the Bible that slavery was ordained by God, and the distiller and brewer protested that prohibition had destroyed personal liberty. The banker might argue that the government cannot run a business efficiently. The maker of munitions may employ publicity experts to frighten the public against a proposed reduction of the military establishment, on the grounds of patriotism and national pride and safety.

#### FOUR INFLUENCES THAT CHANGE INSTITUTIONS

Popular indifference, conservatism, and vested interest combine to delay possibly needed institutional changes. Nevertheless our institutions do change. Even the most time-honored are always in process of being made over. It is the outward form that resists alteration longest.

Inventions bring unexpected changes in institutions. The invention of the automobile has led in many areas to the

## Urbanization of Population



The growth of cities has already caused tremendous changes in our institutions.

virtual disappearance of institutions once typical of rural neighborhoods. The crossroad store, the livery stable, the district school, the camp meeting, the spelling bee, are fast disappearing.

Scientific discoveries often lead to striking changes in institutions. For instance, the discovery of vitamins and their importance in the diet has helped to arouse new interest in dietetics. Schools give instruction in dietetics; open cafeterias for serving well-balanced meals at low cost; serve

tomato juice, milk, or cod-liver oil to the younger children and to those who are underweight. As the dietary habits of the nation have improved, there has come an enlarged demand for fresh fruits and vegetables, eggs, and dairy products. Swifter freight trains, the use of trucks, better refrigeration, more suitable methods of preserving foods, more careful public inspection of foods, and more adequate relief expenditures are among the changes that have been hastened by the new knowledge of vitamins.

New ideas are always being incorporated into institutions, slowly making them over. The idea of political democracy is still effecting reforms in our institutions of government; those that seem undemocratic are eventually corrected. Political democracy has encouraged the growth of a more democratic type of family, characterized by more equal relations between husband and wife, parents and children. The democratic idea is being applied to economic institutions, and we have lately heard much of a new concept — industrial democracy, which means giving workers a voice in the management of business.

New economic conditions transform old institutions faster than anything else. The growth of the factory system during the past century and a half has changed our whole manner of life. The institutions of the home and the family have been profoundly affected. Little manufacturing is now carried on in the home; both men and women work for wages in factories, stores, and offices; the womenfolk have greater financial independence than was ever known before; the children have long years free from hard labor in which they may play and go to school. Home is less a workshop and more a place for relaxation. The family is less bound to a particular house or community, and is more free to travel about. Similarly, the members of the family are less dependent on each other, and are able to spend more of their time apart from each other than ever used to be possible. These changes in the home and the family have produced changes in all those institutions that serve the home. Scarcely any institution has not been affected in some measure by the growth of the factory system.

## ACTIVITIES

1. Summarize the chapter in one page.
2. Prepare a paper on the code of Hammurabi or that of Draco, referring to an encyclopedia for facts about these men.
3. Make a list of five institutions. Enumerate in parallel columns (a) the most important customs each perpetuates, (b) the persons connected with each, and (c) the most important things each uses.
4. Show how institutions free us and also how they bind. See Chapters X and XI in the delightful book, *Ourselves and the World*, by F. E. Lumley and B. H. Bode. Tell the story of the slave (pp. 137-8) to the class.
5. Read aloud in class the list of social ideals promulgated by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Print the list on a large decorated poster to display in the classroom. How do you think the drawing up of this list of ideals by the churches could have any practical effect?
6. Report in class interesting bits from one chapter of *The Customs of Mankind*, by Lillian Eichler. Chapter VIII, Marriage Customs, Chapter XVII, Funeral Customs, and Chapter XVIII, Concerning Children, are particularly good for use with this chapter.
7. List on the blackboard some institutions which are now under attack. Indicate ways in which they are being modified.
8. Give examples of recent or pending changes in institutions within your community.
9. Write the history of some movement for social reform such as higher education for women, women suffrage, prohibition, the income tax, or the secret ballot. Try to show how conservatism, indifference, and vested interest impeded, and how new ideas, inventions, discoveries, or economic conditions furthered, the movement. See especially *The Quest for Social Justice*, by Harold Faulkner, *Heroines of Service*, by M. R. Parkman, and *The Story of a Pioneer*, by Anna H. Shaw.
10. Prepare a paper on the future of religion. See especially *The Reconstruction of Religion* by Charles Ellwood or Chapter VI of his *Man's Social Destiny*.
11. From a popular book on ethics, such as *The Meaning of Right and Wrong*, by Richard C. Cabot, report to the class some common situations that require ethical discrimination. Ask the class how the situation should be handled before revealing the author's solution.

12. On p. 69 the artist has suggested his idea of the new education. Interpret.
13. How has the trend shown in the pictograph on p. 74 affected the family, school, and the government?

WORD STUDY

collective property	customary law	polyandry
common law	ethics	polygyny
communistic property	institution	taboo
conservatism	monogamy	technological advance
cultural inertia	mores	vested interest
	political law	

QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Which of the following are customs and which are mores?
  - The use of tablecloths and napkins
  - Rules for building of fires in the open
  - Throwing rubbish into containers provided for it
  - Refraining from copying from another pupil's paper
  - Allowing women to enter a door first
  - Telling the truth under oath
  - Paying taxes
  - Waiting for permission before entering someone's house
  - Making a gift to someone who has given you one
  - Giving correct change in any transaction with money
2. In what ways does a group of people enforce its mores? In primitive society? In modern society?
3. Is it possible for the mores of a group to become more ethical? Can you illustrate this from modern life?
4. Why is a police system less effective than a system of taboos?
5. Name some taboos which still exist among us.
6. Is conscience always a reliable guide for action? Why or why not?
7. In what cases, if any, do you think an individual might be justified in following the dictates of his own conscience when that involves going contrary to the prevailing mores? What is the danger of such action to the individual and also to the welfare of the group?
8. What is the function of good manners?
9. Give and illustrate the three parts of an institution.

10. Are there any institutions which are not conservative? Explain.
11. What happens when written law is outgrown by the mores?
12. Account for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.
13. If you wished to introduce a new system of taxation, who might oppose you? Explain.
14. Do judges make law? Explain. Do you think they should be elected or appointed? Should they be subject to recall from office?
15. How has the common law been a unifying influence throughout the English-speaking countries?
16. Which is more exclusively concerned with perpetuating tradition, the family or the school? Defend your answer.
17. What collective property exists in your community?
18. What additional types of collective property are being advocated today? In your community? State? Nation?
19. Could you solve any public problem by merely passing legislation? Discuss. Is better legislation usually an important step?
20. What four influences produce changes in institutions? How many illustrations can you cite?

#### READINGS

- Astley, H. J. D., *Biblical Anthropology*  
 Benedict, Ruth, *Patterns of Culture*  
 Breasted, James H., *The Dawn of Conscience*  
 Browne, Lewis, *This Believing World*  
 Cabot, Richard C., *The Meaning of Right and Wrong*  
 Eichler, Lillian, *The Customs of Mankind; with Notes on Modern Etiquette and Entertainment* (A fascinating book)  
 Ellwood, Charles, *Man's Social Destiny and Reconstruction of Religion*  
 Houf, Horace T., *What Religion Is and Does*  
 Johnson, F. Ernest, *Economics and the Good Life*  
 Lowie, Robert H., *Are We Civilized?* chaps. xiv and xv (Entertaining)  
 Marett, R. R., *Anthropology*, chap. vii, Law; chap. viii, Religion (Popularly written)  
 Niebuhr, Reinhold, *Does Civilization Need Religion?*  
 Ogburn, William F., *Social Change*, Part III, Cultural Inertia and Conservatism; Part IV, Social Maladjustments (Fairly difficult but valuable)  
 Potter, Charles, *The Story of Religion*

## Unit III

### *Human Nature and How Culture Molds It*

THOSE who would modify our institutions in the hope of making them more suitable for present-day conditions are often told, "You can't change human nature." When you have finished Unit III you will perceive that this hoary argument has been over-worked. You will see why social scientists believe that human beings can be educated to take their places in a social order that is much more highly organized than is our present one. You will also understand that education is a process that begins at birth, and that its foundations are already laid when the child reaches the public school.

In Chapter 5 we shall seek to understand the inborn equipment which is common to all human beings, and whether a baby is born with a set of instincts like those possessed by a puppy or a kitten. In Chapter 6 we shall inquire into the differences between people, and the importance of inheritance, race, and sex in determining ability. This chapter will help answer the question, Which is more important, heredity or environment? Chapter 7 explains what environment does to the growing personality, and why ideas and attitudes are often wrongly held to be inherited, simply because they appear in succeeding generations.

These three chapters are an introduction to one of the most useful and interesting fields of modern knowledge — the scientific study of human nature. There is no social science of more importance to the creation of a better society.



# Chapter 5

## OUR INBORN EQUIPMENT FOR LIFE

*All our life, so far as it has definite form, is but a mass of habits — practical, emotional, and intellectual — systematically organized for our weal or woe, and bearing us irresistibly toward our destiny, whatever the latter may be.*

WILLIAM JAMES

*Behavior Is Adjustment.* All living animals are trying to make the best possible adjustment to their surroundings. It is therefore necessary for them to be sensitive to conditions around them, and equally necessary for them to have various ways in which to respond to conditions. Even one-celled animals are in some degree sensitive and responsive, while all but the very simplest of multicellular animals possess tissues that are specialized to receive stimuli and to control behavior. These specialized tissues are known as the *nervous system*. The term *behavior* means activity of any kind; it may be conscious or unconscious, but the word includes whatever mental states accompany the activity.

*How an Amoeba Behaves.* Among the simplest forms of animal life is the amoeba, a one-celled creature which lives in stagnant water. If you place an amoeba in a drop of water under the microscope, you can watch it idly drifting with the current. If you then place a particle containing microscopic plants or animals in the drop of water, the amoeba will probably move toward these small beings, and wrap itself around one of them. You may also place the merest trace of a weak solution of hydrochloric acid on one edge of the globule of water; the amoeba will shortly move as far as it can from the acid.

In these two cases the amoeba received a chemical stimulus, and responded either by going toward or away from the stimulus. The equipment of an amoeba is very limited. It can receive only very simple chemical, light, and temperature stimuli. It has only four possible responses — retreating, advancing, dividing in two, and changing into an inactive, tough-walled form known as a cyst, when its surroundings become too unsuitable. Its behavior is at all times an attempt to adjust itself to external conditions. It is not aware of the presence of other amoebae and cannot have any group life.

*How a Dog Excels an Amoeba.* The behavior of one of the higher animals is a striking advance over that of the amoeba. Let us take the dog. Like the amoeba, it receives stimuli, but there is a vast difference between the number of stimuli a dog and an amoeba can receive. The dog smells, tastes, hears, sees, and is aware of touch and temperature. It can even learn to understand sounds and gestures. Its environment, therefore, is very much richer and more complex than that of the amoeba. Likewise, the dog has a large number of possible responses, so that it can make a much more complete and secure adjustment to its environment. In short, the dog adjusts to a great variety of situations of which the amoeba cannot even be aware.

*Man's Complex Behavior.* Like the amoeba and the dog, man, too, receives and responds to stimuli. But what a tremendous range of stimuli a man can receive! How complicated is the environment to which he is sensitive! The mere expression of another's face, the beauty of the landscape, music, subtle flavors, textures, the printed page — these and a thousand things that mean nothing to an animal are full of meaning to a man. Because he is so sensitive, man's adjustments can be exceedingly delicate and varied.

As civilization advances, man's environment grows ever more complicated, demanding more and more intricate adjustments, and requiring more elaborate education to enable him to make these adjustments. Consider, for example, the knowledge and skill that automobile drivers need to possess. Safe driving requires quick thinking, good co-ordination be-

tween the brain and the limbs that work the controls, good judgment of the speed of other cars and the distances between them, and habits of caution and consideration for others. Some students of the problem of preventing automobile accidents think that these requirements are greater than can be expected of the average individual. They recommend that driving licenses be issued only to those who can pass rigorous mental and physical tests.

Automobile driving is an extreme example of the demands civilization makes upon human nature. In most cases where men do not seem to meet the demands of civilization, it is probable that what is needed is better training or wiser regulation of individuals. While it is true that there are some laggard or defective individuals for whom civilization is already too complicated, we do not need to fear that the great majority of men have by any means reached the limit of their capacity to make adjustments.

*The Unity of Behavior.* It is convenient to speak of body and mind as if they were distinct, but in reality they are inseparable. Any physical craving or injury is made known to the mind, and the longer it continues, the more fully does it occupy the mind. Likewise, anything in the environment which disturbs the mind is certain to affect the body. An insult is at once reflected in stiffened posture, tense muscles, a whiteness or a redness of the face, and a quickened heart-beat. There is no disease which does not affect both the mind and the body. The so-called mental diseases are nearly always accompanied by a degree of physical deterioration.

The mind and the body are complementary to each other and inseparable in human behavior. When we speak of mental activity we are trying to emphasize the part played by consciousness. But even the quietest meditation is conducted by thinking of words, and the thought of a word causes it to be shaped by the vocal organs. Many people cannot read without visible movements of the lips, and some cannot read without actually sounding the words. There is, then, no purely mental activity.

In place of the word "body," it is often better to use the word *organism*. An organism is an individual composed of

many parts all acting as a whole in pursuit of some goal. Each part affects and is affected by the other parts of the organism. The human organism is at its best when it is moving harmoniously (without internal conflict) and successfully toward a desired goal.

*Most of Man's Behavior Is Social.* Nearly everything that a grown person does is carried out in a particular way that he believes will be approved, or at least accepted, by those around him. He eats, dresses, and cares for his person and belongings in the socially prescribed ways. Even when he is alone he is likely to behave according to the standards of his group; he feels more or less uncomfortable or ashamed if he violates these standards. Nearly all his behavior is social in the sense that it conforms to social standards.

It is difficult to think of any act of an adult that is purely an individual act. In the baby, of course, we may observe much behavior that is strictly individual, having no reference to social requirements. A baby does not hide his yawns and sneezes. If he is warm, he does not care whether or not he is naked. He does not know that there are accepted rules to be followed when eating. But as he grows up, more and more of his behavior will conform to social patterns. The time will soon come when he will consciously strive for social approval in everything he does.

*Do Human Beings Have Instincts?* Animals seem to be born with many definite patterns of conduct which they do not have to learn. As cold weather approaches and their food supply runs short, reptiles and amphibians find shelter where they can hibernate through the winter. In the spring when salmon and herring reach maturity they struggle upstream to their birthplace in order to lay their eggs. Such inborn tendencies to respond to a given situation in a definite way are known as *instincts*. It is very doubtful that human beings are equipped with any unlearned patterns of behavior as elaborate and definite as the instincts of animals.

Human beings are, however, born with some inherited patterns of conduct. These are chiefly very simple acts necessary for individual or racial survival. Scientists call these acts *reflexes*. Examples of reflexes are: blinking the eye to

avoid a flying particle, spitting out a bitter substance, jerking back from a hot object, swallowing, sucking, crying out when hungry or alarmed, sneezing, and coughing. Most of these are ready to function at birth. A few others appear at later stages of maturity.

Among the reflexes are certain physical tensions, including hunger, thirst, the need to eliminate, and the restless longing which is produced by hormones from the reproductive organs. All of these are present throughout life. In the little child the reproductive tension produces the desire to be held and cuddled. As he grows up he finds additional satisfaction for this craving in smiles and affectionate words. He may also learn to satisfy the craving in social give and take, in the imaginative companionship of books, in music and the arts, and in religion. Although all the tensions are deeply rooted in man's original nature, they are, to a remarkable degree, subject to training. How they will be expressed and satisfied depends upon family and social customs. For example, medieval peasants ate but one meal a day, while early man ate very irregularly, whenever he could find food.

*The Emotions.* Human beings are also equipped at birth with a few basic emotional responses. These are the fear-anger emotion and love. In the baby the fear-anger emotion is expressed when he is hungry or uncomfortable, when he is roughly handled, when his arms or legs are held tightly, when he is physically hurt, or when he hears a loud, sharp noise. Until learning has taken place, no other stimuli will produce this emotion. The fear-anger emotion is accompanied by profound bodily changes. The circulation is speeded up, digestion ceases, and the liver releases its reserves of sugar into the blood stream to provide extra energy for the muscles. For the time being the body is stronger than usual, can fight harder, or run faster than ordinarily. After the emotion subsides there may be exhaustion, loss of appetite, indigestion, and other physical disturbances, mild or severe.

The child soon learns to distinguish between situations best met by fighting and those best met by running away. His emotional disturbance can then be described as anger

or as fear. If he struggles he is angry, but if he tries to escape he is afraid. At other times, the emotion seems to be merely a disagreeable state of excitement, as in the tired, cross child or the irritable adult. In the older child and the adult the blocking of deep-seated desires produces a kind of long-drawn-out anger known as *frustration*. A lack of security produces *anxiety*, which is a state of long-continued fear.

Besides fear and anger there is another basic emotional response with which all human beings are born. This is love. It is the inward state of well-being. The baby gives evidence of love when he is gently tickled or stroked on any sensitive area of the body. This is the native, sensitive-zone response. Love is not felt when any of the physical tensions are clamoring for satisfaction. The baby will not respond lovingly to a caress when he is very hungry, thirsty, cold, or uncomfortable. Similarly the adult cannot enter fully into friendly and affectionate behavior when one of these tensions is uppermost in his consciousness.

In contrast to fear and anger, love is beneficial to the organism. Love creates a sense of physical well-being, unity, harmony, and courage. It encourages the individual to enter freely into social relationships. It takes his mind off himself, thus helping him to sympathize with others. It makes for a maximum of accomplishment with a minimum of strain and friction. Happy is he who is dominated by love rather than fear and anger.

Which of these inborn emotions is to dominate an individual depends chiefly on his emotional experiences in childhood. The anxious or frustrated individual has been too often placed in situations that aroused fear and anger, these emotions finally becoming habitual. The cheerful, friendly individual probably grew up in a loving, harmonious family where fear and anger were rarely felt, and where the problems of life were met calmly and with courage.

*Random Movements.* The simplest activity of human beings is random movement. This is best seen in the baby. His apparently purposeless and disconnected gestures give practice to the nerves and muscles, until they learn to act together to accomplish something useful. In the midst of



many unnecessary motions, the baby executes some that are successful. This gives him pleasure and he repeats the action. By repetition he learns a regular, economical method of obtaining what he wants. If a red apple is held close to a baby's face, he will make many movements until he succeeds in grasping it. The gurgles and strange sounds he makes are the random movements of his vocal organs. These give him pleasure so that he practices them continually, and from practice comes the teamwork of muscle and brain that will presently enable him to talk.

The tendency to make random movements is part of in-born human nature. These movements are the material from which physical habits are gradually organized. As we grow up we no longer need random movements, since we have learned how to do nearly everything that we wish to do. Except when we are learning a new physical habit the tendency to make them largely disappears. However, when fatigued or excited, the adult may show such random activity as twitchings of the face.

*Feeling.* We have two feelings, pleasure and displeasure, one of which accompanies all behavior. We tend to continue any activity that is pleasant, and to cease doing whatever is unpleasant. We are often not aware of having any feeling until something happens that interferes with what we are doing. Then the feeling of displeasure reminds us that our former condition was pleasurable, and we seek to make adjustments that will restore it.

Sunlight suddenly produces a glare upon your open book. Your reading is interrupted by displeasure, and you move your book or your desk, or raise or lower a window shade, to get rid of the glare. Thus feeling helps to maintain a comfortable adjustment to the immediate surroundings.

Civilized man often has to disregard his feelings. In doing almost any kind of work, for instance, we must school ourselves to overlook such displeasures as monotony, fatigue, uncomfortable surroundings, and unfavorable weather. Only when the unpleasantness produced by these things becomes unbearable do we abandon our efforts. However, any activity that we are obliged to carry on despite a strong feel-

ing of unpleasantness exhausts us much more quickly than the same activity would were the conditions more agreeable. That is why the housewife tries to make her kitchen, where she has to spend so many hours, a comfortable and attractive place. That is why humane employers seek to provide clean, sunny, well-ventilated workrooms for those who work for them; it is not only kind to do so, it is economical.

*The Power to Form Habits.* A habit is a learned pattern of behavior, just as the instincts of an animal are inherited patterns of behavior. A habit consists of a series of unconscious, or nearly unconscious, acts, each act being a stimulus for the next in the series. Getting dressed in the morning, setting a table for a meal, starting an automobile, are examples of habits.

Man is nowhere more clearly at an advantage over the animals than in his superior power to form habits, instead of being limited chiefly to hard-and-fast inherited patterns of conduct. Unlike the animals, he can change his behavior with each new generation, establishing whatever habits will serve him better. Thus he has been able to rise higher and higher in civilization, for civilization is largely a matter of more and better habits.

Habits release the mind from having to reflect and oversee a great deal of behavior. Reflection takes place only when an unaccustomed situation arises, for which there is no appropriate habit. In more customary situations reflection is unnecessary, since the suitable response is habitual.

Each of us is a bundle of habits. The differences between us are largely a matter of the habits we possess. It is their respective habits that chiefly distinguish a Frenchman from an American, an Indian from a Negro, an industrious man from a lazy man, or an upright person from a criminal.

*The Four Wishes.* One of the most helpful ways of explaining human behavior is to consider it an attempt to satisfy four wishes:

1. The wish for security (from physical want, illness, accident, enemies, and death). This desire is at the bottom of most of our effort. Until it is satisfied we give little attention to our other wishes.

2. The wish for response (for love and fellowship from others, including members of one's own sex, the opposite sex, and children). The longing for response has its roots in the reproductive tension. It leads people to associate together for play, religious observances, social ceremonial, and social service. It is the basis for all affectionate, religious, and idealistic conduct. The highest behavior of which man is capable is motivated by this wish. The happiest individuals are those in whom this wish is highly developed.

3. The wish for new experience, stimulation, or adventure (for something that will give a sense of change, excitement, or growth). This wish is most prominent in the young. It causes the young child continuously to explore his surroundings, tasting and handling everything within his reach. It makes him curious, so that he is eager to learn how things work and why. It leads him to climb trees, throw stones, shout even when there is no one to hear, play in the water, make grimaces and contortions, and perform all sorts of acts of no utility except to give him stimulation. Some adults find satisfaction for this wish in sport, travel, research, art, and construction. Others seek its satisfaction in gambling, drink, drugs, vice, or crime.

4. The wish for recognition or superiority (to stand out in some way from those around us). The wish for superiority is a powerful drive in our society; it is revealed in the urge to get ahead. Easily overdeveloped, this wish is responsible for a great deal of unnecessary strain and anxiety. In some individuals the desire for superiority comes to be the dominant drive; they are miserable unless they are the acknowledged leaders of their groups. There is, for instance, the girl who feels compelled to be the most fashionable or the most popular or the prettiest in any gathering she attends; the youth who has to excel his partners in sport (or he won't play); the man who has to tell the raciest story of the evening; the woman who has to outdo her friends in costly furnishings and entertainment.

In the well-adjusted individual no one of the four wishes is excessively developed. He is satisfied with a reasonable degree of security and recognition, and he has learned many

desirable ways of satisfying his needs for response and new experience. Because his wishes are well-balanced, he does not fulfill one at the expense of another. By means of a sensible life-plan he moves steadily toward the harmonious fulfillment of all four. Thus a high school senior might be following a careful plan to prepare himself for his vocation, while pursuing a rounded program of study, physical education, and social activity. In carrying through this program he would be winning, both now and for the future, security, response, new experience, and recognition.

*The Six Drives.* Another way of explaining human behavior is to view it as a response to six fundamental drives that run all the way through life from birth to death. Like the four wishes, the six drives are thought of as rooted in man's original nature, and like the wishes, they are expressed only in the ways permitted by the existing state of culture. The four wishes and the six drives are not contradictory. Either or both may be used to explain the conduct of a given individual in a given situation.

1. The drive away from physical deprivation toward physical well-being. Away from pain, thirst, hunger, and the need for sleep, toward the harmonious functioning of the organism in all its parts.

2. The drive away from failure and disappointment toward achievement, success, and mastery. Away from anything that thwarts, and toward a situation in which one may have one's own way. The normal human being craves to be self-directing. Even the child wants to participate in controlling its own affairs, and this need becomes more insistent as the child develops.

3. The drive away from being ignored or looked down upon, toward being recognized, approved, and admired. The child who is ignored may do something naughty in order to attract notice. The worst boy in the class may only be trying to get recognition; he has probably not learned how to win it in any other way. Much unhappiness and much undesirable behavior result from the thwarting of this drive.

4. The drive away from being unwanted toward being loved. The individual wants intimacy, tenderness, and a

sense of belonging. Young people who are denied this precious sense of being loved and wanted by their parents are often sorely tempted to seek it in illicit companionships. If they enter temporary relationships of this type, they may become less able to establish the permanent family life in which the lasting satisfaction of this drive can be secured.

The drive toward being wanted and loved is what makes social relationships agreeable. In a better society than ours this drive would be dominant over the drives for success and for recognition, and happiness would therefore be more widespread. Not everyone can be successful and attain recognition, but everyone can learn to make himself wanted. Those who take love as their highest value, rather than material success and fame, are following the central teaching of the Christian religion — God is love.

5. The drive away from worry, anxiety, and fear, and toward security and peace of mind. Because of the uncertainties and disorders of our times, it is very difficult for the individual to satisfy this drive. Modern society is already being forced to take steps to promote security.

6. The drive away from boredom, dullness, and monotony, toward new experience and zestful activity. Modern civilization, with its new methods of travel, communication, and entertainment has gone far in making it easy for us to have an abundance of new experience and zestful activity. The number and variety of the experiences enjoyed by the average person seem to be growing at an ever faster rate.

*Conclusion.* It is not easy to determine exactly how much of human behavior is original — that is, unlearned — and students of psychology are not perfectly agreed. It appears, however, that very few of the actions of civilized adults are unlearned. In fact, the reflexes, like swallowing and sneezing, may be the only acts which are rigidly dictated by nature. Man apparently possesses few of the inherited patterns of behavior that are seen in animals. His unlearned behavior is simple, and most of it is soon modified by his experiences. For this reason it is better to avoid speaking of human instincts, and to use instead the terms *reflexes*, *tensions*, *drives*, or *wishes*.



All behavior results from the effort of the organism to make a better adjustment to its surroundings. The organism always responds to its environment as a unit, and anything which injures it in any part is injurious to every other part. For this reason it is misleading to speak of the mind and body as if they could be separated. When the organism is moving successfully toward a goal, all the parts function smoothly and there is a feeling of well-being and harmony. This makes for a high quality of social relationships. When the organism encounters a serious obstacle in its path, the internal drives are blocked, and the emotion of fear-anger is aroused. Fear and anger temporarily give the organism greater strength, but are followed by a period of exhaustion. Fear and anger produce a low quality of social relationships.

As culture advances, it becomes easier for men to fulfill the wishes that are common to all human beings. Society removes one by one the obstacles that block the great human drives. Thus human nature becomes better adjusted, less subject to anxiety and frustration, and therefore, happier.

Some of the basic drives and wishes, such as the wish for recognition, may be overstimulated. When this occurs, the individual is very likely to be frustrated in reaching his goal. In making love the highest value in the universe, Christian teachings are helping men to lead happier lives. For love is the emotion that is beneficial both to the organism and to society. In proportion as people seek to be loved, they strive to be gentle, sympathetic, and helpful. By becoming lovable, they assure themselves of being always loved. As more and more of their behavior is motivated by love, rather than by fear or anger, they reach a high level of well-being and effectiveness.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. Read further, taking notes, on the relation of mind and body. See Chapter I of Myerson's *Foundations of Personality*; Chapter II of Strecker and Appel's *Discovering Ourselves*; Chapters XII and XVIII of Herrick's *The Thinking Machine*, and other references.
2. Read further, taking notes, on the use and control of emotions. See especially Chapter IV of Tead's *Human Nature and*

*Management, and Symonds' Mental Hygiene of the School Child.*

3. Make a list of your own goals. Try to determine which drives are propelling you toward each goal. List the barriers that stand in the way. Tabulate in parallel columns the results of your self-analysis. Underline the drives that seem to dominate your behavior.
4. List on the blackboard characters from literature with which the class is familiar. Can you agree as to which drives are most prominent in each?
5. List the great men and women with whose lives American school children are most familiar. Can you discover any in whom the drives for mastery and recognition were not dominant? Which would be the most suitable models for the great mass of people of ordinary ability?
6. Appoint a committee to compile from the New Testament all the verses which extol love. Include the famous description of love in I. Corinthians, Chapter 13, Verses 4-8; (in modern editions the word "love" has been substituted for the word "charity" used in older editions).
7. Look over some of the books on psychology listed at the ends of the chapters in this and the following unit. Select one for careful reading. If you find it interesting and helpful, recommend it to the class.
8. Interpret the drawing on p. 80. Find the amoeba.

#### WORD STUDY

anxiety	frustration	organism
behavior	habit	random movement
emotion	instinct	reflex
feeling	nervous system	tension

#### QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Show that man's environment is more complicated than a dog's.
2. What is meant by the unity of mind and body?
3. Why do not cows and horses accumulate culture?
4. How does the possession of many instincts affect the need of young animals for education?
5. Can you see one reason for the long infancy of the human baby?

6. What is wrong with these statements?
  - a. "Napoleon's instinct for leadership made him great."
  - b. "Mary knew instinctively that her sister had been crying."
  - c. "He has an instinct for telling the truth."
7. How large a proportion of adult behavior is governed by habit?
8. Do you think living by a schedule helps one to accomplish more? Does this illustrate any advantages in organizing behavior into as many habits as possible? Explain.
9. Classify each of the following as due to a reflex, instinct, emotion, drive, or habit:
  - a. The jerking of your foot when you strike just below the kneecap, one knee being crossed above the other.
  - b. Turning red or white when insulted.
  - c. Going to the refrigerator or pantry for food when hungry.
  - d. The crying of a baby when it is hungry.
  - e. Fighting when cornered by an enemy.
  - f. Seeking companionship.
  - g. Removing the hat in the presence of women.
  - h. The child's becoming naughty when company comes.
  - i. Losing appetite when very happy or very sad.
  - j. Puckering of the mouth when eating something sour.
  - k. Making an effort to please other people.
  - l. Trying to get high marks.
  - m. Weakness of knees just before appearing on public platform.
10. Name some of the random movements of a baby. Why is it considered good practice to dress a baby in short, loose clothing?
11. What caution should be observed in speaking of instincts in the human being?
12. Are each of the four wishes equally strong throughout life? Explain.
13. Which wish is most important to happiness? In youth? In age?
14. Which wish is least easily satisfied? Why?
15. Which wish is most easily satisfied? Why?
16. In colonial days, and on the frontier, what were the usual methods of attaining security? Are any of these still possible today? Where?
17. Show that fear and anger make for a low quality of social relationships.
18. Show that love makes for a high quality of social relationships.

READINGS

- Groves, Ernest R., *Personality and Social Adjustment*  
Herrick, C. Judson, *The Thinking Machine* (For good readers)  
Jastrow, Joseph, *Piloting Your Life*  
Kreuger, E. T., and Reckless, Walter C., *Social Psychology*,  
chap. vii, The Analysis of Wishes, and pp. 158-65, on instincts  
Myerson, Abraham, *The Foundations of Personality*  
Strecker, Edward A., and Appel, Kenneth E., *Discovering Our-  
selves*  
Symonds, Percival M., *Mental Hygiene of the School Child*, chap. iv,  
Drives (Easy)  
Tead, Ordway, *Human Nature and Management*  
Woodworth, Robert S., *Adjustment and Mastery* (Highly recom-  
mended)

## Chapter 6

### THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PEOPLE

*Secure for each child the best environment for that child. This requires study of each child; of his constitution or heredity; the measurement of his capacities; an alert attitude toward his reaction to special environments. Study each child as a lock, unique in its mechanism; and then devise the special key that will fit that lock.*

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILD HEALTH AND PROTECTION

As you look around your classroom you see individuals who differ widely in their physical characteristics. You are also aware that they differ in intelligence. Some have demonstrated special abilities in music, drawing, mechanics, or mathematics. One or two are remarkably bright. A few are so slow that they barely can keep up with the class. How do you explain these variations? Are they wholly due to hereditary differences? May they be partly due to environmental conditions? Which is more important, the biological or the social heritage?

#### INHERITED VERSUS ACQUIRED TRAITS

*The Gene Theory.* A person begins his existence as a single cell, the fertilized egg, which is formed from the germ cells of two different individuals, the parents. The fertilized egg contains many distinct and tiny packets of chemicals known as *genes*. These are the carriers of heredity. The genes are arranged in two parallel strings like strings of beads. For each gene in one string there is a corresponding gene in the other; each pair of genes will influence a trait (such as skin color, length of the skull, sensitivity of the nervous tissue,

## Heredity

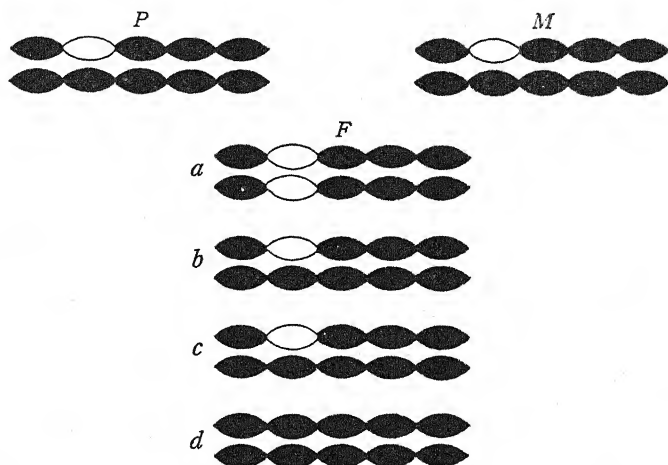


Diagram of genes, to illustrate the results in heredity when each parent has one defective gene (white) in the same pair. The parents, *P* and *M*, having a normal gene in each pair are not defective. Of the children (*F*), some receive a defective gene from each parent, as at *a*; such will be personally defective. Others receive but one defective gene (*b* and *c*), or none (*d*); these will not be defective. From *The Biological Basis of Human Nature*, by H. S. Jennings. Courtesy of W. W. Norton and Co.

etc.) in the new individual. One member of each pair of genes was contributed by each parent; the two members of the pair may be alike or different. If they are unlike, one gene may be *dominant* over the other, as the gene for brown eyes is dominant over that for blue eyes. In that case, the individual will have brown eyes. To each one of his children, however, he may transmit either the gene for brown or that for blue eyes, since his germ cells carry both kinds of genes. The gene for blue eyes is *recessive* or latent. Only when two recessive genes are present in a pair will the recessive trait be able to appear. Any blue-eyed person, therefore, must carry genes for blue eyes but not for any other color of eyes.

According to geneticists, any given gene may be defective. Every individual is thought to have some or many defective

genes, some of them slightly defective, others seriously defective. Generally the defect will appear in the individual only if both members of a given pair of genes are defective — that is, if the same defect was transmitted by both parents. When only one gene of a given pair is defective, it is generally offset by the normal or superior gene in that pair coming from the other parent. In other words, most defective genes are recessive, while normal genes are dominant over them. Hence, when an individual with a hereditary defect such as color-blindness, skin spots, albinism, or deformity marries an individual who is normal, their offspring will probably be normal. However, an individual who is normal may carry a defective gene. If such an individual marries one carrying the same kind of defective gene, the defective genes may chance to come together in some of their offspring. This explains why a normal couple may sometimes have a child with a hereditary defect. Not all of their children would be likely to have this defect; on the average the defect would be expected to appear in one out of four of their children.

*Can Defective Genes Be Eliminated?* Defective genes are known to cause some types of blindness and deafness, some cases of feeble-mindedness, a few types of insanity, some deformities, and a few unusual diseased conditions such as haemophilia — which causes excessive bleeding from wounds — and Huntington's chorea. Of course it would be desirable to eliminate these defective genes.

When a defect is dominant, it could be eliminated in one generation. It would only be necessary to prevent individuals with the defect from having children. However, the more important defects are thought to be recessive. They are chiefly transmitted by normal carriers, who have a single defective gene and a normal companion gene in the same pair. As these normal carriers (hybrids) cannot be identified until after they have had numerous offspring, there seems to be little hope of preventing the transmission of hereditary defects.

*All Traits Are both Hereditary and Environmental.* All kinds of human characteristics — physical, physiological,

mental — are influenced by the genes. The genes represent the *possibilities* of the individual. He cannot exceed these possibilities, however favorable may be the environment which surrounds him. Nevertheless, the possibilities contained in the genes are very numerous, and under average conditions, few of them are realized. Musical ability is now known to be widely distributed; in most children it is not stimulated and encouraged sufficiently early, and for this reason they never become capable musicians. Great musicians, without exception, begin in early childhood to devote hours every day to their musical education. In the same way, other talents, physical, mental, and social, commonly go to waste for lack of early and persistent training. The inherited possibilities are there, but they are not stimulated to develop.

Which of the inherited possibilities will develop is decided by the kind of stimuli which play upon the individual. We can understand this readily when we consider the lower animals. The queen bee can be developed from an ordinary larva, simply by feeding her upon a special type of food. A well-bred dairy cow if badly handled and poorly fed may provide milk only for her own calf; on the other hand, properly cared for, she can provide milk sufficient for several calves. A hen from a high egg-laying strain can be stimulated to lay from two to three hundred eggs a year, but if left outdoors to shift for herself, she may lay only twenty or thirty eggs a year. The human organism also displays extraordinary powers of responding to various environments.

We do not inherit characteristics but material which under one set of conditions will produce one characteristic and under a different set of conditions will produce another.

*Acquired Characteristics Are Not Inherited.* Nothing that an individual learns or experiences during his lifetime can be inherited by his children. The most learned scholar may transmit to his children his mental ability, but nothing at all of what he has studied. They must begin at the beginning, just as he began. The children of an artist may inherit the special ability of their parent, but they must work

as long and as hard as he did before they may hope to attain the same skill.

Acquired physical traits, also, are not transmitted. A small, weak, malnourished parent may have children that are normal in every way, provided that his small size and his weakness were due to malnourishment and not to inheritance. The record-holding sprinter may transmit to his children the strong heart, the long legs, and the good constitution that made it possible for him to train himself as a sprinter, but he cannot transmit the skill which came to him as the result of years of practice.

*Civilization Consists of Acquired Traits.* There is not a particle of evidence that the biological nature of man has changed in many thousands of years, since, in fact, Cro-Magnon man appeared upon earth. The differences between us and the most primitive of our Cro-Magnon ancestors must therefore be due to differences in culture and not to differences in ability.

*No Two Persons Have the Same Environment.* It is certain that no two individuals (except identical twins) are ever born with exactly the same inheritance. Even brothers and sisters usually differ considerably in the combinations of genes that they have received from their parents. What is not so well understood is that no two persons ever have the same environment.

Even twins do not meet the same experiences from hour to hour and day to day; one, for example, might stray away from home and have a bad fright that might have long-lasting effects on his personality. Or one might meet with a painful accident in early life, suffering an emotional shock capable of leaving permanent scars on his mind. An emotional experience in early childhood may sometimes alter the direction in which the personality is growing, making it turn away from certain types of experience which otherwise it might have enjoyed.

When siblings (brothers and sisters) show striking differences of personality, people commonly believe that these are due to inherited differences. "John has his father's ambition," they say, "but Richard favors his mother's father,



who was queer." Or, of another family, "Ellen hasn't inherited her mother's good temper; her little brother has." A closer look at the environment of these children might show marked differences in the influences that surround them.

John, perhaps, is the oldest child. He has been told since babyhood that he is like his father, and has taken his father for a model. Praise and encouragement have been lavished upon him. He is self-confident and self-reliant, with clear

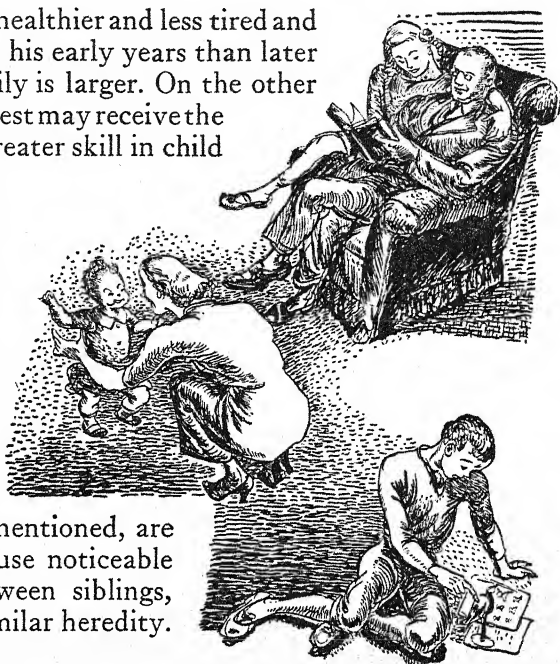
plans for a future in his father's business. His brother Richard, two years younger, has had to struggle to obtain any recognition at all. Preoccupied with John and a baby sister, his parents have not paid much attention to Richard. He has given up trying to compete with John; he no longer even tries to be like him. Instead he "musses around" with chemicals, and untidy collections of insects and stuffed birds. When his relatives call him queer, he is content that at last he is being noticed. As his reputation for queerness grows, he feels obliged to act as if he really were queer. The role may prove so satisfactory in attention-getting that he will adopt it permanently.

Ellen was a good-tempered child until her baby brother appeared. After that she received much less attention and affection than she was used to. She was blindly jealous of the brother, who seemed to be more dearly loved by her parents, and she sometimes struck or pinched him. The punishment that followed increased her unhappiness. She began to have temper tantrums. Older people would say, in her presence, "Ellen has a terrible temper." Then they would try to find something to soothe her. Thus the undesirable behavior pattern was continually reinforced, although with wiser handling it might easily have been eradicated.

Siblings do not share an identical environment. The order of their birth is responsible for important differences in their experiences. The oldest child in the family tends to develop habits of self-assertion, independence, and responsibility for others. The youngest child is "babied," and tends to be slow in outgrowing childish behavior, often developing traits of dependence, submission, and the appealing ways that attract a protective attitude from others. The middle children will struggle with each other and with the oldest for recognition, perhaps becoming unduly aggressive or unduly submissive.

Moreover, the parents' attitude toward each of the children is sure to differ; each parent may unconsciously have a favorite child. The first-born child is likely to have somewhat more care and attention than any of the others. The

parents may be healthier and less tired and irritable during his early years than later when their family is larger. On the other hand, the youngest may receive the benefit of the greater skill in child training that his parents have acquired; he also may benefit from an improved family income. Such influences as these, and numerous others that might be mentioned, are sufficient to cause noticeable differences between siblings, despite their similar heredity.



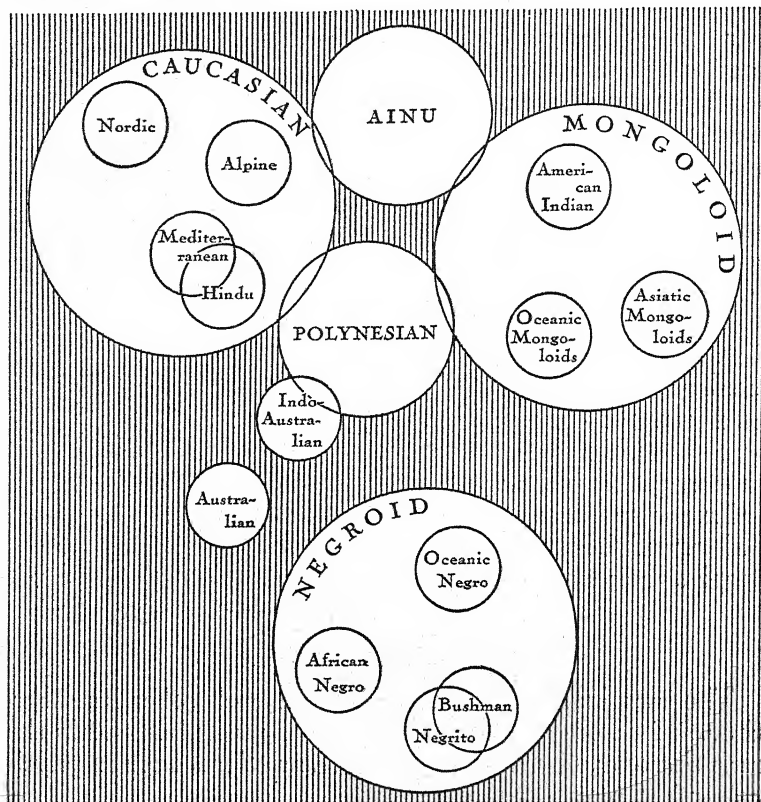
#### RACIAL DIFFERENCES

The members of a race differ from each other less than they differ from the members of other races; but within the race there may be a wide range of variations, both in physical and in mental characteristics.

A pure race is one that has not recently intermingled with another race. The few areas where pure races can be seen today are on the fringes of habitation — regions so unattractive that men are not induced to go there to remain. One such group are the Eskimos, or oceanic Mongoloids. Another group are the Ainu, who live in desolate rocky islands in the northern part of the Japanese empire. The Negritos and the Bushmen are also pure races, living in parts of Africa where the climate is so hot or moist that other peoples can scarcely survive.

It is believed that long before written history began, some races had been driven from their native homes by climatic

## Relationship of Human Races



From *Anthropology*, by Alfred L. Krocher.  
Courtesy of Harcourt, Brace and Co.

Distances between centers show nearness of relationship

changes and famine, and had settled in far distant places. In their new homes they usually killed off part of the natives whom they found there, and intermarried with the remainder. Since history began, we know that there has been a still larger amount of racial mixing due to conquest, colonization, and commerce. This explains why there are so few places in the world where people of a single, pure racial type may now be found.

*Classification of Races.* The most useful classification of races recognizes three divisions — Caucasians, Mongoloids,

and Negroids. Roughly speaking, these are whites, yellows, and blacks. Yet the color line is of little value, for the Hindu, who is very dark, is a Caucasian; the American Indian is a Mongoloid; the several types of Negroid vary from brown to intense black. Scientists rely on the shape of head, nose, and the cross section of the hair to identify each type. The three great divisions are subdivided into races. The diagram on page 106 gives the relationship between them, and that on page 109 shows their principal homes.

A few of the races cannot be classified as belonging to any of the three principal divisions. They probably represent a very ancient blend of two or all three of these divisions.

Because nearly all groups of men are of very mixed descent, the word "race" has little meaning. It is usually better to speak of "ethnic groups" or "peoples." An ethnic group is a mixture of racial strains long lost or blended beyond recognition.

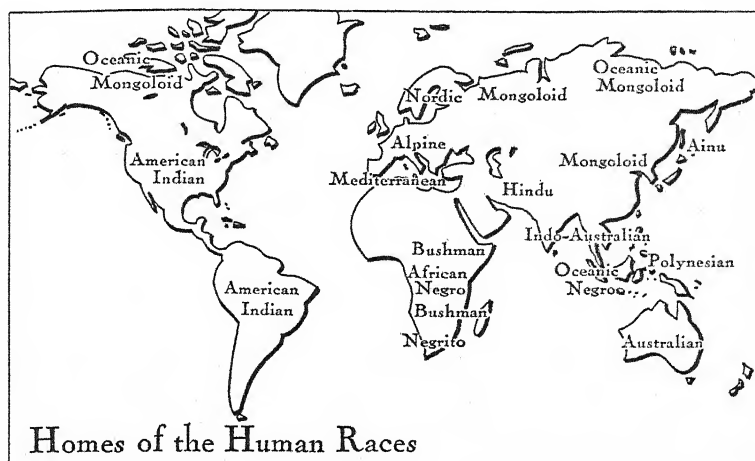
*Family Lines Differ Greatly.* The various family lines among a given people differ from each other more than the average member of one people differs from that of another people. For example, there is more difference in intelligence between the most intelligent and the least intelligent families of a given people than between the average members of any two peoples. The same situation probably exists in regard to any other trait that might be mentioned. There is, for instance, less difference in skin color between the average members of the white and the black race than between the lightest and darkest families of each race.

*"Racial" Characteristics Are Not Fixed.* The traits of all domestic animals are remarkably variable. Unlike their wild kindred, few of their traits seem to be permanently fixed. Animal breeders have taken advantage of this fact to create many new varieties and breeds. Man, too, is a domestic animal, and therefore extremely variable. Some of his physical traits are known to change rapidly when the environment is changed. This is shown by studies of thousands of American-born descendants of European immigrants. Those of Sicilian stock usually have rounder heads, narrower faces, shorter stature, and less weight than their

European-born parents. American-born Hebrews usually have longer and narrower heads than their European-born parents, and are usually taller and heavier. Changes in the shape of the face and head may be due to dietary changes, such as the substitution of soft foods for those which give exercise to the facial muscles. Gains in the stature and body weight may be the result of improved nutrition and hygiene in childhood, while a decrease of stature and weight would suggest that nutrition and hygiene had been worse in the new environment. Since the body changes in this way, it is quite possible that mental qualities change also.

*The Nordic Delusion.* Scores of books have been written in an attempt to prove that the Nordic race, particularly the Anglo-Saxon branch, is superior to all other races. In parts of Europe today this notion is so strongly believed that it has become an important factor in determining the treatment of other races. It is interesting to see how this idea has arisen.

The Vikings, centering in Northwestern Europe, were pure Nordics. They were powerfully built, tall, broad-shouldered, very light of skin and hair, and had blue eyes. Possessing boundless physical courage, great strength, and a love of adventure, they also had a talent for domineering over weaker peoples. Between the fifth and tenth centuries they conquered or overran Germany, Denmark, the British Isles, and the great river valleys of Russia. Wherever they went they soon established themselves as the ruling class, for at this period of European history physical prowess was the chief requirement for leadership. Once established as rulers, they gathered wealth; then they surrounded themselves with the artists and scholars of the day. After a while they became intellectual and social leaders. Today throughout the Anglo-Saxon world, including the United States, they still occupy many positions of leadership in science, society, politics, and business. With such a history it is not strange that Nordics have come to imagine themselves more intelligent than men of other races, since they overlook the superior opportunities that they as a race have possessed. But today one might search far to find



a pure Nordic. Some of those who most pride themselves on having Nordic blood little resemble their distant ancestors, either in appearance or behavior.

Through the ages first one people and then another have made important contributions to the main stream of culture. When the Nordics were still living in a stone-age culture, the Chinese and the Egyptians were already highly civilized, and might have regarded the inhabitants of western Europe with scorn. Even so late as the time when Marco Polo made his famous journeys in the Far East — the thirteenth century A.D. — the artistic and enlightened Orientals considered Europeans to be a dirty and barbarous people, as, indeed, most of them were. The Jewish people, whom some Nordics imagine to be a greedy and inferior race, had developed a lofty conception of ethics and of man's relation to the universe long before the Nordics had ceased to practice savage cruelties. Not racial superiority but a favorable location at the given stage of history seems the best explanation of why one people, rather than another, should be able at some particular period to promote human progress.

*Racial Superiority Remains Unproved.* Who shall decide what qualities give real superiority to a race? And who shall determine which of these qualities is due to breeding

and which to better opportunities? Any of the civilized races could make out a good case to prove its superiority to all others. It would, of course, exalt those traits for which it is noted. Hindu students in the United States feel that their people have more spirituality than average Americans. If they admire spirituality, they conclude that Hindus are much superior to us. If they admire technical skill or aggressiveness in business, they concede our superiority. Yet having made a choice between these traits, no one can say whether they are due to racial differences or merely to environment and the accidents of history.

Race problems appear when two widely different races live together. The stronger race (stronger because more numerous or more powerful) is sure to despise the weaker, and to allow it fewer opportunities to obtain desirable employment, higher education, political leadership, and commercial success. The discrimination may go to such lengths that the weaker race is excluded from almost all contact with the influences that enable individuals to develop their talent and rise out of poor surroundings. After a while it appears that the weaker race is actually inferior, and no one can say exactly how much of the seeming inferiority is imaginary, how much is due to poverty of environment, and how much to inherited differences.



#### INTELLECTUAL DIFFERENCES

*What Is Intelligence?* Intelligence is revealed as the ability to deal successfully with a novel situation—that is, to learn. The lower animals are unable to adapt themselves to novel situations; they are limited to instinctive ways of behavior which are useful in meeting situations that have

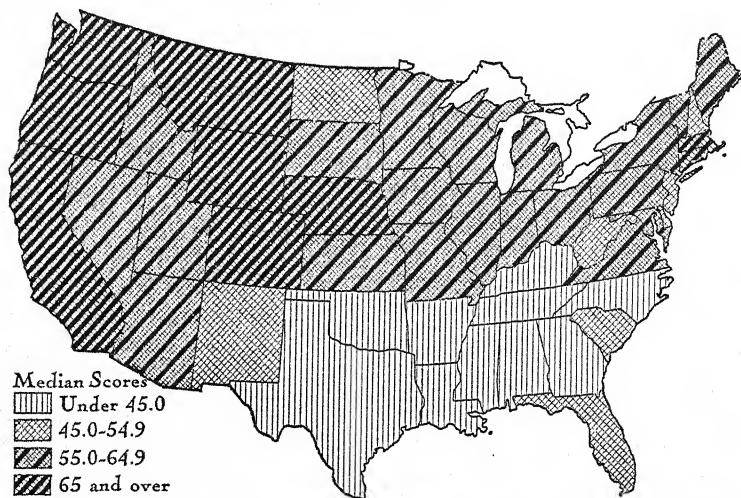
recurred again and again in the life of the species. They cannot, by reflection, discover a new type of behavior. The higher animals and man are able to adapt themselves to a variety of novel situations. This is due to their ability to see the relation between cause and effect. The animal and the child learn by trial and error that a given action will lead to a given result. By repeated trials they may discover how to solve the problem that confronts them. The experienced adult can often solve his problems in his mind. His intelligence is more developed than that of the child or the animal, because all his past experience is helping him to foresee what is likely to result from any course of action. If his past experience has been meager, he too must resort to the trial-and-error process of solving his difficulty. Because people have such different experiences, they do not have equal ability in meeting a given problem. A person who is very intelligent in one situation may be much less so in another.

*Trying to Measure Intelligence.* Since the early 1900's psychologists have been trying to measure intelligence. At first they thought they could find a way to test native intelligence — the inherited learning capacity of the individual. But gradually they were forced to the conclusion that any test they could devise would reflect the meagerness or the richness of the individual's life experiences.

Intelligence is the product of two inseparable factors — inherited capacity and experience. The genes apparently fix an upper limit to the learning ability that an individual may develop, but the environment determines to what extent this ability will actually develop. No mental test can entirely separate these factors.

Intelligence tests are constructed to measure the "intelligence quotient" (I.Q.) of the individual. An intelligence quotient of 100 is considered normal or average. It means that the chronological and the mental age of the individual being tested are the same. If the mental age of a child is four years, while his chronological age is eight, his intelligence quotient is only 50, which is very much below normal. If his mental age is ten, however, while he is actually only

## Intelligence



National Resources Board

Variations in army alpha examination ratings, white population only, by States.

The variations shown in this map in the median intelligence ratings of soldiers reflect educational differences and differences in experience. It is unthinkable that the white population of the various states differs in native intellectual capacity.

eight, then his intelligence quotient is 125, which is very superior.<sup>1</sup>

Half the population of the United States is thought to range in intelligence quotient between 92 and 108. One fourth of the population is above 108; these individuals think quickly and have excellent judgment; from among them come the leaders in every walk of life. One fourth of the population is below 92; these people do not think rapidly and are likely to be regarded as somewhat dull or slow.

<sup>1</sup> It is estimated that the general intelligence of the entire population of the United States is distributed somewhat as follows in terms of intelligence quotient:

Lowest 1 %	go to 70 or below;	the highest 1 %	reach 130 or above.
Lowest 5 %	go to 78 or below;	the highest 5 %	reach 122 or above.
Lowest 10 %	go to 85 or below;	the highest 10 %	reach 116 or above.
Lowest 20 %	go to 91 or below;	the highest 20 %	reach 110 or above.
Lowest 25 %	go to 92 or below;	the highest 25 %	reach 108 or above.
Lowest 33½ %	go to 95 or below;	the highest 33½ %	reach 106 or above.

However, most of them can meet the ordinary demands of life. Only those with an I.Q. of 75 or less are considered mentally defective; they make up close to three per cent of the population.

*How Early Opportunity Affects Intelligence.* An English psychologist carried out a very interesting study of how intelligence may be affected by environmental conditions. He gave individual intelligence tests to many London children who were apparently of low-grade mentality, some of whom had had little or no schooling, and some of whom had had the usual elementary school advantages. The low mentality of the latter group was probably real; they must have lacked learning capacity. The former group included physically defective children, gypsy children, and canal-boat children, none of whom had had any schooling to speak of. It seemed likely that their low mentality might be due to environmental causes.

The canal-boat children are cut off during almost the entire year from schools and from practically all forms of social intercourse save that supplied by their families. Many of the adults dwelling on canal boats are unable to read and write; their intellectual life is very meager. Thus the children live in an environment of social isolation and intellectual barrenness. The most startling fact brought out by the study is the decrease in intelligence between the youngest and oldest children of the same family. The youngest group, aged four to six, had an average I.Q. of 90, whereas the oldest children, ranging in age from twelve to twenty-two, had an average I.Q. of only 60. The most reasonable explanation seems to be this: the younger children were nearly normal in mentality because, since their social and mental needs are fewer and simpler than those of older children, they had not yet been greatly affected by their restricted social and intellectual surroundings. On the other hand, the very low ratings of the older children seem to be due largely to the fact that they had not had the cultural and intellectual conditions essential to their mental growth. Not only had they been prevented from attending school, but their daily activity on the boats made almost no mental demands.

Study of the gypsy children yielded similar results. The younger ones were superior in intelligence quotient to the older ones. This tends to support the belief of educators that the early school years are the most significant for the individual's development. The effects of an intellectually impoverished environment during that period remain throughout life.

*The Intelligence of Children in Foster Homes.* A study of 401 foster children made at the University of Chicago shows how mentality is affected by a change of environment. It should be understood, first, that a large percentage of the children's own parents were of defective mentality; and second, that there was no evidence that the more intelligent foster parents chose the more intelligent children or that the less intelligent children were chosen by the less intelligent foster parents. On the whole, the foster homes were superior to the children's own homes.

A group of seventy-four children were tested both before and after residence in their foster homes. The average age at the time of placement was eight years, and the average period of residence in a foster home was four years. When they were adopted the average I.Q. of these children was 95; after the four-year period the average had risen to 102.5. The children were then separated into two classes: those who had been in the superior foster homes and those who had been in the poorer ones. It was found that the former had made an average gain of over ten points, while the latter had gained only five points. Study of the entire group of children showed another remarkable fact — unrelated children living in the same home were more alike in mentality than were brothers and sisters who had been living for some years in different homes.

A recent study of identical twins reared in different homes is even more striking. Identical twins arise from the splitting of a single fertilized egg during the first moments of life; their genes are exactly alike. When identical twins are separated in early childhood, and are brought up in different homes, they may differ as much as twenty-five points in intelligence quotient. This is equal to the difference between

an average and a mentally defective individual, or to the difference between a very superior intelligence and one that is just above average.

*How Race Affects Intelligence.* After giving intelligence tests to Negroes, investigators usually have found (1) that the average I.Q. of Negroes is below that of the whites, and that (2) about 25 per cent of the Negroes reach or exceed the white average. It has also been found that Negroes in the North do better on mental tests than Negroes in the South; this is satisfactorily explained by the better educational and cultural conditions enjoyed by Negroes in the North. Similarly, city Negroes do better on tests than rural Negroes, a reflection, doubtless, of the superior schooling that usually obtains in cities. Where the races attend the same schools, the Negroes frequently make a better showing than in places where they are segregated; this is explained by the fact that schools for Negroes are in most cases much inferior to the schools reserved for whites and the attendance of Negro children very irregular. A recent test of Negro and white boys in a New York City school showed no appreciable difference in intelligence quotient between the two groups. But even in the North the Negro lives under social, economic, and cultural conditions much inferior to those of the white population. Hence he is severely handicapped in his development. Only when these handicaps are removed can it be known whether the two races have or have not the same intellectual capacity.

*How Sex Affects Intelligence.* The mass of boys and girls do not differ from each other in general intelligence. However, it appears that the average girl slightly excels the average boy in language ability and in memory, while the average boy slightly excels the average girl in arithmetic and mechanical ability. These small native differences are greatly augmented by education and by the prevailing social attitudes. For instance, a girl is discouraged by all, or nearly all, of her associates from developing her mechanical ability. Girls are expected to keep their hands clean and smooth and not to get their clothes dirty; they are seldom allowed to attempt to solve any mechanical problem, so

they rarely develop any confidence in handling things mechanical. But they easily gain approval when they show skill in language. As the years go by the originally small differences in the abilities of girls and boys are multiplied manyfold.

Fewer women than men have attained positions of eminence in the arts, literature, science, politics, and business. This was once taken as proof that women have less native capacity than men — a notion that is still widely held. But male domination throughout recorded history and other social influences seem to offer a sufficient reason for the scarcity of distinguished women. The occupations in which it is possible to achieve eminence are for the most part only now beginning to open their doors to women. Some of the best professional schools do not yet accept women students. The woman doctor, lawyer, politician, employer, foreman, supervisor, high school principal, or superintendent of schools is still handicapped by the popular attitude of contempt or dislike for the woman doing what is thought to be a "man's job." Few men will take orders from a woman or even work with her as an equal. Furthermore, most women who undertake careers give them up for marriage. Under these conditions it is hardly necessary to explain the scarcity of eminent women by arguing that they lack native ability.

*Conclusion.* All characteristics are both hereditary and environmental; the genes set a limit beyond which the individual cannot develop. Scientists, however, give us ample evidence to believe that most human beings are capable of developing powers far beyond those usually attained. Native abilities must be stimulated and encouraged in early life, else they are never realized. Environmental conditions in childhood seem to explain many of the existing differences between people. After a child is transferred from a poor to a good home his intelligence quotient may improve remarkably. It seems likely that the races differ from each other in intelligence only because the environmental conditions are more favorable for one race than for another. Similarly, many of the existing differences between the sexes are traceable to environmental conditions, particularly the current social attitudes.

ACTIVITIES

1. Summarize the chapter.
2. Make a list of ten inherited and ten acquired characteristics of human beings.
3. Make a list of fifty important mechanical inventions with the nationality of each inventor. Does one nationality appear more times than the others? What explanation can you offer?
4. List ten of the great discoveries in medicine, with the nationality of each discoverer. Can you attribute genius in medical research to one people more than to another? If so, what is the explanation?
5. Prepare a report on the Nordic delusion. Locate material through the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*.
6. Report on the Aryan myth and the part it has played in recent mid-European history.
7. What use is made of intelligence tests in your school? Are the results disclosed to pupils or to parents? Why or why not? Under what conditions do you believe a pupil should be informed of his I.Q.?
8. Ask your school psychologist or someone familiar with mental tests to explain their limitations. Find out why and how much an individual's score may fluctuate in successive tests. Find out what physical conditions may cause pupils to appear mentally retarded.
9. Find out what you can about tests of special abilities. Possibly the school psychologist will show some of these to the class.
10. Read the life of some eminent woman, making note of the discrimination she encountered because of her sex. The biographies of Mary Lyon, Dorothea Dix, Anna Howard Shaw, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Marie Curie are illuminating.
11. Write a biographical sketch of a Negro leader such as George W. Carver, Isaac Fisher, W. E. B. DuBois, Claude McKay, James Weldon Johnson, or Jean Toomer.

WORD STUDY

acquired characters  
albinism  
dominant characters  
ethnic group  
gene

geneticist  
haemophilia  
homo sapiens  
identical twins  
intelligence

mental defective  
mutation  
Nordic  
recessive character  
siblings

## QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. What are the essential ideas of the gene theory?
2. Name some defective genes. Why are they so hard to eliminate?
3. Differentiate between native and acquired characteristics.
4. The fact that after many generations of haircutting men still have to cut their hair, is proof of what principle?
5. Is it possible that identical twins might have identical personalities when mature?
6. Of what importance is a sibling's order of birth?
7. What differences of personality would you expect to find in comparing the oldest with the youngest child of a large family?
8. How can the apparent differences in ability between children from inferior homes and children from prosperous homes often be accounted for?
9. Why is it difficult to classify individuals as members of any particular race?
10. Give examples of racial traits that may be due to environment.
11. Why is the term "ethnic group" often more accurate than "race"?
12. Why is the adult more intelligent than the child?
13. Explain how a psychologist can compute an intelligence quotient.
14. What is the significance of the study of the canal-boat children?
15. What is memorable about the Chicago study of children in foster homes?
16. Discuss the results obtained in testing American Negroes.
17. In what manner do sexual differences in mental traits become accentuated?
18. Why do not mental tests measure native capacity?
19. Explain what is shown in the diagrams on pp. 99, 106, and 112.
20. What idea has the artist pictured in each drawing in this chapter? (See pp. 103, 105, 110.)

## READINGS

Boas, Franz, *Anthropology and Modern Life. The Mind of Primitive Man*

Davis, Jerome, Barnes, H. E., and others, *Readings in Sociology*, pp. 449-91

- Fairchild, Henry D., *Foundations of Social Life*, chap. vi, The Ways of Heredity (Easy)
- Freeman, Frank S., *Individual Differences* (For the Teacher)
- Groves, Ernest R., *The American Woman*
- Johnson, C. E., *The Negro in American Civilization* (Excellent)
- Lowie, Robert H., *Are We Civilized?* chap. iv, Heredity (Easy)
- Miller, Herbert R., *Races, Nations, and Classes*, chap. xii, The Myth of Superiority (Easy)
- O'Connor, Johnson, *Born That Way* (Medium difficulty)
- Popenoe, Paul, and Johnson, Roosevelt H., *Applied Eugenics* (A moderate statement of the eugenic ideal)
- Schlaugh, Margaret, *Who Are the Aryans?* (Pamphlet)
- Woodworth, Robert S., *Adjustment and Mastery*, chap. viii

## Chapter 7

### HOW PERSONALITY IS MADE AND MARRED

*We are the net result of all our yesterdays.*

*What Is Personality?* The term "personality" is a hard one to define. We all use the term frequently, but often we do not have a very clear idea of what it means. Here are several good definitions:

Personality consists of the habits by which the individual adjusts himself to his environment. These habits are partly the result of inborn tendencies, but largely the result of learning.

Personality results as the individual fits his various activities into an orderly and harmonious pattern of living. It develops as he learns to integrate all his behavior so as to attain his goals.

Personality is the social man — the role of the individual in the group. It is social relationship. The kind of personality one has depends on the kinds of fellowship one has — their character, depth, extent, and variety.

These definitions complement one another. We see that personality depends in part on the individual's basic physical and mental equipment, and still more on his experiences. It is reflected in his attitudes and his characteristic methods of adjusting himself to other people.

*Some Conflicting Theories of Personality.* The most ancient explanation of personality has been called the "soul theory." According to this view, every person can be what he wants to be. The good child is good because he wants to be good. The bad child is bad because he wants to be bad; he needs to be scolded and exhorted to be good. This is the most

common and popular theory. Those who accept it rely chiefly on scoldings and punishment for making others good. Most child training and practically all our methods for dealing with criminals are based on this theory.

There is also the "fixed personality theory." This is the notion that one's personality is determined before one's birth. It follows that an adult with a good personality has always had it and always will. It is useless to try to reform those of inferior personality, since "You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear."

Another way of explaining personality is the "trait theory." This is exemplified in nearly all school report cards. The child is given a single mark for effort, as if his effort is something that can be measured apart from the particular situation which confronts him. That this is an unreal theory we know from our own experience. The effort we make varies according to the circumstances. "A" will work his very hardest on his stamp collection, but will do nothing for his geometry teacher. "B" puts forth effort in all his school subjects, but scarcely puts any effort into extracurricular activities. "C" works prodigiously on the school newspaper and in languages, while he exerts himself only enough to pass in his other subjects. If anyone fails to make effort, he has simply not been interested or challenged.

Similarly, teachers and parents describe children as "honest" or "dishonest" and "truthful" or "untruthful." Very often the honest and truthful child is the one who has no reason for being otherwise; confront him with a situation in which stealing or lying seems to him the only way out, and he may steal or lie. Lying is usually nothing else than the means chosen to escape from a painful situation from which the individual can see no other escape. The less intelligent and resourceful the individual, the more likely it is that he will feel compelled to lie to cover up his mistakes. But if there is no penalty for telling the truth, he will probably not lie. The trait theory breaks down because it ignores the circumstances which call forth the behavior.

The "mechanistic theory" of human nature is now widely held by scientists. For reasons that will appear later, it is

not a complete explanation of human conduct. However, it is a healthful reaction from the "soul theory," and has thrown much light on man's unconscious behavior. According to this view, the child at birth is a complicated mechanism without personality. His original behavior tendencies are gradually modified by experience, until he has learned a multitude of automatic ways of responding to his environment. So important is this theory that we shall pause to examine it in some detail.

*How Original Tendencies Are Conditioned.* A noted Russian named Pavlov discovered how original tendencies can become modified or *conditioned* until they are quite unlike those with which the individual is born. Other psychologists here and abroad, particularly the American, John Watson, have carried on this study.

Pavlov's most famous experiments were with dogs. A dog will salivate (that is, his saliva will flow) when he sees something to eat, or when a drop of weak acid is placed on his tongue. This is due to a reflex, and is a wholly unconscious response. By placing the acid on the tongues of dogs and simultaneously ringing a bell, Pavlov eventually taught them to salivate whenever the bell was heard, without the giving of the acid. By similar experiments, he taught them to salivate in response to a red light, and in response to being stroked in a certain place. These responses were unconscious and automatic. They are known as *conditioned responses*. To keep a conditioned response alive in an experimental animal, Pavlov found that he had occasionally to renew the original association of acid-and-bell or acid-and-light or acid-and-stroking.

The conditioning process has always been used by animal trainers. By rewarding the animal each time it follows a signal to act in some desired way, the trainer eventually teaches it to obey the signal automatically without the reward. However, the animal must still from time to time be given the reward when it obeys the signal, or the automatic response will be lost.

Human beings, too, develop a great variety of conditioned responses. A baby is afraid only of loud, sharp sounds and

of loss of support. By association, he gradually learns to be afraid of other things. In one of Watson's experiments, an eleven-months-old baby was conditioned to fear a rat. He had lived all his days in a hospital nursery and was afraid of nothing except loud noises, and being dropped, and having his bed shaken when he was asleep. A tame white rat was brought near him. Just as he reached out to touch the rat, the experimenter hit two metal bars together violently. The baby drew back. After another trial he cried with fear and turned away from the rat. Later, the appearance of the rat alone was sufficient to cause withdrawal or crying. He was now not only afraid of rats but of everything that resembled them, including rabbits, furry toys, and pieces of fur. His fear of a rabbit was later overcome by associating the rabbit with the pleasant experience of eating. As he was eating lunch, the rabbit was placed in his room a long way off where it did not arouse fear. Day by day it was brought nearer, until at length the child would hold it in his lap and continue eating. The process of overcoming a conditioned response is called *de-conditioning*.

All fears and aversions are thought to originate through the conditioning process. Likes, too, may arise in the same way. Thus, the child learns to love the things that are associated with a loving caretaker. In after years he unconsciously feels attracted to anyone who reminds him of this caretaker. He also feels unconsciously drawn to objects, music, nursery rhymes, and whatever else is associated with his early experiences of joy.

In ways like these the nervous system is gradually organized into a great many good, poor, and indifferent stimulus-response patterns. These reactions are unconscious. Some of them are temporary and unstable, but if the conditioning occurs when the subject is emotionally disturbed (as in pain or fright) they may last throughout life. For instance, the child who is terrified by lightning (because it is associated with the loud crashing noise of thunder) may never, even in adult life, learn to feel entirely calm during an electrical storm.

*The Origin of Whims and Prejudices.* Most of the mental furniture of the adult is a jumbled mixture of whims, prej-

udices, and peculiarities acquired in childhood by conditioning. We usually have no idea how we came by these notions, yet they are very dear to us. If challenged, we can produce an imposing set of reasons for holding them.

A prejudice is an unreasonable liking or dislike. Without examining any new evidence for our opinion, we prejudge certain situations. Here is a case which shows how a prejudice may develop: A small boy on his first day at school was jeered at and knocked down before his schoolmates by a bigger boy who happened to be of Russian parentage. Years afterward, when he had forgotten the incident, his daughter wished to marry a man whose ancestors were Russian. The bad feelings that his boyish enemy had aroused suddenly came back, directed toward his daughter's intended husband. The father had no idea of the origin of his dislike; in fact, he immediately produced a number of fictitious reasons against the marriage. He did not even realize that he had a prejudice; he had given money for Americanization classes, and he prided himself on being broad-minded about foreigners.

In another case, a strong liking for foreigners was developed. A small girl accompanied her mother many times to a Chinese laundry. Each time the proprietor gave the child a present of one or two litchi fruits. This simple kindness produced a lifelong attitude of friendliness for the Chinese people, and a curiosity about their strange foods and customs.

Not all our likes and dislikes are acquired by accident. Most of them are likely to be a reflection of those of the people with whom we spend our early years. Even if a child is not compelled by fear of punishment to speak and act as do the people around him, he finds it pleasanter to do so. If he does not, they soon show their disapproval. In this way manners, interests, beliefs, and prejudices are passed from one generation to another. Children usually accept their parents' religious and political beliefs without question. Even a trait such as fear of the dark, or a dislike of some kind of food, may be passed from parent to child by conditioning.

"Error," said an early American writer, "is never more dangerous than in the mouth of a parent. Prejudices are as hereditary as titles." This refers, of course, to social and not to biological inheritance.

*Attitudes.* We often describe an individual by his attitudes, saying, for instance, that he is cheerful or gloomy, courageous or timid, co-operative or un-co-operative, progressive or conservative. An attitude may be thought of as a set of the mind in a certain direction. It is a habitual way of reacting, thought to develop as a result of early conditioning, just as whims and prejudices develop. It may be a large element in the individual's character, influencing much of his behavior. Let us examine a few sets of attitudes that mark some persons as distinct from others.

*Inferiority — Adequacy.* The inferiority complex or attitude is very common. It springs from an exaggerated feeling of personal defect. It may result from an actual physical or mental shortcoming of which the individual is ashamed, or it may have begun with some very humiliating experience, such as punishment or ridicule before a group, which is perhaps no longer remembered yet continues to color the individual's reactions. One who is afflicted with the inferiority attitude continually underrates himself. Every failure he makes seems to him another proof of his weakness. He may imagine that others notice it and pity him for it. He is very likely to assume manners that conceal his sense of inferiority. Others may find him conceited, aggressive, "touchy," extremely critical and hard to get along with, or they may describe him as "carrying a chip on his shoulder." These unlovely traits are merely ways such individuals take to defend them-



selves from the idea that they are inferior. They are not really conceited, for they have little belief in their own ability. The person who knows his worth, on the other hand, does not have to insist continually that he is as good as anyone else, and better than so-and-so.

Sometimes the inferiority attitude may produce a desire to tyrannize over others, or even to inflict suffering. Persons so afflicted are likely to choose occupations like that of prison guard, policeman, or watchman, in which they can wield power over the defenseless, and thus forget their own sense of inferiority. (However, this does not mean that those in such occupations necessarily chose them for this reason.) In some cases persons with inferiority complexes become markedly antisocial, finding satisfaction in trying to outwit society.

Of course the wholesome way to react to any personal defect is to overcome it if possible, or to seek superiority in some other direction. The blind person may become an outstanding craftsman or musician, for his ears and his touch seem to develop greater acuteness than those of a normal person. Helen Keller's example might inspire anyone who is handicapped. In spite of blindness and deafness, she learned to speak, and became, through the assistance of a devoted teacher and her own superb courage, one of the distinguished writers and speakers of our times. Demosthenes, who became one of the greatest orators of ancient Greece, was a stutterer in childhood. He suffered so much because of this that he spent years training his voice, and at last he achieved fame for his speaking.

*Adequacy* is the mind-set of the individual who believes himself able to meet any situation that is likely to confront him. Most of his past efforts have been successful, and he anticipates continued success. He meets obstacles with self-confidence, and calmly seeks a way to overcome them. He does not "go to pieces" in the presence of serious difficulties; that is, he does not become emotionally disintegrated. He remains cool and collected when others give way to rage or to feelings of helplessness and panic.

The sense of adequacy develops in individuals who from

early childhood are encouraged and trained to be independent and resourceful. When young people are allowed, with proper supervision and assistance, to solve their own problems, they gain self-confidence. They learn that by careful thinking they can generally find a way to handle difficulties. It is this attitude of faith in one's self that is called adequacy.

The adequate individual may have personal defects, but he knows how to compensate for them. He accepts them as he accepts the color of his hair and skin, without any emotional disturbance. If he is unsuccessful, at times, in reaching his goals, he does not cease to believe in his own powers. He may give up a goal that proves too hard to reach, may even decide that his abilities are not such as are required to reach this particular goal. But he knows that he can adjust himself successfully to the loss of the goal. Because of his inward sense of adequacy, he can make the best of any circumstances.

*Introversion — Extroversion.* The introvert is one who "looks within," enjoying the activities of his own mind more than social activities. He likes reading, writing, playing on musical instruments, solving puzzles, and other solitary occupations. He is imaginative, and does not object to spending much of his time alone. He creates a rich inner world of fancy, from which, if he has superior ability, may come artistic and literary productions. The introvert perseveres for a long time at anything that interests him. The genius is often strongly introverted; therefore he is indifferent to much that is going on around him, and can endure ridicule and contempt. Columbus was probably a man of this type, and so are nearly all inventors, writers, artists, musicians, and those whom the world calls "thinkers."

The extrovert stands in sharp contrast to the introvert. He looks without and finds in his experience with things and people that which interests him most. He likes to do things; he enjoys being with people. He does not understand what it means to be happy with one's own thought. Unlike the introvert, he finds being by himself irksome, for he does not enjoy thinking about himself or analyzing his

past or dreaming about his future. He prefers to feel that he is in the midst of a world of practical affairs.

Those who are about equally introverted and extroverted are probably the happiest folk. It is wise to discover whether one inclines toward one extreme or the other, and then try to develop the opposite tendency.

*Ascendance — Submission.* Whenever two individuals of equal social position meet, there results an unconscious conflict or rivalry. In conversation, for instance, each tries to carry his own point, but presently one gives in and for the time being accepts the other's point. In any joint activity one yields, while the other dominates. One who usually yields when in contact with his equals is *submissive*. One who nearly always dominates is *ascendant*. Such a person tries to reach the highest rank in whatever group he finds himself.

These traits develop in early life. The child who always gets his own way is likely to become the ascendant adult. The child who always has to give in to other members of his family will probably remain submissive in later life.

*Social, Unsocial, and Antisocial Attitudes.* A well-socialized person is one who habitually acts in ways that are valuable to society. He finds his own welfare in the welfare of the group to which he belongs. He is the good citizen, who earns his living with due regard for the welfare of his employees and his customers or his fellow workmen; who is honest, kind, and just; and who constantly treats everyone else as he would be treated.

Socialized behavior is not, in most instances, due to a desire to sacrifice oneself for others. Sometimes it is referred to as "intelligent altruism," for in the long run it is generally to the advantage of the individual who practices it. He who treats others as they would be treated invites the same kind of treatment. He who cares for his parents in their old age is pretty likely to be cared for in turn by his own children.

Socialization is a process that begins at birth. As the child learns good techniques for winning the assistance and good will of those around him, he is becoming socialized.

He finds in babyhood that smiling brings smiles and caresses, so he becomes conditioned to this manner of response. Later he finds that his childish attempts to help his parents bring their warmly expressed approval, and henceforth he looks for opportunities to help. When he goes to school he begins to learn techniques for creating pleasant relationships with those not of his home circle. Whether his socialization will proceed rapidly, depends much on his first teachers. If they are uniformly kind, gentle, and encouraging, it will be easy for him to learn good ways of relating himself to them and his schoolmates.

By the time he reaches high school, if not before, he should be learning ways of relating himself helpfully to the community. He may, for example, learn that it is fun to make gifts for the children in an orphanage, or to take part in a community Christmas sing, or to be a junior traffic officer. As he shares in community activities and responsibilities and derives satisfaction therefrom, he becomes increasingly socialized.

In many individuals socialization is very incomplete. Perhaps their childish attempts to be helpful to their parents and teachers were met with rebuffs. Or they acquired the bad manners and selfish or quarrelsome ways of maladjusted parents. Or they grew up in a highly competitive school, where getting ahead of others was the criterion of success, and where they had few chances to enter into co-operative social activities. For some or all of these reasons, they are at times unsocial. Here is an example of unsocial conduct:

On Victory Parkway the other evening John Doe saw this incident from his apartment window, just as the 5 o'clock rush-hour traffic was well under way.

A tot, about 2 years old, toddled to the middle of the busy street. Machines whizzed by on both sides of him. Occasionally one would swerve to avoid hitting the little chap, who played there unconscious of the danger he was in.

At least 100 machines whizzed by, Doe said, before one stopped. A young man and a woman got out. They picked up the child, then ascertained where the youngster lived. Then they took him to his home, which was near by.

This incident, printed in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* in December, 1937, illustrates the difference between unsocial and well-socialized behavior, and is shockingly true of good-intentioned but thoughtless people.

Besides the incompletely socialized, there is a small group whose behavior is, at times, actually *antisocial* — that is, hostile to society. They have been so conditioned that they find satisfaction in outwitting society (as in burglary and racketeering), in destroying property (as in arson or sabotage), or maybe in inflicting suffering. An individual is likely to be antisocial only in certain kinds of situations; in others he may be merely unsocial, and in some he may even be well socialized. The racketeer may be prodigally generous to the unfortunate; the firebug may be devoted to his family; the participant in a brutal lynching may be a decent citizen most of the time. To understand any example of antisocial behavior, it is necessary to study the influences (especially in childhood) that may have produced the undesirable emotional response.

*Limitations of the Mechanistic Theory.* The mechanistic theory goes far to explain our mind-sets and the habits that we establish early in life. It does not explain that part of our behavior which is consciously directed, which involves deliberation.

In a stable society deliberation is seldom necessary. Custom is a reliable guide most of the time, and saves the individual from having to reflect. He has been conditioned by social approval and disapproval to act in the customary ways, and it does not occur to him to depart from them. Only when an unfamiliar problem arises does he take thought of what to do. In a rapidly changing society such as ours, novel situations are continually arising. The individual is confronted every day with novel situations — going to a strange place, shopping in a new store, selecting from among unknown brands of goods, utilizing an unfamiliar food product, preparing a new dish for the table, becoming acquainted with a stranger, hunting another place to live, choosing a doctor or dentist, losing a job, finding a job, and so on. Customary ways often do not work, and the individual is forced

to reflect. Apparently man's environment will increasingly demand thoughtful, instead of automatic, ways of responding. That is to say, the individual will have more and more need to exercise choice.

*The Self Is Never Completely Formed.* The mechanistic theory tends to overemphasize the importance of the automatic responses that originate in our early years. It is true that the personality is outlined in childhood, and that the basic habits — physical, mental, and emotional — are then firmly established. Nor can it be denied that the preschool period is immensely important in shaping character; it is not possible for the schools wholly to overcome the bad start in life of those unfortunate children who live in crowded, disordered, poverty-stricken homes, with parents who for any reason are discouraged, dependent, delinquent, or in some other way handicapped in the proper training of their children. Nevertheless, at no time in life is the self completely formed.

Each time the individual confronts a novel situation, he has to choose between various responses. This response will involve body, mind, and emotions — the entire organism. If the response selected does not work, he tries another, or contrives a response that is new to him. When he discovers an effective response, he remembers it. It is incorporated into his existing behavior patterns. It becomes part of his self. To some extent, then, the organism is remade every time it confronts a novel situation. Because of its experience at this time, it is no longer quite the same. According to this theory the self is always in process of formation, yet never finished. Learning continues so long as we live. This is the *organismic* theory of personality.

*Habits.* Any new response that the individual finds effective is accepted for future use. It becomes a habit. It is woven into his personality.

By the time we reach adulthood, we have established a great many habits. We have adopted certain ways of dressing, working, studying, playing, etc., and no longer give them any thought. We have grown used to certain ways of thinking and feeling, which prevent us from freshly examin-

## THE FAULTS OF THE CHILD ARE THE FETTERS OF THE MAN



*The National Child Welfare Association (a copy)*

ing each new experience. We have accepted the stereotypes of our society, and these hinder us from seeing accurately. Only when circumstances arise that compel us to reflect, do we become aware of any of our habitual responses. Then, if we feel sufficiently maladjusted, we may try to discover new methods of response.

The young are usually much more adaptable than the old. They can more readily contrive new responses, since they are less governed by their previous ways of responding. Their minds, like their muscles, are still flexible. Yet even the young person feels discomfort when he tries to break a habit. Sometimes the discomfort involved may seem too great a price to pay. The smoker, warned for reasons of health to give up tobacco, sometimes chooses to ignore the warning. Just so, the drinker and the drug addict may be unwilling to renounce that which is destroying them. So often in the past have they chosen to indulge themselves that now they can scarcely choose to practice self-denial.

Since it is not easy to change our habits, it is very important that we build good ones during childhood and youth. We cannot do just as we please during the years of our school life and expect to wake up some day with an admirable character. On the contrary, our character as adults will be made out of the habits we have formed in youth.

Day by day the choices we make and the way we spend our time are shaping the pattern by which we shall make our choices and spend our time as long as we live. The musician must begin in childhood to train his fingers and his mind

for a career in music; he cannot postpone this preparation with the hope of becoming a superior musician when he is mature. Nor can the boy who is irresponsible, careless, and selfish hope to change all at once, when he gets ready to settle down and wishes to become a man of achievement and superior character. If he succeeds in changing himself at all, it will only be at the cost of long effort. Frequently the high school student who is failing or has low marks will say, "When I get to college, I shall begin to study." This is a well-meaning attitude but a very dangerous one. If he has not learned good study habits in high school it is doubtful that he will be able to learn them later.

*The Advantages of Remaining Adaptable.* As the individual grows older, more and more of his behavior is determined by habit. He accepts his vocation and the position in life that goes with it, no longer giving a thought to other vocations that once he might have entered. Many avenues that were open in his youth are now forever closed to him. He has become reconciled to the limitations of his environment, and might be made uncomfortable if suddenly placed in a much richer one. Such a change of environment would demand many new kinds of responses, and he might not be able to learn them.

Some individuals are more creatures of habits than are others. Some settle down as soon as they have found their first job, and thereafter try to avoid making important changes in their manner of life. Others, more fond of adventure, continue to seek new experience until well along in years. They keep themselves flexible by constantly meeting new people, engaging in new hobbies, and pursuing new studies. As their experience broadens, they learn a greater variety of responses, and therefore have more power of choice. They can adapt themselves to many kinds of situations, and are not likely to be made seriously unhappy by changing circumstances. Their adaptability is a sort of *psychic insurance* against misfortune.

The adaptable individual should not only lead a happier but also a better life than the individual who is comparatively nonadaptable. The adaptable individual is more

thoughtful, basing more of his acts on careful choice. He is less bound to automatic responses or habits. He can more easily judge how his acts affect the lives of others and his own subsequent life. He is less likely to act impulsively, and more likely to postpone action until he can make and follow an appropriate plan. If, for example, someone treats him disagreeably, the adaptable individual does not impulsively retaliate. Instead, if he must continue to associate with the disagreeable one, he tries to discover and remove the source of friction.

*Good Habits Flourish in Good Surroundings.* Perhaps the greatest task before a democracy is to see that all its children have equal opportunities to grow up as good citizens. To accomplish this, it is important to have progressive schools, where every child will have abundant chances to learn the most effective kinds of responses. It is even more important to have good homes, where the growing child can easily learn cleanliness, order, industry, independence, and other personal and civic virtues.

In forming good habits it is not enough for the individual to want to have them. He needs also the kind of surroundings in which such habits have a chance to grow. A man who wishes to overcome the habit of gambling, for instance, had better not live among those with whom gambling is customary, for there he will be continually surrounded by temptation, and will also be under pressure to do what his associates do.

It is of little use to preach at other people. If we want to improve anyone we must work chiefly through his environment, with the aim of stimulating as much as possible the growth of the responses we desire and as little as possible the growth of the responses we wish to diminish. Some kinds of petty stealing, for instance, would be more likely to cease were everyone able to earn money to buy coal, wood, apples, etc., than by any amount of preaching. It is necessary for a community to have clean streets, an adequate water supply, and proper methods of disposing of wastes, before it can expect to accomplish much in teaching hygiene to its citizens.

*Changing the Personality of Our Associates.* Sometimes we are eager to change an associate whose ineffective responses make life difficult for him and for us. We can accomplish little or nothing by trying to compel this person to do as we wish he would. The only way to change him is to work through the situation that confronts him. Can we alter it so as to enable him to get the kinds of satisfactions that he seeks?



Suppose you are troubled by the jealous behavior of a younger brother. First, you must find out the causes of his jealousy. Next, you must try to remove them. Lastly, you must help him obtain the recognition that he craves. In following this procedure, you will so improve his adjustments that he will become much easier to live with.

Again, suppose your problem is how to live more peacefully with a mother who nags you constantly. Can you discover what it is that is causing her to feel thwarted? Is she overtired? Is she in poor physical health? Does she lack money for her personal needs? Should she have a vacation? Once you have decided on the probable cause, you can go to work on it instead of on her.

If there is any secret in adjusting ourselves to those who are difficult, it lies in trying to understand their unsolved problems. We may not always be able to help them solve their problems, but we can at least sympathize with their attempts to reach a solution. If they wrongly blame us for their difficulties or act hostilely toward us, we can refrain from doing anything that would aggravate their maladjustment. Should we become hostile, their plight may become still less tolerable and their behavior more disagreeable. In

trying to understand their reactions, we are expressing the love which is the basis of all worthy human relations.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. List several prejudices held by your acquaintances. Can you explain how any of them may have originated?
2. Describe the behavior of someone you know who appears to suffer from an inferiority attitude. How do you think his sense of inferiority arose? What could you do to help him feel more adequate?
3. Describe the behavior of someone you know, or about whom you have read, who is markedly antisocial. List some of the influences that may have caused him to become antisocial. What could be done to prevent him from continuing to harm others?
4. Read and summarize the fine essay on habit by William James. Portions of the essay might well be read aloud to the class. (See his *Habit*, or his *Psychology*, *Briefer Course*, or *Talks to Teachers on Psychology and to Students on Some of Life's Ideals*.)
5. Read extensively, taking notes, on the forming and changing of habits. There are numerous references on this subject. Chapter 5 of Tead's *Human Nature and Management* is excellent.
6. To what extent is character determined by the environment? Prepare a report on this topic. Myerson's *Foundations of Personality*, Chapter 2, will be especially helpful.
7. Find out more about the experiments conducted by Pavlov.
8. Make a plan for solving one of your own problems of social relationship. The first step is to see the problem clearly. Talking the problem over with someone who can help you look at it objectively is usually helpful. This might be your teacher, minister, father, or a friend of mature years. In some schools there is a psychologist or guidance expert to whom students may take their personal problems.
9. Collect for the class bulletin board clippings that relate instances of well-socialized behavior.
10. Collect instances of unsocial behavior. These will necessarily come chiefly from your own observation.
11. Describe an individual you know who has proved through meeting adversity successfully that he carries psychic insurance.

12. Write to the National Child Welfare Association, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, for their catalog of posters. Some of these posters on character, mental hygiene, vocational guidance, and citizenship you might like to have for your classroom.
13. The class secretary might take orders for two interesting pamphlets published by Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Bulletin 334, *Guidance and Punishment*, costs three cents to nonresidents of New York. Bulletin 335, *Making or Marring the Child's Personality through Emotional Experience*, costs five cents. While these pamphlets deal chiefly with young children, they provide an excellent background for understanding the personality problems of all ages.
14. Collect illustrations of wholesome ways of response to danger, disappointment, or failure.
15. Interpret the drawings on pp. 125, 132, and 135.

#### WORD STUDY

adaptability	conditional response	organismic theory
antisocial	extrovert	personality
ascendancy	introvert	prejudice
attitude	mechanistic theory	socialized behavior

#### QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Has everyone prejudices? Name some common ones.
2. Is our attitude toward foreigners, persons of another color, and groups with peculiar characteristics, likely to be reasonable or unreasonable? Examples.
3. Are people likely to be prejudiced in favor of that to which they are accustomed? If so, can social change come about?
4. Why do children so often grow up to hold the same religious and political ideas as their parents?
5. What should be your attitude toward anyone who is handicapped?
6. Does the competitive marking system in use in schools tend to produce inferiority attitudes? If so, what might be done to avoid this result?
7. If you were a teacher, how would you deal with a pupil suffering from an inferiority attitude?
8. How could you help an introverted friend to attain a better balance?
9. Would a brilliant extrovert succeed better as a politician or as a writer on political subjects?

10. Which of the following occupations would you expect an introverted person to prefer? An extroverted person? Either?
- |           |                 |              |             |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------|-------------|
| teacher   | Scout leader    | filing clerk | inventor    |
| chauffeur | doctor          | librarian    | carpenter   |
| salesman  | research worker | detective    | homemaker   |
| minister  | factory worker  | postman      | mayor       |
| farmer    | night watchman  | bookkeeper   | congressman |
11. If you were a probation officer attached to a juvenile court, what would you do to help the young people under your supervision from getting into further trouble?
12. The modern tendency in education is to enrich the school program with clubs, orchestras, participation in team games, school savings banks, student government associations, and other social activities. How would you explain to a taxpayer that these are not "frills"?
13. Psychologists agree that fear should enter as little as possible into the life of a child, particularly the preschool child, upon whose mind fear makes a very deep impression.
- Could a child be trained without using fear to control it?
  - Could all fear be eliminated from a child's mind?
  - Name some threats used by thoughtless adults to control children, which may be injurious to their development.
14. Identify the five theories of personality discussed in this chapter.
15. Do the report cards used in your high school exemplify the trait theory? How could they be improved?

#### READINGS

Adler, Alfred, *What Life Should Mean to You*

Averill, Lawrence A., *Adolescence* (Interesting, easy, contains case studies)

Bogardus, Emory S., *Immigration and Race Attitudes*, pp. 43-105

Cattell, Raymond B., *Crooked Personalities in Childhood and After* (Easy)

*Developing Attitudes in Children*. Proceedings of the Mid-West Conference of the Chicago Association for Child Study and Parent Education, March, 1932 (Valuable)

Dimnet, Abbé Ernest, *The Art of Thinking*

Dodge, Raymond, and Kahn, Eugen, *The Craving for Superiority*

Elliott, Harrison S. and Grace L., *Solving Personal Problems: A Counseling Manual* (Highly recommended)

James, William, *Habit. Psychology, Briefer Course. Talks to Teachers on Psychology and to Students on Some of Life's Ideals*

Kreuger, E. T., and Reckless, Walter C., *Social Psychology*, chap. ix, The Nature of Attitudes; chap. xiii, Social Adjustment

Myers, Garry C., *Building Personality in Children*

Oliver, John Rathbone, *The Ordinary Difficulties of Everyday People* (Easy to read)

Sadler, William S. and Lena K., *Piloting Modern Youth*, chap. xii, The Inadequacy Feeling

Thom, Douglas A., *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child, and Normal Youth and Its Everyday Problems*

Also consult Readings at end of chapter 5



## Unit IV

### *Individuals Who Are Maladjusted*

WHY is our nation burdened with so much mental disease, alcoholism, and crime? Is human nature not at home in our society? What are the principal sources of maladjustment? What can be done to lessen the number of maladjusted individuals? These are fundamental questions which must be answered before a better society can be created.

Chapter 8 makes use of what you have studied in Unit III. It discusses the various ways, effective and ineffective, in which individuals react to disappointment. Then it takes up the little-understood topics of mental disease and mental hygiene.

Chapter 9 shows why maladjusted people often turn to alcohol, and how drinking is apt to increase their maladjustment. It also sets forth the conditions under which drinking does the least harm.

Chapter 10 bears the title, "Who Is the Criminal?" There are few subjects about which so much is written and in which the average person is so interested. Nor is there any subject, unless it is the related one of mental disease, about which there is so much misinformation. Science is making its way into this field but slowly and against strong resistance.



## Chapter 8

### HOW SHALL THE INDIVIDUAL ADJUST HIMSELF TO LIFE?

*Mental health today means not merely freedom from mental disease but the ability to build up and maintain satisfactory human relationships. It takes in personal and social adjustments of all sorts. It stands for the development of wholesome, balanced, integrated personalities, able to cope with any life situation.*

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE

THE central problem that all of us have to face is how to adjust ourselves to the people around us. We are always in the process of solving this problem, yet so long as we live it is never finished. Because we are always growing, we and our associates continue to develop new needs and to require new things from each other. The adjustments that we reached yesterday will hardly satisfy us tomorrow. Furthermore, the membership of the group with whom we associate does not remain the same. Some go away and newcomers take their places, with each one of whom we must work out some sort of relationship. The kind of social relationships we achieve depends in large measure upon how mature we happen to be.

#### STAGES IN ATTAINING MATURITY

*Growing Up.* For some years the young child is interested only in his own desires. His relations to other people are limited to trying to get them to do what he wants. He usually thinks that anyone who opposes his wishes is hostile. He loves only those who do his will, for he is always at the center of his own thoughts. He is vain and likes to show

off before others. Craving admiration and attention, he is jealous of anyone who comes between him and his parents. In one word, the child is *egocentric*, that is, self-centered.

The young child has few techniques — procedures — for getting what he wants. He often fails; then he is likely to become angry. His anger may be expressed in crossness or in a temper tantrum. The display of anger means that a basic drive is blocked and he doesn't know what to do to overcome the difficulty. Anger may be followed by crying in order to attract help. If someone will remove the obstacle, his behavior will immediately improve. As he grows older, he learns how to deal with many of the difficulties in his path, and he is less often stirred to anger or reduced to tears.

After the age of seven or eight the child should gradually outgrow his self-centeredness and learn to be interested in others. This results as he begins to feel less helpless and more competent. The more adequate he feels, the greater the attention he can give to his companions, and the more sympathy and helpfulness he will probably show. The child who does not outgrow his early self-centeredness is apt to be a child who feels inadequate and insecure.

*Adolescence, the Period from 12 to 20.* During adolescence the growing-up process ought to be well on the way to completion. So rapid is the physical, mental, and emotional growth, that adolescence is described as a period of storm and stress.

During early adolescence the body structure is greatly modified. New functions appear which at first are very puzzling. When the boy or girl has not been instructed as to the meaning of these physiological changes, much anxiety may be felt. Unnecessary fears and guilt-feelings may develop that a wise adult can show to be groundless.

An unfamiliar restlessness is characteristic of this period. A new set of interests develops. Childhood interests are outgrown with confusing suddenness, and the young person does not yet know how to satisfy his cravings for adult activity. Another kind of social behavior has to be learned — a different sort of association with the opposite sex. This is often the cause of awkwardness, self-consciousness, and a feeling

of inferiority. The inward feeling of inferiority is, however, likely to be covered up by an outward display of conceit.

The adolescent may attain the appearance of an adult and may think himself adult before he is ready for adult responsibilities. He craves to be independent and he longs to escape completely from parental restraints. This wish for independence leads many an adolescent to leave school too soon and perhaps to marry too early. Nearly always the adolescent discounts his own lack of judgment and experience, overestimating his readiness for self-direction. Yet only in making his own decisions and accepting responsibility for the results (whether good or bad), does he progress toward maturity. Parents have the difficult task of continually giving the adolescent more freedom, while seeking to prevent him from making disastrous mistakes. Many parents do not understand why their children should demand greater independence; they are almost as puzzled and confused as the adolescent himself. They see that their influence over the child is declining; they are unhappy about it, and they may be resentful.

The adolescent greatly desires new experience. His learning ability is now at its maximum and he needs to meet a wide range of situations if he is to develop all his capacities. In his home he wants an abundance of social and cultural activities. The lack of these in most homes throws an extra responsibility upon the school and the community. Such organizations as the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts, and high school clubs, plays, and parties are valuable in helping the adolescent to bridge over this trying period while he is learning to be independent and responsible. In some communities the old-fashioned grammar school has been replaced by the junior high school in an attempt to give the young adolescent greater freedom and richer experiences. When their craving for adventure is unsatisfied, some adolescents are lured to seek excitement in drink, wandering, undesirable companionships, or in other misconduct.

The desire for recognition is not, perhaps, any more powerful in adolescence than in childhood, but it now takes an entirely new form. To the child recognition means attention

from his parents and teachers. The adolescent longs for recognition in a larger circle and from those of his own age. He wants to achieve actual superiority. If he does not stand out in school work, he throws his energy into athletics, social activities, music, dramatics, a hobby, or some other channel. He may attempt to earn distinction as a member of a gang. He may find recognition only in daydreaming. Brilliant dreams of success in business, in fashionable society, on the stage, or in a fortunate marriage, help him to escape the limitations of his real environment. Unless he has wise guidance, these dreams are often not in keeping with his capacities or with his resources. The gradual discovery and acceptance of reasonable goals is a sign of growing up.

Adolescence is the period when serious conflicts in the personality are likely to show themselves. The individual's wishes perhaps pull him in opposite directions, so that he cannot adjust as a *whole* person. He has a great many goals, some of them contradictory and some of them unattainable. Moreover, his parents may be trying to force him to accept goals which do not appeal to him. Sometimes a parent is unconsciously seeking to realize through his child his own disappointed ambition; he may try to force his child into a mold that he can never fit. Because of these and other strains that he is undergoing, the adolescent is confused and changeable. It is small wonder that some adolescents find relief from tension in various forms of delinquency.

*Maturity.* When the individual finally stands alone, unprotected by parents and teachers, and begins to meet the problems of earning a living and founding a home, he has reached adulthood. If he is really mature, his personality is expressed in good physical, mental, and social habits, is growing steadily toward reasonable goals that do not conflict with one another seriously, and is marked by courage and self-confidence. Such a personality is able to make a normal adjustment to disappointment and to face facts, without fleeing either from unpleasant truth or from momentous difficulties. Its possessor is able to associate easily with others, to take a normal place in the community, and to carry a full load of responsibility. He is socially adequate.



It is a tragic fact that some adults are not really grown up but are still almost as egocentric as children. They are vain or jealous or vengeful or selfish, and it is difficult to live with them. They differ from children in trying to conceal their self-centeredness. In contrast are those mature individuals who find their richest satisfactions in devotion to their families, to their professions, or to some great ideal of human betterment. By merging their egos in a worthy purpose, they attain a serene and interesting life. They have freed themselves from paying attention to the bickerings, annoyances, slights, and personal grievances that mar life for so many people.

*Senescence or Old Age.* In old age the individual has nearly always lost much of his ability to adjust to changes. He is no longer close to the swift-running current of the world's progress. His mind is more likely to dwell in the past than in the future, and he dislikes new ways. The less the individual's learning capacity, the sooner old age begins. Those of great ability, whose associations are stimulating, may never reach a standstill. Their interests remain keen, their minds active and ready to accept changes. They look and act younger than their years and are not regarded as senile.

Generally speaking, however, an individual's power to make adjustments gradually diminishes. By forty or fifty or even earlier, he no longer forms new interests, and only with difficulty can he enter upon new social relationships. He cannot readily reshape his habits. If he is aware of changes in familiar institutions, he finds them confusing. The loss of his accustomed status (as when he loses his position, or his money, or his standing in the community) may disorganize his life completely. The old are likely to be timid and passive, satisfied with things as they are, and opposed to reform. Social advance is often retarded when the old are in authority.

In our society old age is seldom a happy period. Today, especially in cities, there is little opportunity for the aged to make themselves useful. Consequently they may find themselves a burden to their children. Nearly all old people are

financially dependent on others, which hurts their self-respect and sometimes causes them to consider that their lives have been a failure.

There should be a place in the world for the old. They ought to have opportunities to give service and use their capacities. So long as they want to, they should be able to remain in their own homes, surrounded by their possessions, and still in control of their own lives. Pensions for the aged, enabling them to stay in their own homes instead of going to an institution, are an important step forward.

#### TYPES OF ADJUSTMENT

In an earlier chapter we have examined the basic drives or wishes that seem to be present in all human beings. We have noted that all human behavior is an attempt to satisfy these drives. The goals we set for ourselves (such as success in a vocation) are chosen because they promise fulfillment to all our drives. So long as we are moving successfully toward a difficult goal, we are happy. The personality is integrated, that is, unified, and there is a sense of inward harmony and peace.

Sometimes a serious obstacle appears between the individual and his goal. The energies he had been pouring out as he moved toward the goal seem to be blocked. He does not know what to do next. In this situation he may give way to anger, grief, or fear. Or, if he succeeds in hiding his emotions, he may nevertheless be so filled with resentment or anxiety that he cannot think straight. He may invent some unrealistic way of escape, such as a fiction, to excuse his failure. But if he is emotionally mature he soon gets the upper hand on his emotions, and in calmness tries to find a solution.

*Meeting Disappointment on the Reality Level.* An obstacle can often be overcome either by extra effort or by discovering a way to get around it. Because it arouses his anger, the individual can temporarily summon all his reserves of energy to combat the barrier. If extra effort proves futile, then he has thoughtfully to seek a detour. Should this, too, fail, he

may substitute another goal, one that promises more chance of being attained. Everyone is called upon, sooner or later, to abandon a cherished goal and accept a substitute. This is a searching test of one's power to adjust himself.

Sometimes the individual, by reason of a mental or physical handicap, finds that important areas of experience are entirely closed to him. He has to learn to compensate for what he lacks. Thus the blind often develop a remarkable memory and extraordinary acuteness of hearing and of touch. The cripple sometimes becomes very skillful at work, such as writing or painting or carving, that he can do despite his condition. The bedridden person may develop great charm of personality, thus attracting to his bedside people whom he otherwise could never enjoy. The mental defective may learn to do the duties of some routine occupation so faithfully and well that he wins self-respect and the respect of others. Most of us, doubtless, could compensate better than we do for our mental and physical limitations.

*Meeting Disappointment with Recognized Phantasy.* It is not always possible to meet disappointment on the reality level. Perhaps the disappointment has been so severe that the individual cannot face it, at least for the time being. He escapes from it by using his imagination. This is safe so long as he does not confuse reality with his phantasy.

*Daydreaming* is a universal method of escape. In our daydreams we overcome everything that obstructs us, win the attention and the applause for which we long, turn the laugh on our rivals, and obtain the love that real life has denied. The more helpless we are to get what we want, the more likely we are to daydream. The child spends many happy hours in daydreaming. The adult is generally too busy trying to achieve his goals to spend much time in daydreams.

*Identification* is another universal escape. Persons whose lives are unsatisfactory may identify themselves with those who seem to be more fortunate or successful. Identification explains much of the pleasure we obtain in seeing a movie or reading a story. We identify ourselves with the leading character, and temporarily live, suffer, and triumph with

this character. We therefore want the movie or the story to have a happy ending.

Parents often find compensation for an unsatisfactory marriage or other disappointment in identifying themselves with their children, so that the honors their children win become their honors, the happiness of their children, their own happiness. The aged frequently have no other satisfactions than those that come as they identify themselves with their grandchildren. This is unfortunate both for the adults, who are without real satisfactions, and for the children, who are not free to be themselves.

*Consolation* is a third way of meeting disappointment. It is an escape from a problem or from a sorrow. The emotional release that comes from listening to music is an example. The childless woman sometimes finds consolation in lavishing affection upon a dog or a cat. Some turn to alcohol or drugs in search of consolation; but in time they may have difficulty in returning to reality.

*The Confusion of Reality and Phantasy.* At times we do not distinguish between reality and phantasy. This confusion prevents us from dealing effectively with our problems. Following are some examples:

*Procrastination.* Hoping to avoid something unpleasant, the individual keeps putting off the day of reckoning. He cannot, of course, make the necessary readjustments until he faces the difficulty.

*Rationalization (Wishful Thinking).* We try to find socially acceptable reasons for doing anything that we have made up our minds to do. "I am going to punch Ted in the nose because he pinched me," says the bully. "Suppose I do break the street lamps?" asks an urchin. "The power company charges too much for its current."

We invent excuses when we fail and especially when we are criticized. "My cake fell because the door slammed," says a cook. "My writing is hard to read because my hand was tired," says a pupil.

The fox in the fable was rationalizing when he said the grapes that he could not reach were sour. This is one of the commonest varieties of rationalization.

The "sweet lemon" notion is another kind of rationalization. "Good things come in small packages," "The slow person is steady," are samples of this type of wishful thinking.

*Projection.* When we blame our faults or our difficulties on someone else, we are said to *project* them. The quarrelsome individual blames his companion for stirring up strife. The nervous wreck claims that his noisy neighbors are driving him wild. The irritable father, after venting his ill temper on the entire household, punishes his son for being rude. The inattentive pupil complains that his low marks are his teacher's fault; she does not explain clearly or else she dislikes him and grades him unfairly. The moody adolescent may think that all his troubles are due to his parents' lack of understanding. When we project our difficulties upon other people, we do not face and correct our own part in the trouble.

*Regression.* Some individuals turn back toward childhood when they confront a serious obstacle. They act as if they were younger or less competent than they really are. They are, so to speak, sorry to have grown up, and they would like to drop the burden of responsibility which they must carry. They feel more content to be under someone's command, as in military service, without the need to make decisions. Others adopt an attitude of helplessness and dependence, perhaps resorting to tears, in an attempt to secure sympathy. Regression is shown by the young wife who seeks the comforting arms of her mother after a quarrel with her husband. Regression is also illustrated by the college student who habitually exceeds his allowance and lets his creditors send the bills home to his father. Then there is the "old oaken bucket" delusion, which causes people to long for the past.

*Repression.* Sometimes the individual refuses to think about some terrible disappointment or unsolved problem. He may not admit even to himself that it exists. Yet it remains in his mind, just below the surface, and prevents him from putting his whole energy into a new form of action. Often a repressed problem occupies the mind during sleep,

and the individual experiences nightmare, or becomes a sleepwalker. Sometimes it results in the appearance of a physical symptom, such as the school child's nine o'clock headache, which goes away if he is allowed to stay home from school.

One form of repression is the lapse of memory. The individual forgets the unpleasant experience, the name of his enemy, the unpaid bill, the unwelcome duty. Sometimes a person forgets all about a certain period or portion of his life, even, perhaps, forgetting his name and address and going far away to start life anew. Such a prolonged state of forgetfulness is known as *amnesia*.

#### MENTAL DISEASE AND MENTAL HYGIENE

In a mild form all of us may experience the undesirable mental states that have been described. If we are normal, we soon recognize our phantasy or return to the reality level. In a person suffering from a mental disease, the confusion between reality and phantasy is likely to become permanent.

Mental disease is a term which covers many different kinds of trouble. The mental diseases have not been studied so long as have the physical diseases, and as yet they are not so well classified. But just as physical health may be excellent, good, or poor, so may the individual's mental health be excellent, good, or poor. All about us are maladjusted individuals — inefficient, disagreeable, nervous, or moody. These unhappy persons are very likely suffering from some form of mental malady more or less severe. If the individual's condition grows worse it may possibly terminate in some crime, especially a crime of violence, in suicide, or in his confinement in a mental hospital.

A sharp line cannot be drawn between normal and abnormal functioning of the mind. Whenever anyone refuses to face a difficulty squarely, and tries to escape it by disregarding the facts, he is behaving as does a person with a mental disease.

*Nervousness.* Under the stress and strain of modern life many individuals exhibit what is called "nervousness."

The medical term for this condition is *neurosis*, and the patient is a *neurotic*. A neurosis may not be recognized as a disease by those around the patient; they may regard him as wilfully disagreeable and troublesome.

The two great classes of neuroses are *hysteria* and *neurasthenia*. Both types of patients are likely to show anxiety, deeply entrenched feelings of inferiority, and goals that are beyond their powers. They suffer from inward conflicts of long standing. Their basic drives are blocked, and they can no longer make an effective struggle against obstacles.

*Hysteria* is a condition of emotional instability. The patient is overexcitable and goes to an extreme in expressing his emotions. He may be very sensitive to imagined slights and easily angered over trifles. He often craves sympathy and admiration that he does not earn. To attract sympathetic attention he is likely to develop, without physical cause, some abnormal physical symptom, such as headache, digestive troubles, tic (habitual twitchings, especially of the facial muscles), blindness, deafness, or paralysis. The hysteric is not aware of the unconscious motive for the symptom, and his physical suffering is genuine. As a rule, he discovers that the symptom will enable him to avoid doing things that he does not wish to do, and also that it helps him wonderfully in controlling those around him. Thus he has strong unconscious motives for not getting well. Frequently a mental influence, such as good fortune, serious danger, or the persuasive personality of a physician or clergyman, has a healing effect. The remarkable cures of certain faith healers are due to their ability to renew the courage of hysterical patients. Hysterics often find help at certain shrines, where discarded crutches and other devices used by patients accumulate to prove that many have been made well.

*Neurasthenia* is marked by an unusual liability to fatigue. The patient gets tired very easily. He may feel more tired in the morning than on going to bed, thus revealing a reluctance to take up the burdens of the day. He is thin and worried and his general health is poor. At times he is apt to be depressed. He has little enthusiasm for anything, since so much of his energy is being consumed by his inward con-

flict. To get through his work is difficult. It is especially hard for him to make decisions. His attention may tire easily and is apt to turn inward. He may have poor motor co-ordination, shown in a tendency of his hands to shake or fumble or his feet to trip. His emotional control is usually poor; he easily becomes upset. Because of his feelings of self-reproach, guilt, and inadequacy, he is helped much by an encouraging attitude from others.

*Description of a Neurotic Family.* Here is a picture of a girl who developed her neurotic tendencies in a home where both parents were badly adjusted to life and to each other.<sup>1</sup>

Eve's life has been a long series of deprivations, unhappiness, and turmoil. From earliest childhood she has lived in a home where there has always been a great deal of emotional upheaval. Her father has been the type of individual who never grows up but remains childish in his outlook and conduct. His wife is a negative, colorless sort of person who has no aggressiveness and no decisiveness about anything. She and her husband were always quarreling. On numerous occasions he threatened violently that he was going to clear out and never be seen around such a place again. Finally, after years of protestations, he did clear out, and no one has heard anything from him since.

Her husband's desertion was the signal for Eve's mother to take to her bed. For weeks she did not leave it, and during the three years since her husband's disappearance she has continued a helpless invalid, interested in nothing but herself and caring to talk of nothing but the calamities that have fallen. Meanwhile, the family has been maintained principally by the welfare organizations. The older children — there were five of them altogether — have one by one left home and scattered widely, only too glad to escape the miserable environment.

Eve went through high school a moody and unhappy girl, not caring for anyone. She did not respond to the friendly advances of other girls, although she felt herself to be unbearably lonely. At times she was inattentive in her classes and on the verge of failing in school. This, added to her inward conflict, caused her to become so depressed that she wanted to commit suicide. But she could not make up her mind to do it. She clung desperately

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from a case study in *Adolescence*, by Lawrence Averill. By permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

to the belief that if she could graduate from high school and get away from her mother, life would become tolerable.

After completing high school she went to live in a distant city. She soon found a job, which she is most anxious to keep, although it is not easy for her to give her mind undividedly to her duties. She is rousing herself to an interest in her appearance and in her associates. She is still moody and without gaiety, but her satisfaction in living has definitely increased.

We can only speculate on what would have become of Eve had she not succeeded in establishing herself in the city to which she went. Her cheerless air and her inability to go half way in meeting others would have discouraged those who might have become her friends. Perhaps if she had not found a position she would have lost all hope for the future and would have sunk into depression from which she could not rouse herself. The outcome might have been confinement in a mental hospital or suicide.

*Treatment of Neurotics.* The neurotic, responsible as he is for suffering to those who have to associate with him, is in need of sympathy and understanding. He is the greatest sufferer from his own irritability. His fundamental drives are blocked, and his life plans have become unbearably distorted.

Much of his trouble is due to poor emotional habits that he has been practicing since childhood. As it is difficult for a grownup to modify his basic habits, a complete cure is not always possible. Nothing will be gained by blaming him for these ineffectual techniques; indeed, blame will almost certainly increase his difficulties.

The neurotic cannot recover unless he learns how to solve his most pressing problems. For the jobless individual, the first step may be to seek training by which he can improve his qualifications. While he is studying, he will probably regain hope and self-confidence. His personality may again become integrated — that is, the inward conflicts may disappear. Once he finds work, he has a much better chance to work out a good social adjustment than when he was jobless. Should he achieve genuine success in his vocation, he will probably overcome the feelings of inadequacy, the anxieties and frustrations, that formerly marred his life. There

is, all too often, no prospect that the jobless person will ever obtain work. In that case he needs, above everything else, to cease reproaching himself. Probably he can discover ways to make himself useful to his family and friends and community, and thus regain his self-respect. Being unemployed is intolerable, however, when the individual's family and friends regard his unemployment as due to a lack of capacity. To escape their condemnation, expressed or unexpressed, he may be driven to take refuge in an inner world of phantasy. Thus, he may blame all his difficulties on others or on the government or develop physical symptoms to excuse his failure.

In helping the neurotic, it is essential to attack his life problems — the source of his anxieties and his frustration. This means that we will work to improve the situation which he finds so discouraging. Any attempt to blame or punish him will probably add to his maladjustment. We must make a sincere and continual effort to strengthen his feeling of adequacy. It is also important to help him to build up his physical health and to find new interests and activities. While we ought always to treat him calmly and considerately, we should not allow him to rule us.

*The Psychoses.* A group of mental diseases that are much more severe than the neuroses are known as *psychoses*. (The singular is *psychosis*.) There are many varieties, each with its characteristic symptoms.

The psychotic patient has completely failed to come to terms with his environment, and has withdrawn into an imaginary world where the struggle to reach his goals is easier. He cannot distinguish between reality and his own phantasies.

If a mental disease makes the patient unfit to remain at large, for fear that he will injure himself or others, he is said to be *insane*. Such a person is placed in an institution and loses most of his legal rights. Should he recover sufficiently that he may safely have his freedom, he is no longer insane, and the law has no power to keep him confined. Insanity is a legal and not a medical term. Most mentally diseased persons are not insane.

*What Causes Mental Diseases?* In the past it was believed that all mental troubles are hereditary. The taint of insanity was supposed to run in certain families. Today it is thought that little mental disease is inherited. At least, too little is known about the processes of hereditary transmission to say that many cases are hereditary. However, it is believed that some families are more likely to develop mental disorders than others, just as certain families have a predisposition toward tuberculosis or heart trouble.

In a considerable number of cases there is a physical or chemical cause, such as abnormal glands, the use of drugs, industrial poisoning, alcoholism, or sleeping sickness. In some cases diseased tonsils and long-neglected abscessed teeth appear to be a contributing cause, for upon their removal patients frequently improve.

In a great many cases there is no ascertainable physical cause. The malady is in the way the mind works, and is said to be *functional*. It may first attract attention after some severe emotional strain like unemployment, or after a shock such as the death of loved ones. The chances are that the disease has been coming on for years, but has not been recognized. The final break is often the end of a long series of influences reaching back to the patient's youth or childhood.

The seed of mental disorder is frequently planted in the preschool years by experiences of terror, cruel or unjust punishment, excessive babying by parents, or by too close association with unhappy, quarrelsome, badly adjusted parents. The child exposed to these unhealthy influences may grow up with a personality weakness that makes it hard for him to meet adult problems. He may suffer from a long-continued mental conflict. If his environment presses too hard upon him, he finally becomes mentally diseased. It may be that anyone, if pushed hard enough by his environment for a long time, might suffer from a mental disorder.

How insecurity may produce mental disease is illustrated in the case of a boy in a New York State hospital.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> J. P. McEvoy in *Woman's Day*, January, 1938. Reproduced by permission.

He sat in the corner all day and worried. He came from a home where there was no peace, no sense of security. His parents were continually fighting; the father was threatening to leave the mother; the mother was threatening to leave the home. The boy had grown up with the one frantic fear hanging over him all the time that he would be left homeless and helpless by the only people to whom he looked for security, his parents. As you looked at him you saw in miniature all the grown-ups who spend their days in a state of panic and fear because they are insecure. They can't get a job, or they can't hold the job they have, or they can't keep their husbands, or they can't pay off the mortgage. Like the boy, they can't do anything constructive about bettering themselves because they have the habit now of just sitting and worrying.

*Treatment of the Psychoses.* In the state of New York it is estimated that one in every twenty-two persons will be a patient in a mental hospital at some time during his life. Other states with a smaller proportion of patients probably have many mental cases that are not discovered and treated.

Sometimes the relatives of a mental patient try to conceal his condition, wrongly feeling that it is due to an inherited defect. This attitude is doubly unfortunate, for it may prevent the patient from having expert treatment while a cure is still possible. In order to encourage mental patients to seek early treatment, some states have established psychiatric clinics to which anyone may go for diagnosis. People found to be badly disordered are advised to enter mental hospitals as voluntary patients. In many cases the opportunity thus afforded to get away from a bad home situation, and to build up a new way of facing life, is all that is needed for a cure.

The best hospitals for mental diseases are equipped for many different types of occupation and recreation, since it is important that patients be kept occupied and contented in so far as their condition permits. Only those who cannot safely mingle with others are placed by themselves. Being left alone is not good for them, tending to increase their withdrawal from normal social contacts.

Medical care is given to build up the general health. In

some types of mental disorder drugs are employed, frequently with remarkable benefit to the patient. Special water and electric treatments are used, without cruelty, to calm excited patients.

Before any patient is discharged from a mental hospital, it is desirable that his home situation be adjusted as far as possible to make it more favorable to the patient's health. Otherwise he might be exposed to the same conflict and strain that caused his breakdown in the first place. Some hospitals have social workers who go into the homes of patients about to be discharged, for the purpose of advising the other members of the family how to avoid a recurrence of the disorder.

*Need for Mental Hygiene.* It is increasingly recognized that mental hygiene is quite as important as physical hygiene. Like physical disease, mental disease is usually traceable to faulty conditions in childhood. Anything that produces a feeling of insecurity or of strain in the home is very likely to affect the mental health of the growing child. This insecurity may spring directly from poverty, unemployment, the injury or death of the wage earner of the family, the death of the mother, or some other situation that produces fear for the continuance of the home, or for its adequate maintenance. In times of depression, when millions of families are either dependent on charity or in fear of becoming dependent, it is certain that a great number of children are being subjected to a continual strain. This strain is far beyond their capacity to endure without harm to their mental health.

In times of prosperity, when the fear of physical want and dependency is at its lowest point, there is still a vast deal of strain and insecurity to which many children of all classes are needlessly exposed. Much of this is a fear on the part of the child that he is not loved, or that he is less well loved than his brothers or sisters. A surprising number of children fancy that they are foster children, and that their parents do not really love them. Thoughtless parents sometimes threaten the child by saying that they will give him away, or send him to a reform school, or that the devil or the bogey-

man or some horrible imaginary fate will overtake him. Threats of this kind strike into the child terror that may never be outgrown, and if they compel him to obedience it may be at the price of his future mental health.

In many families one or both parents display poor mental health. There may be continual quarreling, petty tyranny, nagging, making excuses, and an inability to adjust pleasantly to the other members of the household. Or perhaps one or both parents are unduly timid, gloomy, or worried. The child is sure to be influenced by these poor emotional habits on the part of those with whom he lives. He can scarcely help developing the same ways of reacting. It is especially necessary that the mother have good mental health. If the mother is a reasonably calm, happy, optimistic person there is much hope that her children will learn to face life courageously and cheerfully.

Because it is now clearly seen that poor mental health in the preschool years cannot be overcome later, psychiatrists urge that every child should attend nursery school and kindergarten. Only in this way can public education insure to every child a good start in life. By the time the child reaches the first grade it may be too late to correct the poor emotional and social habits that faulty home training has allowed to develop. If not corrected these poor habits may lead to much social difficulty when the child grows up.

*What Is Mental Health?* The real test of mental health is the ability to get along in the community with a minimum of friction. Mental health is much the same thing as happiness and efficiency. The essential points of good mental health have been expressed thus: *Be calm; be cheerful; be friendly; be independent; banish hurry and worry.* Anyone who is able to practice these points habitually is endowed with a high degree of mental health. The person whose mental health is poor cannot practice them, even if he wants to, for he has become the slave of bad emotional habits.

Those whose mental health is already good may be able to improve it by practicing the rules that are given on the following page.

Do not regret what is over and done with.

Do not postpone and repress unpleasant questions — make some terms with every problem as it arises. It is better to make a mistake than to refuse to come to a decision. Everyone who does anything makes mistakes.

Disregard slights, disappointments, and the shortcomings of others. Criticize as little as possible. Take things impersonally.

Do not be afraid to admit a mistake, and above all, do not seek to make excuses. Let it go. Forget the past. Face the future.

Do not worry over what other people think of you, or about anything you cannot help.

If parents practiced these rules and brought their children up to practice them, undoubtedly a great many cases of neurosis and of more serious mental troubles would be prevented.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. The class secretary may order from the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Madison Square, New York City, copies of their pamphlet, *Health, Happiness, and Long Life*. These should be studied and kept for future use by the class members.
2. Appoint a committee to report on the care of the mentally diseased in your state. How many mental hospitals are maintained? Are there clinics, waiting lists, admission of voluntary patients, overcrowding, parole? What is the method of commitment? Cost to the state? (Consult the yearbook of your state, also a physician.)
3. Write a paper on the work of Dorothea Dix for the insane.
4. Write a summary of the book *A Mind That Found Itself*, by Clifford W. Beers. This is the book that launched the mental hygiene movement.
5. Write a paper on the escapes you personally utilize.
6. Do you seek to understand yourself better? If so, write a biography of each of your parents, trying to make clear their unsolved problems and disappointed ambitions.
7. Read aloud to the class the fine short article by Johnson in the *Survey*, November 15, 1926, "The Unhappy Are Always Wrong."
8. Do you have to live with a maladjusted person? You may find it helpful to write out a case study of this individual, giving the story of his life, and the probable causes of his mal-

adjustment. Can you think out a plan for making life easier for him, or at least for avoiding friction with him?

9. What list of "Don'ts" might be given a young mother seeking advice on mental hygiene?
10. Describe someone whose life exemplifies good mental hygiene.
11. Describe someone whose life exemplifies poor mental hygiene.
12. Report on the mental states that drive people to commit suicide. If possible consult the article on suicide in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

#### WORD STUDY

adolescence	neurasthenia	psychosis
amnesia	neurosis	regression
egocentric	phantasy	repression
hysteria	projection	senescence
identification	psychiatrist	

#### QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Describe the steps in attaining mental maturity.
2. Why are adolescents often said to be conceited?
3. Why does delinquency most often begin during adolescence?
4. Why do the old usually oppose reform?
5. In our society what are the special difficulties of the old?
6. Under what conditions is happiness felt?
7. What are the ways to meet an obstacle on the reality level?
8. Describe various ways of meeting disappointment with recognized phantasy.
9. Give examples of repression. Regression. Projection.
10. Classify as repression, regression, rationalization, identification, or compensation, the following types of reaction:
  - a. Amnesia, a state of forgetfulness in which the patient cannot remember anything about a certain portion or period of his life.
  - b. The temper tantrum.
  - c. A certain boy's fainting spells, which came on whenever he was getting the worst of it in a fight.
  - d. The tyranny of certain men whose desire for superiority has been frustrated.
  - e. Silas Marner's happiness in the child Eppie.
  - f. The statement by a quarrelsome person that "it is the principle of the thing that I am objecting to."

- g. The inability to keep themselves clean, or even to feed themselves, exhibited by some patients with mental diseases.
- h. A tendency to torment smaller pupils and make trouble in the classroom shown by boys who are repeating a grade.
- 11. A girl you know is struggling unsuccessfully to complete a college preparatory course in high school. Her parents are ambitious to have her become a teacher, and they nag her continually about her failures. She is pale, irritable, and cries easily. What would you advise?
- 12. Why does the neurotic person get along badly with others?
- 13. In families with several children excessive rivalry or continual jealousy may develop between them. Is this likely to injure the mental health? If so, how could such relationships be prevented from arising?
- 14. What conditions in modern life tend to increase the number of neurotic persons?
- 15. What should a neurotic mother do in order to become a safe guardian of her children?
- 16. Which of the following are contrary to good mental hygiene?

Deciding problems quickly

Daydreaming

Hatred

Moodiness

Indifference to the opinion  
of others

Envy

Refusal to apologize

Holding a grudge

Sensitiveness to slights

Being continually in a hurry

Being disorderly in care of belongings

Remorse

Returning good for evil

Consideration of others

Thoroughness

Admitting one's limitations in  
certain fields

Trying to outdo one's neighbors

- 17. Whom would you consult if you suspected that you or someone in your family were coming down with a mental disorder?
- 18. What are the principal causes of mental disease?
- 19. Why is the hope of cure for a mental patient so much better today than it was a century ago?
- 20. The best mental hospitals employ a social worker to visit patients who have returned to their homes. Of what value is this?
- 21. Name the home conditions likely to produce bad emotional and social habits in children. Are these characteristic of any one economic class?

READINGS

- Bisch, L. E., *Be Glad You're Neurotic*  
Elliott, Mabel A., and others, *Our Dynamic Society*, chap. iv, The Adolescent; chap. xvi, The Suicide  
Fishbein, Morris, and White, W. A., eds., *Why Men Fail* (Fascinating, easy case studies)  
Groves, Ernest R., *Understanding Yourself*  
Groves, Ernest R., and Blanchard, Phyllis, *Introduction to Mental Hygiene*  
Jackson, Josephine, and Salisbury, H. M., *Outwitting Our Nerves*  
Menninger, Karl A., *The Human Mind* (Lively; on mental diseases and treatment)  
Morgan, John J. B., *Keeping a Sound Mind* (Easy). *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child*  
Myerson, Abraham, *Psychology of Mental Disorders*  
Overstreet, Harry A., *About Ourselves* (See pp. 70-81 for examples of rationalization)  
Richmond, Winifred, *The Adolescent Boy. The Adolescent Girl*  
Seabrook, William, *Asylum*  
Small, V. R., *I Know 3000 Lunatics*  
Strecker, E. A., and Appel, K. E., *Discovering Ourselves* (Easy)  
Tiffany, Frances, *The Life of Dorothea L. Dix*  
Wells, H. G., and Huxley, Julian, *The Science of Life*  
White, William A., *Mechanisms of Character Formation*  
Williams, Frankwood E., *Adolescence: Studies in Mental Hygiene* (Easy, concrete, interesting)

Also consult Readings at end of chapters v and vii.

## Chapter 9

### HOW ALCOHOL INCREASES MALADJUSTMENT

*I ask the wholehearted co-operation of all our citizens to the end that this return of individual freedom shall not be accompanied by the repugnant conditions that obtained prior to the adoption of the 18th Amendment and those that have existed since its adoption. Failure to do this will be a living reproach to us all. I ask especially that no state shall by law or otherwise authorize the return of the saloon either in its old form or in some modern guise. . . . The objective we seek through a national policy is the education of every citizen toward a greater temperance throughout the nation.*

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

MALADJUSTED persons often turn to alcohol to escape their problems. Many others who are fatigued or disappointed find relief temporarily in drinking. At such times alcohol (like caffeine, nicotine, and other narcotic drugs) may seem like a cane to help one in getting over a rough spot. The danger is that the cane will become a crutch, so weakening the user that he cannot get along without it.

*Why People Drink.* A variety of reasons lead people to drink. First, in many circles it is the fashion. The group considers it smart to drink and the individual who does not conform is thought prim or strait-laced. In these circles drinks are served at every social gathering; the host or hostess feels a social compulsion to supply liquor.

Second, men drink for business reasons — as in entertaining the visiting buyer.

Third, men drink from ignorance. In the past it was mistakenly believed that liquor gives strength to those engaged in heavy manual labor and to those who must undergo exposure to the elements. These notions are still responsible

for drinking among laborers and sailors. Liquor was formerly supposed to be helpful in treating snake bite, heat stroke, pneumonia, tuberculosis, and many other conditions for which the modern doctor rarely prescribes alcohol. Some drinking is traceable to these old superstitions regarding the value of alcohol as a medicine.

Fourth, people drink for sociability. After a drink they find it easier to drop their usual restraint of manner. They talk more freely and are less guarded in what they say. They relax and forget their cares and worries. While some people become hostile, many are much more genial after taking a small amount of liquor. At social gatherings, then, liquor is an ice-breaker.

Fifth, people drink to escape from reality. They may be exhausted from their day's work; they may see no prospects of betterment in the future; they may be discouraged, grief-stricken, or worn out by mental conflict. Reality has become intolerable, and they seek forgetfulness. In drink they numb their awareness of life. Fatigue, pain, trouble, and responsibility disappear. A small amount of liquor is useless to drinkers of this type; they do not want to stop drinking until they are nearly or quite unconscious. It is this class of drinkers who most easily become slaves to alcohol. Drinking only increases their problems, however, and after every spell of drinking they find it harder to face the world again.

*The Alcohol Addict.* Most of those who drink are *controlled* drinkers; they can refrain from liquor if they choose. A person who becomes dependent on the support of alcohol is known as an *alcohol addict*. His will to resist the drug is weaker than the lure of the drug. He may know that for him alcohol is a poison, that it is destroying him mentally and physically, that it is ruining his family life and his business prospects, but he cannot let it alone. His body has undergone certain changes as a result of his past indulgence in liquor, and now clamors for the drug with an insistence that he is frequently powerless to deny.

The addict is not necessarily a heavy drinker. He may take frequent moderate doses and avoid periodic sprees. The

test of addiction is whether he can at any time refrain from drinking. Nearly always he thinks that he can "take it or leave it" at will. When he first began to drink, this was true. But if he has been taking it for some time, the addict can no longer abandon it without great suffering. Although the addict cannot cure himself without assistance, he may be cured by suitable medical and psychiatric measures. The treatment is prolonged and expensive.

What proportion of drinkers becomes addicted is not known. Some authorities believe that out of every ten persons who begin the practice of drinking, three will eventually be addicted to alcohol.

#### WHAT ALCOHOL DOES TO THE DRINKER

*Alcohol Is Not a Stimulant.* The drinker feels a sense of exhilaration, and for this reason he is likely to speak of the drug as a "stimulant." That, indeed, has been the traditional use of alcohol. However, we now know that alcohol is not a stimulant but a depressant. It belongs among the narcotics or sleep producers. Tests of many kinds show that no one is made stronger, or more enduring, or more dexterous, or mentally keener by alcohol in any form or quantity. A small amount of alcohol may temporarily quicken the heartbeat and increase muscular activity, but these effects are explained as due to the deadening of the nerves that ordinarily regulate the heart and the muscles.

Alcohol in all strengths exerts a depressant effect on the tissues of the nervous system. That is, it reduces the speed, strength, and quality of their activity. In effect, the brain and the nerves are dulled. The higher centers of the nervous system are dulled earlier than the lower ones. Since the higher centers are the seat of anxiety and care, these unpleasant states tend to disappear under the influence of alcohol. At the same time, the capacities for critical thinking, calm judgment, and self-control are also lessened. Excitement following the taking of alcohol is not due to a stimulant action, but to the unchecked response to emotional situations.

*What Alcohol Does to the Brain and Nerves.* The chief effect of alcohol is upon the brain. How far the depressant or narcotic action will go depends on the percentage of alcohol taken up by the brain and the spinal cord; also upon whether the individual is or is not habituated to its use. The habitual drinker can take more alcohol than the infrequent drinker before his system is profoundly affected.

The narcotic action of alcohol is progressive. It comprises the following successive steps:

1. The blunting of self-criticism. Self-criticism is the latest developed of the intellectual functions and is the first to be affected by a narcotic drug. When it is blunted, the individual may say and do things that are inconsistent with his usual behavior. Some of these effects are particularly characteristic of alcohol. They are:
  - a. Inaccurate workmanship as in mathematical calculations, or such handiwork as shorthand, typewriting, and running a lathe.
  - b. Uncritical self-satisfaction of the individual with his own work and actions. He feels like a "good fellow."
  - c. Disregard of occurrences and conditions normally requiring caution of act and word. He is no longer concerned about his personal appearance. He is less careful of his money.
  - d. Trespass upon rules and conventions previously respected. Moral standards may seem remote and unreal after a few drinks.
  - e. Impaired appreciation of the passage of time. Appointments seem unimportant. Responsibilities are forgotten. The drinker lives in the present.
  - f. Talkativeness. The typical drinker loses his self-consciousness and talks easily to almost anyone who may be at hand. He may boast. He is less discreet than usual in expressing his likes and dislikes. Often he becomes loud and boisterous. However, some drinkers become sullen and morose and talk little.
  - g. An argumentative frame of mind. Some drinkers display a readiness to quarrel.
2. Interference with the performance of skilled movements. At this stage there is a thickness of speech and a clumsiness of movement. The individual slurs his words, walks somewhat un-

steadily, and fumbles in using his hands. His control over his muscles is more or less uncertain. He blames his clumsiness on the perversity of things about him.

3. The blunting of the senses of sight, touch, and hearing. Even after a small dose of alcohol there is a delay in receiving and acting on the signals of these three senses. This slowing up of the nerve-muscle response lasts for three or four hours. For this reason a small dose of alcohol is dangerous for anyone who handles rapidly moving vehicles or machinery with rapidly moving parts. The slight delay in responding to a signal is sufficient to permit a difference of a fourth of a mile in the position of a fast airplane between the observation of danger and the moment of effective response by the pilot. In an automobile traveling at thirty-five to fifty miles an hour, the delay in the driver's response due to a small dose of alcohol is sufficient for the car to advance fifteen to thirty feet before the attempt is made to put on the brakes.
4. The loss of emotional control. The individual is easily angered. He may display anger at one moment and affection at another. He may shout, groan, laugh, and weep by turns. Reckless impulses may lead him to destroy property or to attempt dangerous stunts, such as jumping through a window. Fortunately, his muscular control is now so poor that he is unable to carry out most of the impulses that seize him. When he returns to normal he will not remember his wild acts or even with whom he spent the evening.
5. The failure to respond to external stimulation, and the eventual lapse into heavy sleep. The entire nervous system is depressed or numbed, as after the taking of ether or chloroform.

*Does a Small Dose of Alcohol Affect Efficiency?* It has been experimentally shown that an ounce of alcohol (about the quantity contained in two pints of three-per-cent beer or four glasses of light wine or two glasses of port or sherry, or a "square drink" of whiskey or gin) is adequate to lower working and thinking efficiency measurably. A person who takes that amount daily is never able to think or work at his full capacity. The effects are much more marked when the alcohol is taken on an empty stomach. The effects are also more pronounced when the alcohol is taken in a concentrated form, as in whiskey, brandy, or gin, than when taken in a diluted form as in light beer or wine. This is due to the fact



that the body absorbs alcohol much more rapidly when it is concentrated than when it is diluted with water or food. When the alcohol is absorbed slowly, as from beer or ale taken with meals, some of it is eliminated from the body before the entire quantity has been absorbed. Hence, the effect from a given quantity of alcohol is less severe than as if it were taken either in concentrated form or before a meal. The maximum possible effect is felt when concentrated beverages, such as cocktails, are taken on an empty stomach.

If alcohol is to be used, it should be taken only with food after the day's work, when the drinker will not be called upon for several hours for any skilled performance, such as driving a car. Alcohol should not be used as a preparation for any kind of work, nor for any activity that demands extra physical energy or mental effort. It should never be used *at any time* by persons responsible for the safety or life of others, such as locomotive engineers, sea captains, chauffeurs, and airplane pilots. Nor should it ever be used by those likely to be called unexpectedly for maximum exertion, skill, or judgment, such as firemen, policemen, lifeguards, physicians, and nurses.<sup>1</sup>

Working and thinking efficiency is somewhat lowered by a dose of alcohol so small that none of the outward signs of drunkenness can be detected. Moreover, the individual himself may not be aware that his efficiency is in any way impaired.

The most reliable and convenient way to measure the degree of intoxication is to take a small sample of blood and test it for its alcoholic content. It is generally agreed that a man reaches a state of advanced intoxication when alcohol makes up three tenths of one per cent of the volume of his blood (3 parts in 1000). Four tenths of one per cent generally produces a deep anesthesia, which sometimes is fatal. However, when the blood contains even one tenth of one per cent of alcohol (1 part in 1000) a careful observer may note staggering and clumsiness of movement. A study made in Sweden by police surgeons of all drivers involved in accidents showed that one in every three persons having one tenth of one per cent alcohol in his blood gave indications of being under the influence of liquor. In two out of three of these persons the doctors could not detect outward signs of intoxication. Nevertheless, a concentration in the blood of only three fifths as much as this ( $\frac{3}{5}$  of  $\frac{1}{1000}$ ) is probably the maximum that is safe for motorists. At this concentration there is a measurable delay in responding to signals and

<sup>1</sup> The opinions stated in this paragraph are taken from *Alcohol, Its Effects on Man*, by Haven Emerson, M.D., Professor of Public Health Practice, Columbia University, p. 101. (D. Appleton-Century, 1934.)

poor co-ordination shown in such acts as lighting a match. In susceptible individuals these effects would occur at a still smaller concentration.

Just how much alcohol can be drunk before this concentration in the blood is reached is an important question. Yandel Henderson, Professor of Applied Physiology at Yale, found that two bottles of light beer taken in fifteen minutes on an empty stomach by a college man at no time thereafter produced a concentration more than half as much as this. A single glass of whiskey, however, would have given different results, inasmuch as alcohol in such a concentrated form is quickly absorbed into the blood stream. Tests must be made with thousands of individuals before conclusions can safely be drawn.

*The Relation of Alcohol to Health and Long Life.* Occasionally we hear of some individual who has lived to be ninety or a hundred, yet has used alcohol all his life. Nevertheless, the experience of insurance companies leaves no doubt that total abstainers are, on the whole, longer-lived than non-abstainers. People who drink regularly and moderately (two or three glasses of beer a day or one glass of whiskey daily) have a higher death rate than abstainers and non-abstainers taken together. People who use alcohol only occasionally, and then in moderation, probably live as long as total abstainers.

Statistics from forty-three American life insurance companies covering a period of twenty-five years show: (1) that individuals who took two glasses of beer or a glass of whiskey or an equivalent amount of alcohol each day had a mortality 18 per cent higher than the average of the insured group; (2) that the mortality among those who had indulged in occasional alcoholic excesses previous to their application for life insurance was 50 per cent higher than the average, which means a loss of four years to such lives; (3) that men who admitted that they indulged somewhat freely, but who were still considered acceptable for insurance, had a mortality 86 per cent higher than the average.

Not only does drinking tend to shorten life, it also increases the rate of sickness. This is because alcohol often

brings about a poor state of nutrition and lowers resistance to infection. The alcoholic is more susceptible than the abstainer to a wide variety of diseases, and his illnesses last longer. Diseases of the digestive organs, especially the liver, nervous disorders, and gout occur much more often among drinkers than among nondrinkers. Pneumonia, tuberculosis, high blood pressure, and hardening of the arteries are aggravated by the use of alcohol. For example, persons who become dead-drunk two or three times a year have been found to have a death rate from pneumonia that is nearly four times higher than normal.

Alcohol is also the direct cause of much mental disease. It is estimated that ten to fifteen per cent of the inmates in mental hospitals are there because of alcohol. One of the mental diseases to which alcoholics are especially liable is mental depression or melancholia. The sufferer is sullen, listless, inattentive. He lacks alertness and enthusiasm. He neglects his business and does not carry out his promises. He is careless of his appearance and seems indifferent to the opinions of his associates. His mood becomes more and more despondent, and finally he may commit suicide. In England one in every five suicides is estimated to be due to alcoholism and its attendant mental depression.

#### WHAT ALCOHOL DOES TO SOCIETY

*Alcohol as a Cause of Accidents.* We cannot say what proportion of all accidents are due to alcohol. Ten per cent of automobile accidents are credited to drunken drivers. But many drivers have accidents after only a single drink, and are therefore not classed with drunken drivers. Perhaps we ought to give alcohol the credit for between one fourth to one half of automobile accidents.

Alcohol is an important cause of all kinds of accidents. When under the influence of liquor the individual is less cautious, has less control of his movements, is less able to recognize danger, and has less ability to avert danger when it is recognized than when he is normal. Moreover, alcohol gives him a reckless self-confidence and a tendency to pay

less attention than he usually does to the rights of others. Among 150,000 patients admitted over a four-year period at the Haymarket Relief Station in Boston for emergency care of transportation, industrial, and home accidents, the resident surgeon found that forty per cent of the adults who died from accidents were distinctly alcoholic at the time of the injury. Alcohol was not only the cause of accidents but also lessened the chances of recovery.

*Alcohol as a Cause of Poverty.* The drinker does not obtain employment as readily as the abstainer, for many employers will not hire a man who drinks. Most employers dismiss any employee who comes to work under the influence of alcohol. On the other hand, an unemployed person may turn to alcohol in an effort to forget his troubles. Alcohol is both a cause and a result of unemployment.

Among wage earners living on the minimum-of-subsistence level, any expenditure for alcohol is made at the sacrifice of the minimum essentials of food, clothing, and shelter. For such a family the purchase of alcoholic beverages is a luxury far beyond their means. Of course, the very bareness of their life, their lack of comforts and diversions, makes alcohol the more attractive to them. Alcoholism among the poor is a symptom, as much as it is a cause, of poverty.

A study of German wage earners indicates the close connection between alcoholism and the inability to provide conditions necessary to keep children from developing tuberculosis. (The lack of suitable housing and food is reflected in a high rate of tuberculosis.) Within the families studied —

6.4 per cent of the children had tuberculosis if the father did not use alcohol habitually.

9.4 per cent had the disease if the father used alcohol habitually.

17.1 per cent had it if the father used alcohol to excess.

24.2 per cent had it if the father were a drunkard.

The most serious charge against alcohol as a cause of poverty is yet to be stated. By causing accidents, preventable sickness, and premature death, alcohol forces innumerable families to suffer economic hardships. The crippling or



death of a wage earner or the mother of young children leaves many a family dependent on public relief.

*Alcohol and Moral Restraint.* Because alcohol removes the individual's inhibitions, it tends to promote freedom in sexual conduct. In some individuals this freedom may go



no further than a heightened friendliness toward those of the opposite sex. In susceptible persons alcohol even in moderate amounts lowers the ability to resist temptation. They easily enter into relationships which later will cause them regret. They are likely to be attracted toward persons who ordi-

narily would have no charm for them. Sometimes, under the excitement produced by drinking, young people suddenly decide to get married. The "cocktail elopement," as it has been called, does not, as a rule, establish a happy and long-lasting marriage. When the drinks wear off, disillusionment frequently follows.

*Alcohol and Crime.* The causes of crime are very complex; and a given crime can be understood only by studying the offender's heredity, upbringing, and present environment. To say, as did a lord chief justice of England, that nine tenths of all crime could be traced to drink, is to oversimplify a difficult problem.

None the less, it seems reasonable that an agent which lessens self-control and inflames the emotions must make for the commission of crime. A good many assaults and other crimes of violence and most violations of public decency are committed by alcoholics.

Major felonies, such as premeditated homicides, robberies, kidnapping, and the like, are seldom carried out by persons under the influence of liquor. Minor crimes are more often attributable to drinking. This is borne out by an investigation of arrests made in Berkeley, California, during the years 1930-32. The police department records show which of the arrested persons had been drinking just prior to arrest. Among the 554 persons arrested for major crimes (from felonious homicide to auto theft), only 17 had been drinking. But among 5,395 arrested for minor crimes (from "other assaults" to traffic violations), 1,276 persons had been drinking. In 695 cases the charge was drunkenness. If these cases are not included, then 12 per cent of those arrested for minor crimes were more or less under the influence of liquor at the time of arrest.

*Alcohol and Government.* Our people have long sought for ways to control the liquor traffic. Numerous experiments with local and state control and local and state prohibition were tried without much success. In 1919 the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified, and the voters hoped that the drink problem was permanently solved. It was thought that the national government could achieve complete prohibition

of beverages containing over half of one per cent of alcohol. The Eighteenth Amendment was repealed in 1933.

Two factors have contributed to the failure of all our attempts at control. First, the craving for liquor by those who have become dependent upon it — the alcohol addicts. When liquor cannot be obtained legally, they will find other ways of getting it. So great is their desire for it that they willingly pay the exorbitant price demanded by the bootlegger and the speakeasy. The second factor is the power of the agencies that dispense liquor — the saloon, the speak-easy, the bootlegger, and the whole liquor industry. Associated with the saloon and the speakeasy, we have gambling, vice, and racketeering. All of these agencies are willing to pay well for political protection — for immunity to violate the law. They have long been the principal corrupters of government officials, before, during, and since national prohibition.

*Can Society Control the Drink Evil?* There is no agreement among those who would curb the use of liquor. Some favor complete prohibition of all beverages containing alcohol. They believe that this is the only way that abuse can be prevented. They argue that after a few decades of prohibition no addicts would be left, and there would be little demand for liquor. The great drawback to prohibition lies in the rich opportunities it opens to the bootlegger and the politicians who protect him.

Others favor the acceptance of light beers and wines. They think that these beverages will meet the demand for drinks that promote sociability and relaxation, while rarely causing drunkenness. They maintain that it is difficult to drink enough of a light beer or wine to produce intoxication, inasmuch as the capacity of the stomach is limited and the rate at which the blood absorbs alcohol from a dilute solution is slow. In order to discourage the use of concentrated beverages, they would tax these at a much higher rate per unit of alcohol than they would tax the same quantity of alcohol in a beverage of low concentration. They recommend that taverns for selling light beer or wine should not be allowed to sell spirits; thus beer or wine drinkers would

not be tempted to begin using stronger drinks, as they are in a place that dispenses all kinds of alcoholic beverages. To keep down the price of a glass of beer or wine in comparison with the price of whiskey, brandy, or gin, they recommend that places which sell beer and wine, but do not sell more concentrated drinks, should not be required to pay heavily for a license.

Since the repeal of the Prohibition Amendment our legislators have, for the most part, given more thought to the revenues that the liquor trade can be made to yield than to the discovery of ways to reduce the consumption of alcohol. This is natural, since one of the most attractive arguments for repeal of prohibition was that alcoholic beverages could then be taxed. But the primary object of taxing liquor ought to be social control, not revenue.

Whatever methods may be found to discourage the traffic in strong drink, it seems likely that the traffic will exist for a long time to come. Liquor will continue to be available on some terms or other to those who really want it. Effective control will be possible only when a new public opinion is created — a public opinion that will frown on any but the most moderate use of alcohol. To create this public opinion is the task of education.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. Appoint a committee to report on the history of liquor legislation in your state. What are the features of the current liquor laws?
2. Ask volunteers to report how France, Germany, Sweden, England, and Canada regulate liquor. Is progress toward temperance being made?
3. Interview a social worker, also an official of the police department, as to whether there is a liquor problem in your community. What could be done about it?
4. Prepare a list of the reasons for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Try to discover the part played by the propaganda of vested interests both for and against repeal.
5. Make an analysis of liquor advertising. Does it counteract the efforts of the schools to teach temperance?

6. Look up the federal taxes which apply to alcoholic beverages. What are your state taxes and local license fees? Can you find out whether these taxes are so large as to encourage bootlegging?
7. Write a paper on methods of helping an alcohol addict. Consult the *Readers' Guide*.
8. Find out why people were anxious at the time of repealing prohibition to prevent the return of the saloon. Has the saloon come back in your community?
9. Read further, taking notes, on the effects of alcohol upon the system.
10. Send to the Scientific Temperance Federation, Boston, Massachusetts, requesting copies of their publications for your classroom library.
11. What percentage of alcohol is found in each type of alcoholic beverage? Is it true, as is commonly said, that Americans are the only people in the world who drink much alcohol in concentrations above twenty per cent? What is the alcoholic content of the beers and wines commonly used in France, Germany, and Italy?

#### WORD STUDY

addict

depressant

narcotic

#### QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. For what reasons do people drink? Which reason do you consider the most important?
2. What type of drinker is most likely to become an addict?
3. What is the difference between a controlled drinker and an alcohol addict?
4. Why has alcohol so long been regarded as a stimulant? Show that it is actually a depressant.
5. Outline the successive mental changes brought about by alcohol.
6. Why does a cocktail taken before dinner have so marked an effect?
7. Under what conditions is the drinking of alcoholic beverages most nearly safe?
8. Why is liquor not allowed to athletes in training?
9. Why does their union forbid locomotive engineers to drink?
10. What is the scientific test of the degree of intoxication?

11. What is the maximum concentration of alcohol in the blood that is safe for motorists? Why?
12. Why do insurance companies hesitate to insure drinkers?
13. Why do drinkers have more sickness than nondrinkers?
14. What is the connection between alcoholism and suicide?
15. Name various ways in which drinking contributes to poverty.
16. How might excessive use of alcohol affect the divorce rate?
17. How might the excessive use of alcohol lead to crime?
18. What is the argument for making light beers and wines available at a lower cost than beverages containing more alcohol?  
Is there any reason for prohibiting the sale of strong drink in places intended primarily for the sale of beer?
19. How can the schools promote moderation in the use of alcohol?

## READINGS

Calkins, Raymond, *Substitutes for the Saloon*

Donnelly, Grant L., *Alcohol and the Habit-Forming Drugs* (A scientific and interesting school textbook)

Emerson, Haven, *Alcohol and Man. Alcohol: Its Effects on Man*

Fosdick, R. B., and Scott, A. L., *Toward Liquor Control*

Greenan, John T., and Meredith, Albert B., *Everyday Problems of American Democracy*, chap. xviii, The Liquor Problem

Henderson, Yandel, *A New Deal in Liquor: A Plea for Dilution*

National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Report on Observance and Enforcement of Prohibition*

Strecker, Edward A., and Chambers, Francis T., *Alcohol: One Man's Meat* (The abnormal drinker and what can be done for him)

Williams, Henry S., *Drugs Against Men* (Entertainingly compares the effects of nicotine, caffeine, and other common drugs with the effects of alcohol)

## Chapter 10

### WHO IS THE CRIMINAL?

*There should be no child in America who does not live under sound conditions of health; who does not have full opportunity for education from the kindergarten to the university; who is not free from injurious labor; who does not have stimulation to ambition to the fullest of his or her capacities. . . . A single generation of Americans of such a production would prevent more crime and illness and give more of spirit and of progress than all of the repressive laws and police we can ever invent, and it would cost less.*

HERBERT HOOVER

*What Is a Crime?* An act punishable by society is a crime. It is a violation of the law. An act that was criminal a century ago may not be criminal today, and many acts that once were not criminal have now become so. In Rhode Island in 1822 there were fifty kinds of crimes; a hundred years later there were 212. Three fourths of all those now in federal prisons were committed for offenses which were not offenses twenty years ago.

*Types of Crime.* All crimes are either misdemeanors or felonies. A misdemeanor is not as serious as a felony, and is punished usually by a fine, a jail sentence, or both. Speeding, dumping garbage in the street, drunkenness, and using abusive language in public are misdemeanors. Conviction for a felony means confinement in a prison or death. Murder, manslaughter, forgery, arson, bribery, burglary, and embezzlement are felonies. The punishment for these acts differs somewhat among the several states, and in some the judge or the jury is given wide discretion in fixing the penalty.

From the point of view of the party injured, we may make another classification of crime. One easily understood is:

- (1) attacks that are made upon persons; (2) those made against the public order; (3) those made upon property; (4) acts which prevent the enforcement of the law; and (5) acts which injure the welfare of society.

We must not be misled by thinking that crimes against persons are the most common. The newspapers give such cases wide publicity because they have a strong human interest; they make good news and help sell the papers. The wrecking of a bank or of a building-and-loan association in which poor people have placed their savings, the adulteration of foods, the alliance of trusted public officials with criminal gangs, the bribing of officials, or the selling of bogus stock may cause more human suffering than many of those crimes so widely displayed in the press.

#### OUR GROWING CRIME PROBLEM

*How Much Crime Have We?* This question is not easily answered. Counting 200,000 persons doing time in prisons, jails, and reformatories, and 300,000 more lawbreakers wanted by the police, we have at least 500,000 criminals.

Our crime rate is probably the highest in the world. The homicide rate in this country is eleven times that of England, seven times that of Canada, and about seven times the average homicide rate of all Europe. It is twenty-nine times the rate in Holland. In other types of crime our record is equally bad. More crime is committed in any one of our large cities in a year than in the whole of England with a population many times greater. In one year Chicago had nearly twenty-five times and New York fourteen times as many robberies as all England and Wales; however, some of the acts classified as robberies in the United States are counted as larcenies in Great Britain.

Our crime rate seems to be increasing. This is notably true of the more serious types of crime. The number of people murdered in the United States fifty years ago was about four in 100,000 population; now the number is estimated to be ten in every 100,000 people.

*The Cost of Crime.* There are various reasons for our high



*Adapted from cartoon in San Francisco Call-Bulletin*

What's wrong with this picture?

crime rate. In the first place, our population is very mobile. People who move from one place to another may remain strangers in the community to which they go; they feel less obligation to uphold the mores than those who are better known. Furthermore, people who have no strong community ties, particularly if they are economically underprivileged, may become personally disorganized. Those areas in a city characterized by the greatest mobility of population — the rooming-house areas — always have an abnormally high rate of desertion, divorce, vice, crime, and suicide. In the second place, our population is culturally heterogeneous. Our numerous nationality and racial groups have divergent standards of conduct. The individual is often bewildered by these conflicting standards and feels little compulsion to obey any of them. In the third place, we have a tradition of lawlessness. America is still close to pioneer days. On the frontier social controls are weak; the individual does as he pleases, there being scarcely anyone to interfere.

An enormous amount of money is expended each year to catch and convict criminals and to maintain our police systems, courts, jails, and prisons. The cost of this machinery for the protection of life and property runs into hundreds of millions of dollars annually. This is regarded as the direct cost of crime.

The indirect cost of crime amounts to several billions of dollars a year. It includes the loss or destruction of property; losses due to fraud, graft, and racketeering; and losses due to the fact that criminals and prisoners are not productive workers. The total money cost of crime each year in the United States is probably twice what is spent for all schools, colleges, hospitals, and religious work. Every American is helping to pay this enormous crime bill.

To the money cost of crime must be added the *real* cost in suffering. There is the never-ending fear, especially in cities, that our possessions, be these small or great, will be taken from us, or perhaps wilfully destroyed. Anyone whose home has once been broken into can never again feel quite secure. There is the grief endured by the family whose child has been assaulted or kidnapped or whose breadwinner has

been slain. There is also the strain and worry felt by all parents lest their children become the victims of criminals. This anxiety is, of course, shared by nearly all children old enough to know something about crime. Cannot every reader of this book recall his childish terror of being left alone in the house at night, or of going on an errand in a dim or lonely way? Fortunate indeed is the society where children need not be afraid of strangers.

*The Young Criminal.* Increasingly our criminals are young people. Of every ten persons now in prisons and reformatories, four are between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five. If the entire prison population is divided into two-year groups, the largest group of all will be men and women of nineteen and twenty years of age.

Are these young people abnormal, or are they much like others of their same age? Have they the same needs and desires as the rest of humanity? Why have they adopted such poor ways of satisfying their basic drives? Can we find out what kind of environment has shaped them?

In one of the most careful studies of criminals ever made, 510 men who had served terms in the Massachusetts reformatory were investigated. Their case histories since birth were written out. It was found that the typical member of this group of 510 criminals —

Came from a large, illiterate, and impoverished family living in a congested city area. Fifteen per cent of the families were dependent on charity, while 60 per cent more were in very wretched circumstances, often having to seek help from charitable agencies to tide over a difficult period.

Came from a family in which one of the parents, or another brother or sister, was already a criminal.

Came from a broken home, in which one of the parents was absent all or most of the time.

Was American-born of foreign parents.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The frequency with which the children of the foreign-born become delinquent is one of the tragedies of our immigrant families. The children are quick to adopt American customs and to learn English, and because their parents are often much slower in adjusting to conditions in their new homeland, they break away from parental control. Another factor in this situation is the poverty and bad housing of many immigrant families, and the likelihood that the mother is employed away from home, with consequent inability to look after her children.

Had left school at fourteen or fifteen to work at unskilled, low-paid jobs.

Had left home before eighteen and drifted from place to place seeking work.

Had begun delinquency by sixteen.

Had been arrested four times before being sent to the reformatory.

Had stayed in the reformatory fifteen months.

Had, in 80 per cent of the cases, returned within a few years to a life of crime.

Was, in 21 per cent of the cases, feeble-minded.

In another study of a group of young Massachusetts criminals, all of whom were normal in intelligence, it was found that 86 per cent were retarded from one to six grades in school. It was concluded that the child who is a problem in school is very likely to become a juvenile delinquent, and finally an adult criminal.

It was also found that even in normal times over 60 per cent of young Massachusetts criminals were out of work at the time they committed the crimes for which they were sent to prison. In other words, a young man is most likely to engage in crime when he is unemployed. Few men with trades were found in the jails of Massachusetts. Indeed, the inmates of these jails were nearly all unskilled in any means of earning a livelihood.

#### CONDITIONS WHICH PRODUCE THE CRIMINAL

Most adult criminals were juvenile delinquents. Frequently their antisocial tendencies were evident before they reached teen age; they were known by their teachers as "problem children." In many other cases antisocial behavior did not become serious until middle or late adolescence.

*The Juvenile Delinquent.* To understand the adult criminal, it is necessary to study the juvenile delinquent. About 200,000 different children yearly pass before the courts on delinquency charges. The most usual charges against boys are "stealing," "acts of carelessness or mischief," and "traffic violations." The charge "act of carelessness or mischief" de-

creases with the age of the boy, while the four closely related charges, "truancy, running away, ungovernable, and sex offense," increase. Among boys, stealing is the principal offense in each age period. Among girls, the offenses of "truancy, running away, ungovernable, and sex offense" are the principal reasons for reference to the court.

However, the kind of misconduct does not tell us much about a delinquent. What we need to discover is the urge or motive that led to the misconduct. Stealing, for example, may be for personal display, to provide a treat for the group, for excitement, or for revenge. Sometimes it is the symbol of a repressed longing, as in the woman who stole and hoarded baby clothes, and the college girl who filled the closet of her room with expensive footwear, stolen from the other girls, which she never wore.

Each delinquent has to be studied as an individual. His behavior patterns and impulses are peculiar to him. To understand the source of his delinquency we must, in a friendly, abbreviated way, live his life over again with him. When the delinquent is studied in this manner, it is usually found that his misconduct is due to a combination of unfavorable influences.

In the following pages let us examine the factors which are most often found in the life stories of delinquents.

*Bad Home Conditions.* A family group to whom to be loyal and with whom to feel secure is one of the strongest assets that anyone can have. It is a powerful source of contentment. It is also a steadying influence. The young person who has not experienced this kind of family life, or from whom it has been withdrawn, feels deeply insecure and incomplete. He is apt to be restless and reckless, ready for any sort of adventure that will provide a substitute for the emotional satisfactions that his home does not afford. Often he joins a gang, finding there a comradeship and a loyalty that should have been expressed in the family circle. The girl who is denied affection and security in her home may seek a substitute in an alliance with some man who has noticed her loneliness and who does not scruple to take advantage of it.



Professor Lawrence Averill gives us the story of a girl who became delinquent.<sup>2</sup>

Bertha, at the age of twelve, was thrown completely on her own resources. She was placed in domestic service in a family that cared more for the work she could do for them outside

school hours than for her happiness. For three years she was the family drudge, serving as cook, nurse-maid, and maid-of-all work. No social good times were allowed her. The pittance she was paid above her board and keeps sufficed only for the plainest clothes. She longed for pretty things, for a chance to go to the movies and parties, and to engage in sports.

At fifteen she was again thrown upon her own resources. She got work in a shop, and with another lonely girl, rented a tiny apartment. In the idle evening hours she at last had time to enjoy the gaiety of the streets and amusement places. She made the acquaintance of a young fellow of doubtful morals and was much in his company. The inevitable happened. Bertha became a mother and the father of her child dropped out of sight.

About forty per cent of delinquent boys and over fifty per cent of delinquent girls come from broken homes. A

<sup>2</sup> Averill Lawrence, *Adolescence*. By permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

broken home is one which has lost one or both parents because of separation, divorce, desertion, confinement in some institution, or death. Many homes not actually broken are badly disrupted by parents who quarrel incessantly with each other. In some homes the children are harshly treated or sternly repressed. In others the father and mother do not agree on methods of discipline, and the child, bewildered and insecure, pays little attention to the commands of either parent. For legions of young delinquents the road to crime offers a substitute for the happiness and security that are lacking in their home life.

Often the victim of childhood misery develops a grudge against society. Dr. Frankwood Williams illustrates this by a story of his experience in a western penitentiary. While making mental examinations of the inmates, Dr. Williams was told that one of the worst criminals was to be sent to him. When the young fellow appeared, Dr. Williams thought some mistake must have been made, but he soon found that the name was that of the criminal who had been terrorizing that part of the country. Nothing about the young man suggested his desperate character. After a brief conversation, his life story clearly revealed the social influences that had pushed him into a criminal career.

His mother had died early and his father had married again. His stepmother already had two sons older than he. These boys and their mother soon began to nag the little fellow and treat him with contempt. Again and again he was thrashed by the older boys. The stepmother constantly reiterated her bad opinion of him. Time after time the lad vowed he would not stand such treatment any longer, but was never able to carry his resolution into effect. Thus he suffered an increasing loss of self-respect in addition to the physical punishment he received from the three members of the family who were out of sympathy with him. His father apparently was either indifferent or unable to protect him.

After having received unusually hard treatment one day, the boy announced to the family circle his determination to leave. He shouted out to them that the next time they saw him he would be the crook that they had so often declared him to be; and then he disappeared. His reading had been such that his idea of courage was personified by the western desperado. To the West

he went. He quickly drifted into the criminal class and soon was himself successfully committing crime. Although he had never committed murder, he had wounded more than one officer of the law sent to catch him. He was proud of his record. His grudge concerning the bad treatment he had received in his childhood had distorted his life and turned his ambition into unwholesome expression. He was utterly out of harmony with organized society and determined to earn his livelihood by preying upon it. It was evident that the will-to-power cravings that reacted against his mistreatment could have been guided into constructive channels; and the probability is that he would have been unusually successful in some useful vocation.

In a study of 823 juvenile offenders, Dr. William Healy found that bad home conditions were a major cause of misconduct in 162 cases and a minor cause in 488 cases. Following is an analysis of these unsatisfactory home conditions: <sup>3</sup>

NUMBER OF CASES IN WHICH BAD HOME CONDITIONS  
WERE A CAUSE OF DELINQUENCY

(Total Cases Studied 823)

	Major Cause	Minor Cause
Quarreling and other irritative conditions . . .	26	78
Members of family at home alcoholic, immoral, or criminalistic . . . . .	62	95
Poverty . . . . .	4	59
Lack of home control through:		
Gross ignorance . . . . .	2	10
Illness . . . . .	2	26
Father away much . . . . .	..	6
Mother working out . . . . .	21	32
Sheer inability of parents to control . . . . .	11	68
Family not immigrated . . . . .	..	3
Parental neglect excessive . . . . .	7	31
Family broken up . . . . .	20	35
No home, plus		
Street life . . . . .	..	1
Wandering life . . . . .	..	4
Child changed about in institutions and boarding places . . . . .	2	17
Immoral home environment . . . . .	5	23
	162	488

<sup>3</sup> William Healy, *The Individual Delinquent*, Little, Brown and Co.

*A Slum Environment.* In every large city are certain areas known to the police as breeding places of gangs, delinquency, and crime. These areas are adjacent to business and industrial districts, and are characterized by squalid housing, a high proportion of families on relief, and an absence of parks and playgrounds. From homes in which there is neither space nor equipment for play, the children go to the streets. Some of the boys go to gang hangouts in cellars or vacant lofts. Many of the older boys go to low-grade poolrooms, where they come in contact with loafers and vicious characters. Those who can wheedle a dime from their parents, or who can beg it, one penny at a time, from passersby, go to cheap movie houses, where the poorest pictures — "blood and thunder" films and serial thrillers — are shown. Even these inferior movies are a source of happiness to the slum dweller, a means of escape from emptiness and despair. It is not surprising that some children steal in order to obtain the price of admission.

Not all slum children become delinquent, nor do all delinquents come from the slums. Nevertheless, the slum is the great spawning-bed of crime, because of the combination of bad housing, low income, the weakened grip of regulatory institutions such as the family and the church, the forced association with all sorts of human dregs, and the unwholesome and inadequate recreational outlets. The slum child sees all around him examples of bitterness, frustration, apathy, squalor, and disorganization. Is it any wonder that he often acquires the same patterns of behavior? Delinquency is so common in some neighborhoods and so little frowned on by adults that it is practically the normal and accepted behavior for boys.

The close connection between crime and environment is shown in a study of delinquents made in Chicago. The area of the city was divided into four zones, roughly concentric. In the zone nearest the center resided over half of the total number of delinquents. In the zone farthest from the center, although containing more area and more people, less than four per cent of the delinquents resided. This illustrates the influence of a poor neighborhood in causing delinquency, and



the good influence of the middle-class suburbs. The four zones compared as follows:

ZONE	I	II	III	IV
Per cent of total delinquents. . . .	54.9	30.4	10.9	3.8
Per cent of population. . . . .	21.8	27.1	26.2	24.9
Per cent of area. . . . .	22.4	26.6	19.2	31.8

This table, with similar ones made in other large cities, proves one fact: *Delinquency which comes to the attention of people and courts is concentrated in areas that lack adequate resources for wholesome community life.*

*School Maladjustment.* The typical juvenile delinquent first comes into conflict with the law because he repeatedly "plays hooky." Needless to say, he skips school because it is distasteful to him. The chances are that the truant is also known to his teachers as a troublemaker, and a lazy or stupid pupil as well. His intelligence may or may not be normal.

The truant is frequently in revolt against all authority, including that of the school. His misbehavior at school may be the symptom of some deep-seated maladjustment which is rooted in the past or in his home. Too often his troubles are made worse by unwise treatment from school authorities. If luckily they handle him wisely, his misbehavior and his truancy may cease, and he may be saved from more serious delinquency.

To what extent the school itself is to blame when pupils fail to adjust themselves to its requirements, is hard to say. The school program is frequently so academic as to be unattractive and meaningless to the pupil of less than average ability. The teaching may be lifeless, and the teacher may possibly be disagreeable and sarcastic. On the other hand, the pupil may be knocked around at home, and come to school in a defiant mood that gets him into trouble. Or he may have a physical handicap for which he compensates by rowdy or disobedient behavior. If he is poorly dressed, he may try to win recognition by bullying other children. (However, some poorly dressed children are shy and reserved.) In all probability, the maladjusted pupil is retarded one or more grades and has to endure the ridicule of his

former classmates and the younger children with whom he now is thrown. His bad behavior is a natural reaction to his sense of inferiority.

Most schools might do more than they now are doing to help the problem pupil. A program for lessening school maladjustment would include: (1) the elimination of unsympathetic and maladjusted teachers, (2) the enrichment of the course of study and the expansion of nonacademic courses and activities to meet the needs of all types of children, (3) provision for slow-moving groups, (4) vocational training and guidance.

In city schools, where as a rule there is little contact between classroom teachers and the parents of the pupils, the visiting teacher is a great asset. Her job is to counsel with parents and to help the problem child adjust himself better in school and also at home. Children who present more serious behavior problems can often be helped by a child guidance clinic; it is the duty of school authorities to see that such clinics are established and made use of.

*Physical Illness and Defeat.* Are boys and girls who go wrong less healthy than those who are well-behaved? The evidence on this point is not conclusive.

Some delinquents, especially adolescent girls, have unusual robustness and vitality. Their very abundance of energy seems to lead them into mischief.

Delinquents as a whole seem to have more than their share of physical abnormalities. Malfunctioning glands, malnutrition, undersize, diseased tonsils and adenoids, decayed teeth, defective hearing, and defective vision unquestionably contribute to social maladjustment and, it follows, to misconduct. Bad health or physical defects are directly responsible for a great deal of school failure. The child who can't make the grade feels inferior, suffers from the taunts of other children, and likely as not, begins to skip school. To compensate he may act like a tough guy. Thus his poor physical condition indirectly leads him into lawlessness.

*Mental Abnormalities.* Are delinquents likely to have mental defects? Is their mental health likely to be poor? Most students would answer "yes" to both of these questions.

In his study of 823 juvenile delinquents, Dr. William Healy found that the most frequent cause of their bad behavior was mental abnormalities.

Delinquents are duller, on the average, than nondelinquents. As a group their intelligence quotients center at 90 instead of 100. Dull persons have less ability to appreciate the standards upheld by society, receive less social recognition, and have less earning power. They commonly develop inadequate personalities. Lack of success in ordinary, lawful activities may tempt them into crime. However, some criminals — the embezzlers, for example — are unusually bright.

Delinquents are, of course, socially maladjusted. They are therefore likely to show some or all the signs of poor mental health. They generally lack emotional control, and easily give way to hate, fear, and jealousy. Some are sulky and stubborn, others cowardly and helpless, while many are irritable and ill-tempered, or perhaps noisy and defiant. Such emotionally unstable people may be termed "psychopathic." Among them we find not only delinquents but tramps, misfits of all kinds, and alcohol and drug addicts.

In 1922 the National Committee for Mental Hygiene made a careful examination of 1228 prisoners confined in thirty-four county jails and state penitentiaries in New York State. Of this number, two thirds had been in prison before. Some of these had been arrested as often as fifty times. Forty-two per cent were psychopathic; thirteen per cent were feeble-minded; seven per cent were insane; fifteen per cent had other mental abnormalities. Only twenty-three per cent of these prisoners were found to be free from recognized mental abnormalities.

Among other conditions that may produce misconduct is the normal craving for adventure or new experience.

*The Desire for New Experience.* One of the strongest drives in the adolescent is the desire for excitement and adventure. If the home life is barren because of poverty or repression, the child of strong character is likely to defy the law in his search for thrills. His physical and mental energy must find an outlet. If a proper outlet is not available, he embarks on some form of delinquency.



A gang of boys often drifts into petty crime for no other reason than to find excitement. Emptiness of life bears harder on the city boy than on the country boy, and therefore gang spirit waxes stronger in the city.

Some years ago the police and fire departments of a small city were bothered for weeks by an epidemic of false fire-alarms. As many as five or six false alarms might be rung from boxes in the outskirts of the city in the course of an evening. The local newspapers ran threatening headlines and printed scathing editorials, doing everything possible to make heroes in their own eyes of the gang of boys suspected of being responsible. It is easy for us to imagine the delight felt by these boys in reading about their escapades and all the excitement they were creating. Had the newspapers printed nothing about their mischief, they would probably soon have grown tired of it. It would have ceased to offer any new experience.

Dr. William Healy has given us the description of a boy who shows perfectly the ease with which criminal behavior may atone for poverty of interests. This lad of thirteen had become the leader of a gang of youthful burglars. Their thieving adventures were skilfully planned and cleverly car-

ried out. The boy was physically and mentally alert and active. He had courage and aggressiveness. His environment had little to give him any zest in living. His father was ignorant and drank a great deal. The home, kept by his stepmother, was most uninviting. The boy found in stealing and burglary plenty of adventure and enterprise that captivated his mental powers and brought him money which could be spent for other exciting pleasures. Dr. Healy tells us that this youthful burglar was quickly turned from his career of crime by being given a country home with ordinary opportunities for wholesome interests and adventures. Barrenness of experience had caused him to seek excitement in crime, but in the normal rural environment he found pleasures more thrilling than those which burglary had provided.

#### THE LONG-RANGE ATTACK ON CRIME

*Crime Repression versus Crime Prevention.* In dealing with crime society had for centuries only one program — *crime repression*. The criminal must be caught and punished. It was thought that the more terrible the punishment the more surely would other individuals be deterred from crime. This policy never proved successful, and has gradually been rejected by enlightened peoples.

In democratic countries procedures have been developed for the purpose of insuring an accused person of a fair trial.



Cruel and unusual punishments have been forbidden. It is recognized that the accused individual has the right to an orderly, impartial, and public trial before a jury. He is entitled to have a lawyer to defend him. His lawyer may summon any witnesses who can testify concerning the alleged crime. In addition, the officers of the law must safeguard the accused from persons or mobs seeking vengeance.

The community manhunt and lynching-bee, characteristic of the frontier and of backward regions, is not in accord with democratic principles. It is a relic of barbarism. Such examples of lawlessness can only weaken respect for all law, and thus actually encourage crime.

Crime repression has failed to curb crime and recently a new program has begun to claim attention — *crime prevention*. As in the fields of medicine, flood control, poverty, accidents, etc., prevention is seen to be of major importance. This does not mean, of course, that crime repression can be slighted. The apprehension and conviction of criminals should be made as certain and speedy as possible. There is little question that we need better co-ordination of local police departments, the increased use of new scientific methods for hunting the criminal, and changes in the judicial procedure that would leave fewer loopholes through which arrested persons often evade punishment. At the same time society must give a great deal more thought than in the past to the problem of preventing crime.

We know that crime usually arises from a complex of causes. Therefore a program of crime prevention must be a many-sided attack on the factors usually found in the careers of offenders.

*How the Home Can Help.* The home can do more than any other institution in preventing delinquency. In the home are passed the most influential years of the child's entire life. Here he learns his most deep-seated behavior patterns, including his emotional habits. If his social relationships within the home are not satisfying, his personality is bound to be distorted.

It goes without saying that many families are failing in their most vital task — the bringing up of children of fine

character. Let us not blame these unsuccessful homemakers. Home life in modern society grows increasingly difficult, bringing problems that sometimes cannot be solved without outside assistance. What can be done to help people to become better homemakers?

Preparation for marriage offers much promise. Young men and women need instruction to enable them to make the best possible adjustment to each other. They also need training in the business management of a household as well as in the techniques of housekeeping. Marriage is a joint enterprise for which both partners need a considerable training.

Broken homes might be less common were marriage guidance clinics and mental hygiene clinics more generally available. In these clinics unhappy persons may obtain counsel that they need in improving their family adjustments.

Parental education is now being widely advocated. It is thought that most parents would benefit from study of the new methods of child management and the new knowledge of child psychology. Parents are usually eager to learn how to give the best physical care to their children; they are only beginning to give thought to mental hygiene. Parents should be taught to deal with serious behavior problems in their children as they deal with illness — by seeking expert advice promptly.

That expert advice shall be within reach of parents, child guidance clinics must be established all over the country. Already such clinics are in operation in the larger cities. In one or two states traveling clinics serve rural communities. The most common type of guidance clinic is the "habit clinic" for the preschool child. There is great need not only for more habit clinics but also for clinics dealing with the personality problems of older children and adolescents.

*How the Community Can Help.* The child's needs can never be fully satisfied by his home; as he grows, more and more of his time will be spent in the community. Nor can the home itself flourish unless the surrounding community is wholesome. The community has a heavy responsibility toward all its growing citizens.

Slum clearance and the provision of good low-cost housing

are among our sorest needs. They deserve a central place in the whole program of crime prevention.

The provision of more playgrounds and play spaces is needed in the older sections of nearly every city. Other kinds of recreational facilities — athletic fields, swimming pools, tennis courts, clubrooms, community theaters and orchestras, and the like — will help to keep older boys and girls contented. When they are happily occupied, young people rarely embark on crime. Recreational facilities and instruction in leisure-time pursuits will doubtless pay for themselves several times over by lessening the delinquency rate.

Adequate medical care is another community responsibility. No child with a preventable defect or illness should go untreated because of the poverty or ignorance of his parents. Nor should his parents have to endure the lowered efficiency and earning power and the personality maladjustment that result from preventable defects and illness. The provision of good medical care at a price that every family can afford is one essential in the program of crime prevention.

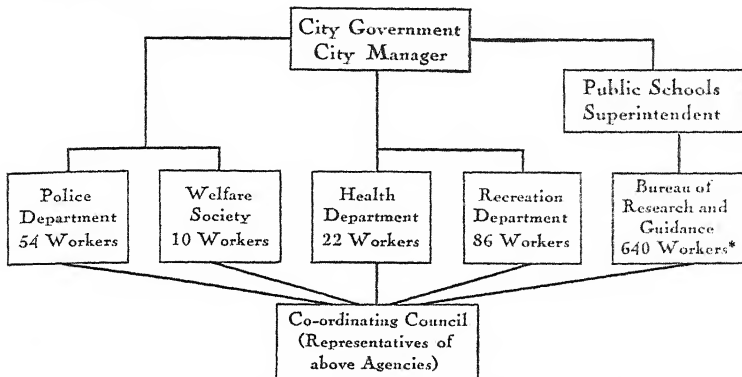
The necessity for good schools, where youngsters of all types of ability can develop into their own best selves, has already been discussed.

The community, with or without state aid, is responsible for the care of the mentally defective and disordered. Too many of these unfortunates are now at large, daily exposed to situations with which they cannot cope and which offer temptation to crime.

The co-ordination of all child welfare agencies within the community is another hopeful method of crime prevention. Under the Co-ordinating Council Plan, which originated in Berkeley, California, in 1919, all community leaders concerned with juvenile delinquents and pre-delinquents are brought together. Social workers, educators, recreation directors, probation and parole officers, police, and religious leaders are thus enabled to unite their efforts to help individual offenders and to improve undesirable conditions. More than a hundred of these co-ordinating councils are now operating in nearly half of our states.

*How Society Can Help.* In the many-sided attack on crime

## Co-ordinating Council for the Prevention of Delinquency



\*Including administrative and teaching staff for the entire school system, (Berkeley, Cal.)

*United States Department of the Interior: Bulletin No. 18, 1932*

some tasks are far too great for either the home or the community. They must be attempted by society as a whole.

The long-range program for reducing crime will surely require an attack upon all those conditions in our society which now prevent the majority of people from enjoying an adequate standard of living. There must be enough material goods for all, with security for anyone who is willing to work and for his family. The abolition of poverty, bringing an end of bad housing, of insufficient medical care, of malnutrition, of preventable death, and, above all, an end of the fear and worry that grips so many people throughout life, will mean, on the one hand, far less temptation to engage in crime, and on the other hand, a general improvement in mental health, which is bound to be reflected in better social attitudes and conduct.

A higher standard of political and business morality is another grave social need. This must come if we are to have fewer of what may be called "professional criminals." Popularly known as gangsters and racketeers, they exact an enormous tribute from many lines of business, adding in hundreds of unseen ways to the cost of living. Highly or-

ganized, able to command large sums of money, and sometimes protected by corrupt public officials, they may escape punishment indefinitely. How criminals of this kind are to be brought to justice is one of the most pressing problems of our day. The federal government has proved more effective in catching them, notably the kidnappers, than have state and local authorities.

Racketeering is not always to be easily distinguished from unethical practices still tolerated in politics, banking, and business. The policy of charging all that the traffic will bear, of adulterating and misrepresenting goods, of manipulating accounts to avoid payment of income taxes, of selling securities at levels far above their real value, and other sharp practices, are only a step removed from racketeering. Until these acts are curbed it will be difficult to prevent individuals from stepping over the line into downright crime.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. Summarize the chapter in about one page.
2. A committee might visit the local jail and any near-by reform schools and prisons. A full and critical report of each should be given.
3. Read in class some of the cases presented in Chapter V of *Adolescence*, by Lawrence Averill. Discuss the possible reasons for the misconduct and possible ways of preventing further delinquency in each case.
4. *Child Management* (Children's Bureau Publication No. 143) should be ordered for your classroom library. The sections on Lying, pp. 85-88, and Stealing, pp. 89-94, contain valuable case studies of young children, which will be helpful with the present chapter. This admirable publication is an example of the helpful material that parents can now obtain from various government and private agencies.
5. Make a list of agencies in your community (1) to which a problem child could be referred, (2) from which parents could obtain instruction or assistance in questions of child guidance, (3) to which a married couple could go for counsel.
6. Collect a few examples of newspaper clippings that might encourage suggestible persons to commit crime. Also watch for stories of criminals who seem to be seeking publicity.

7. Report to the class on some typical gang of boys, from your reading, or better, from personal observation.
8. Invite a worker from the juvenile court or from a child guidance clinic or a visiting teacher to address the class on conditions making for delinquency in your community.
9. Find out what is being done in your community to make the police system more efficient.
10. Find out the difference in procedure and aims of a juvenile court and a regular court.
11. Ask the principal of your school whether he thinks the schools are partly responsible for delinquency, and the changes he would recommend.
12. Interpret the drawings on pp. 185, 190, and 194.
13. Examine the diagram on p. 203.

WORD STUDY

felony	habit clinic	misdemeanor	psychopath
--------	--------------	-------------	------------

QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Crime, like neurosis, is a false solution to a trying problem. Explain.
2. Seventy per cent of all prisoners are repeaters. How do you explain this?
3. Where should the program of crime prevention begin?
4. Why is the delinquency rate so high among the very poor?
5. If every family had a comfortable income would we still have crime and criminals?
6. What are the duties of a visiting teacher? If you had to engage such a teacher for your school what sort of person would you select?
7. What should be the qualifications of a juvenile court judge?
8. Outline a program for the prevention of delinquency.
9. Why are the children of the foreign-born more likely than other children to become delinquent? (The foreign-born themselves have a much lower crime rate than the native-born.)
10. How may mental dullness contribute to delinquency? What might the schools do to lessen this tendency?
11. How may physical abnormalities contribute to juvenile delinquency?
12. What could newspapers do to lessen the crime rate?

13. How may the high crime rate of the United States be explained?
14. In sentencing a criminal, should a judge be influenced more by the nature of the crime or by the character of the offender?

## READINGS

- Adams, James Truslow, "Our Lawless Heritage," *Atlantic Monthly*, Dec., 1928
- Averill, Lawrence A., *Adolescence*, chap. v, Crime and Delinquency
- Barnes, Harry Elmer, *The Story of Punishment* (Shows how hopeless is the method of punishment). *Battling the Crime Wave* (Progressive ideas on the treatment of crime and criminals)
- Cantor, Nathaniel F., *Crime* (In the pamphlet series, *American Primers*). *Crime, Criminals, and Criminal Justice*
- Children's Bureau, *Child Management*, Pub. 143, 1937. *Facts about Juvenile Delinquency*, Pub. 215, 1935
- Darrow, Clarence, *Crime, Its Cause and Treatment* (A challenging book by a noted criminal lawyer). *The Story of My Life* (See especially chaps. xxxvii-xl on crime and punishment)
- Elliott, Mabel A., and others, *Our Dynamic Society*, chaps. v, vi, vii, xxvi
- Glueck, Sheldon, and Glueck, Eleanor T., *Five Hundred Criminal Careers. Preventing Crime, a Symposium*
- Harrison, Leonard V., and Grant, Pryor M., *Youth in the Toils*
- Morris, Albert, *Criminology*
- National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Reports*, Vol. VI, *The Causes of Crime* (Contains case studies)
- Thrasher, Frederic M., *The Gang*
- Van Waters, Miriam, *Youth in Conflict*
- White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *The Delinquent Child*
- Wilson, Margaret, *The Crime of Punishment*

## Unit V

### *How Individuals May Improve Their Adjustments*

LIFE is a process of adjusting ourselves to ever-changing conditions. Perhaps never before in human history have people been called upon to make so many and such intricate adjustments. This is the price we pay for our modern freedom of the individual. Moreover, all of the cultural lags which have appeared with our rapid industrial advance make life more difficult. Because of this we know that many of our institutions must be made over. But meanwhile what is the individual to do? Can science give him any guidance?

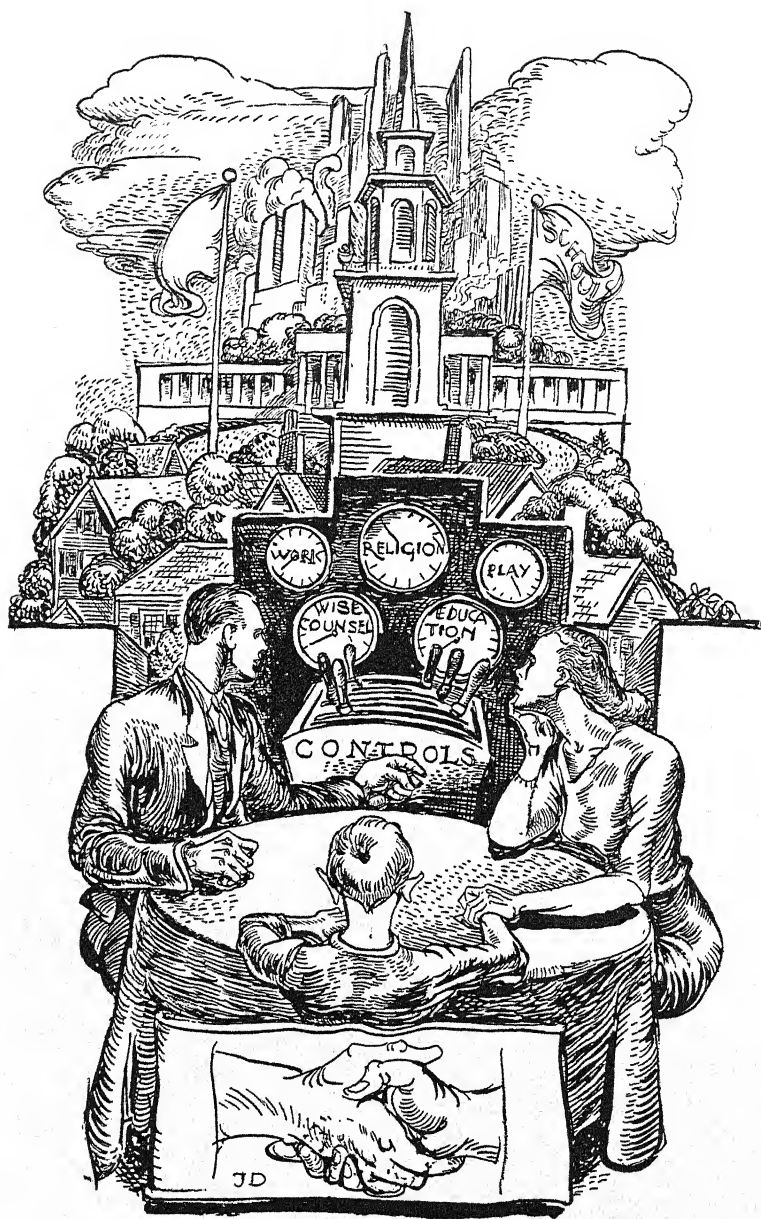
Science is prepared with a wealth of information to safeguard and to enrich every phase of human experience. We have been slow to utilize the contributions of the still young social sciences. When this new knowledge is put to use we shall be able to live more satisfyingly.

In Chapter 11 we shall consider how an individual may improve his standard of living by more skillful buymanship, by better management of his resources, and by co-operating with other consumers.

Since leisure is to be a feature of modern life, Chapter 12 discusses how it can best be used for true recreation.

The chapter on "The Successful Family" analyzes some of the characteristics most to be desired in a marriage partner. Chapter 14, "The Family in Transition," shows how modern developments are affecting our most important social group. It suggests some of the reasons for the alarming increase of divorce and some of the difficulties experienced by the divorced.

Education is, of course, the chief means by which individuals may improve their adjustments. It will be considered in Unit VI.



# Chapter 11

## THE WISER MANAGEMENT OF MONEY

*The cost of a thing is the amount of what I will call life which is required to be exchanged for it.*

HENRY DAVID THOREAU

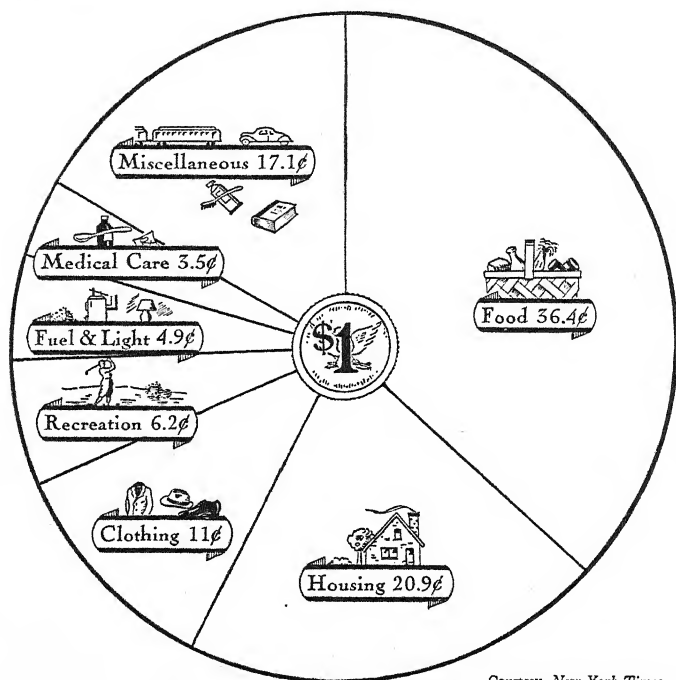
ALL of us are constantly besieged by suggestions for spending our money. We cannot pass along the streets, or open a newspaper or magazine, or turn on the radio without exposure to clamorous advertisements. Printed advertising floods our letter boxes. House-to-house salesmen ring our bells. Even if we could escape these external urges to part with our money, we should not find it easy to decide how to spend our funds. We no sooner have a dollar in our pockets than we can think of a dozen ways to spend it. The problem is to choose the way that will yield the most enduring satisfaction.

*The Scale of Living.* The scale of living is the way one actually lives. Four scales have been described, on each of which large numbers of Americans live. These are:

1. The poverty level. At this level families are just able to escape dependence on charity. They cannot keep themselves in a state of physical efficiency. They are undernourished and poorly housed and liable to acute distress at any minor misfortune. A family spending forty per cent or more of its income on food is in all probability living in poverty. A family of five living in one of the larger American cities on an income of less than \$1100 a year is on this level.

2. The minimum of subsistence level. On this level physical efficiency can be maintained so long as no misfortune brings serious expenses or reduces earnings. Clothing will

## Where the Worker's Dollar Goes



Courtesy, New York Times

The expenditures are those of low-income New York families.

be shabby and the diet very plain. If social pleasures and recreations that cost money are obtained, the family must sacrifice on food and necessities. A city family of five earning \$1100 to \$1400 a year lives on this scale. So does a farm family of five having less than \$800 net cash income a year.

3. The minimum of health and decency level. This is also known as the minimum comfort or the American level. It allows subsistence plus a few comforts. Household equipment can be replaced as it wears out, but no additional furniture can be bought without severe pruning of the budget. Clothing is sufficient for bodily comfort with little regard for fashion. Life insurance, minor school needs for the children, a very small allowance for medical care, and a few amusements and incidentals bring the cost for a city family

of five to between \$1500 and \$2000. A farm family with a net cash income of \$1200 a year and \$600 in food, fuel, and dwelling supplied by the farm, lives on this scale.

4. The citizenship and security level. On \$2000 a year the family of five has a small margin for those items which may bring the enrichment of personality. Money can be spared for dentistry, eyeglasses, and health examinations — none of which are usually included in smaller budgets unless the need is extreme. More recreation, educational extras, and hospitality can be afforded than on the health and decency level. A low-priced automobile, a brief family vacation, music lessons, memberships in clubs, or other luxuries amounting to two or three hundred dollars a year may be considered. On this level a family may send a child to college if it is possible for him to reduce expenses by living at home or by working most of his way.

*The Standard of Living.* One's standard of living may be higher than one's actual scale of living. It is the way one wants to live, that satisfies one's sense of what is necessary, decent, and tolerable. It is a power to which we defer unconsciously in every choice we make. It is a scale of preferences so strong that it often makes us feel as if we had no choices — as if every dollar came tagged with the purpose for which it must go. Is Bill wearing a shabby suit? Then he may feel no choice in spending his next earnings. Is Ann in need of a haircut? Then she may feel no choice in spending her next half dollar.

Most people feel a strong social compulsion to adopt the mode of living of their associates. Their preferences are created for them by the group. This is another way of saying that the standard of living is a behavior pattern and a system of values contained in the mores.

In the American standard of living the most prominent values are: physical health, cleanliness, physical comfort, the saving of labor and time, the avoidance of boredom, and prolonged schooling. Values which are not highly rated by the average person are privacy, quiet, beauty of surroundings, contemplation, community service, and the expression of individuality in dress and furnishings.

*What Is a High Standard of Living?* When a person's interests are limited, and his set of values crude, his standard of living will not be high. The possession of a comfortable income will not assure him a full life.

A high standard of living is really a high sense of what is worth while doing and having and being. Some of the tests of a high standard of living are: (1) the degree to which a full and varied experience is provided for, (2) the opportunity given for the expression of personality and individual interests, (3) the degree to which the most lasting, the least costly, and the most basic satisfactions have been chosen. (By most basic satisfactions are meant those necessary for health, vigor, and productive efficiency.)

A high standard of living contains (1) a minimum of injurious sources of satisfactions (such as narcotics), (2) a minimum of purely conventional and imitative values (things desired chiefly because "everyone" has them), and (3) a minimum of prestige values (things desired chiefly because they create envy in those less fortunate, or because they are "exclusive" or expensive).

*How Budgeting Makes Possible a Higher Standard of Living.* Budgeting is a pattern or plan for spending. It means surveying one's needs and one's known resources and then deciding how the resources can best be used to satisfy the needs. Since the resources are likely to be too small to satisfy all the needs, budgeting implies that a selection shall be made among the needs. The most basic satisfactions — those essential for health and productive efficiency — should be given preference over all others. After these are provided for, the remaining resources can be applied to other needs, including the need for new experience and for self-expression. Budgeting helps us to see our needs more clearly and arrange them in order of importance. *It is the method by which is insured that no dollar is withdrawn and applied to another use would secure a service of greater value to the user.*

*How to Make a Budget.* The first step, of course, is to estimate one's income for the year ahead. If one's earnings are variable it is wise to take as a basis the smallest amount that one is likely to receive. Next, list the fixed and known



expenses. If you are planning a family budget, this may include such items as rent or taxes, insurance, fuel and light, telephone, ice, payments on property, carfare to and from work, etc. Third, list the essential items which are not fixed in amount, such as food, clothing for each member of the family, medical and dental services, membership dues and church pledges. Records of what has been spent in previous

years will help in estimating these items for the coming year. Next, list the items which you want to include if your income can be made to cover them. These may include reading matter, music lessons, recreation, vacation trips, new furniture and equipment, gifts, and charity.

Then total all the expenses and compare with your estimated income. Study the whole plan to see where it should be revised. Savings should be provided for, even at the cost of serious self-denial. This final step of making the plan fit the income is the hardest of all. Nearly always it is necessary to eliminate expenditures that seem very desirable. If you are making a family budget, the whole family should get together and talk over its needs. This is the best way to prevent an unjust division of the sum available for clothing, recreation, and personal expenses. It is the only way to secure effective family co-operation in living within the income.

In making a budget we necessarily ask ourselves what values we want most for our money. Prestige, health, advancement in education or business, luxurious food and shelter, adventure in recreation — which of these will give us and our families the most happiness? In answering this question we are not only making a plan for spending our money, but we are making a plan for living. Consequently, the making and following of a budget should lead to a more rounded and harmonious life.

*Following a Budget.* A budget is useless unless a record is kept of expenditures. This enables the family to know whether it is staying within its plans. If it is not, the items may need to be revised. After all, a budget should be flexible — but not too flexible, or it ceases to be a budget. Unfortunately, many people do not like to make the effort of keeping accounts, and for this reason give up the attempt to live by a budget. It is easier if a regular family expense book is used, and if a certain time each month is set aside to check the month's records.

It is not always easy to keep track of pocket money which goes for small personal needs. Besides, the other members of the family may dislike to account to the budget-maker

for their purely personal expenditures. The best way to solve this difficulty is for each member of the family to have a regular allowance of pocket money, for which he need make no accounting. This is a splendid training for children. The smaller children just starting in school may perhaps have only a nickel or a dime a week to spend as they see fit. The boy or girl in high school may have fifty cents or a dollar a week — depending, of course, on what the family can afford. Sometimes the high school pupil is given enough to cover his clothing, lunches, carfare, and recreation, and is expected to make his own budget and stick to it. This is an effective way to learn the value of money and of thrift.

The parents and older children will need to talk over the budget together occasionally in order to keep it working smoothly. This is bound to promote mutual understanding and co-operation within the family. It may check the tendency of the mother to sacrifice her own needs unduly for the sake of obtaining luxuries for the children. It should impress every member of the family with the need of handling money wisely.

Gradually the following of a budget will develop good habits of buying. The year's records will show mistakes that have been made, such as the purchase of things under the influence of advertising, a passing fad, or the desire to keep up with the neighbors.

*The Savings Program.* Every individual with an income, even though he has only a little money left after paying for the necessities of life, ought to have a savings program. His savings will take care of large, occasional expenses, as for a journey, medical care, dentistry, the purchase of an overcoat, or the purchase of equipment for his vacation or his recreation.

Once the young person has completed his education and found employment, he will do well to save for marriage and the establishment of a home. At this period of life, while his health is at its best and his employment most regular and before he has dependents, saving is easier than it ever will be again. It is important to establish the habit of regular saving at this time, when anyone can save who is willing

to forego present pleasures for the sake of future good. Saving for marriage and a home is equally the duty of young women and of young men. It testifies to foresight, unselfishness, and character.

Families, too, need a regular savings program. Unfortunately, there are millions of families whose earnings do not cover the bare essentials of health and decency; they cannot save. All other families should save what they can. It is generally thought that one tenth of the income is a reasonable proportion for savings. This amount will serve, to some extent, as a cushion against the inevitable crises of family life — unemployment, serious illness, accident, and death.

One of the most popular methods of saving is life insurance. For those whose earnings are regular and not likely to be interrupted, life insurance, when carefully chosen, has numerous advantages. But life insurance has not the same value to all persons, and not everyone can handle it without being hurt. To the average individual, life insurance in its many forms is a mystery; he easily succumbs to the high-pressure salesman and takes out a more expensive policy than he will probably be able to keep up. Over three tenths of ordinary insurance is allowed to lapse with total loss to the holders.

The most costly type of insurance, industrial insurance, (sometimes called "burial insurance") is sold to people who probably cannot afford any insurance. Industrial policies are usually for small amounts and are sold to small wage earners, to be paid for by the week. Very few of them are terminated by the death of the insured; the great majority are simply allowed to lapse, with the loss of whatever has been paid in. In New York State during the eleven-year period, 1923-33, 4.9 per cent of industrial policies were terminated by death, while 67.4 per cent were allowed to lapse.

Savings in the form of payment on a home is popular among families of medium income. However, this method of saving often results in heavy financial loss when hard times come and it proves impossible to continue the payments. Only a family whose income is exceptionally stable is justified in buying a house in payments spread over a long

period. Experts further recommend that a family should not purchase a home costing more than twice the yearly income of the family. To undertake the purchase of a home more costly than this usually means that other essentials for the family will be sacrificed. The selection of a house, furthermore, requires expert knowledge. Unless it is well located and of sound construction and design, its value will depreciate rapidly.

The purchase of furniture, an automobile, a fur coat, or other articles on the installment plan is not usually to be recommended as a form of saving. These articles lose sales value very quickly upon purchase. Moreover, if anything happens to make completion of the payments impossible, and the seller takes the goods back, the purchaser loses everything he has paid in, even when he has paid almost the whole amount due.

There is probably no better form of saving for the average person than deposits in a mutual savings bank. (A mutual savings bank is one in which all profits are paid to the depositors.) Co-operative banks (sometimes known as co-operative building-and-loan societies) that have stood the tests of depression can also be recommended; a regular deposit is made each month, on which compound interest is paid.

Another desirable method of saving is through the purchase of shares in a credit union. Credit unions are now springing up all over the United States. They are "baby banks" which provide credit at low cost to persons of small means. They are co-operative, being owned and managed by their members, who are also the depositors. The usual dividend paid is 6 per cent a year. Thus the credit union combines a good yield and a high degree of safety.

When one has savings large enough to justify the purchase of bonds, great care should be exercised. The safest bonds are those of the United States government. The bonds of the various municipalities are not to be purchased without expert advice, since some are excellent and others likely to be defaulted. Corporation bonds are often very good investments, but many corporations, once regarded as entirely stable, have gone into bankruptcy. Stock is never to

be recommended as a form of saving. Invariably it carries the risk of total loss.

Those with money to save or invest would do well always to keep in mind one basic principle: the higher the rate of interest promised, the greater is the chance of loss.

#### HOW BETTER BUYMANSHIP MAKES POSSIBLE A HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING

*Wise Buying.* In order to get one's money's worth it is necessary to do more than plan. One must also know something about values, and this depends on training and experience. Courses in domestic science should stress the judging of quality in food, clothing, equipment, and furnishings. The homemakers need to know which of many grades of goods will give the fullest satisfaction within the price range they can afford to pay. They need to be on guard against adulterated and short-weight goods. They must be wary lest they pay too much for the prestige created by national advertising. Government publications on the selection of foods, textiles, and furniture, which may be obtained free or for a few cents each, are of great assistance to homemakers who wish to improve their ability to buy wisely.

*Buying According to Government Grades.* For years various agencies of government have devoted themselves to helping producers. Grades or standards have been developed for all principal agricultural products, and these standards have been widely used by farmers, dealers, packers, canners, and other processors. To a small but increasing extent these standards are used by retailers. It is only very recently that consumers have taken trouble to buy on the basis of government grades. Even yet most consumers do not know about these standards. In buying canned goods, for instance, they accept products labeled with such meaningless terms as "Extra Fancy," "Special," and "Superb." They may imagine that a product marked "Super-Superb" is better than one marked "Superb" and pay a higher price for it, when as a matter of fact there is no difference between them. If, however, they ask for grade A, or B, or C, they will get a product of a defi-

nite standard of quality. For some purposes grade C canned products are fully as good as the more expensive grade B or grade A. Furthermore, when people buy according to a government grade, they can buy with confidence the products of unknown producers; they need not buy expensive trade-marked goods in order to be sure of the quality.

*Buying According to Specification.* In buying clothing and manufactured articles, the consumer is in a most difficult position. How can he choose from all the kinds that are offered him that which will best serve his particular purpose? How much should he pay in order to get the maximum return for his money? The most expensive brand will probably give no more service than one of medium cost, but how can he tell before he uses it?

A large school system or business corporation may employ an expert purchasing agent, someone who can spend all his time in learning about the goods he is to buy. He generally buys according to exact specifications, and he can make sure that the goods delivered actually meet the specifications by sending a sample to a testing laboratory. In this way the purchasing agent in the course of a year saves a great deal of money for his employer.

The householder, obviously, cannot take the time to become an expert buyer of everything he uses. As a rule he selects articles more or less blindly, according to their appearance or price or the persuasion of the salesman. He discovers his mistakes only after it is too late to return the goods, and often he never discovers his mistakes, but goes on wasting his money on the same unsuitable purchases. An example is the woman who continues to buy fifty-cent silk stockings year after year, although it has been shown by scientific tests that some brands of stockings selling at a dollar a pair are more economical.

Before one can buy any kind of goods wisely he must know what to look for. He must be able to read labels carefully and to understand the terms used on them. He should be able to ask intelligent questions of the salespeople. Instead of asking, "Will these silk stockings wear well?" the informed consumer asks, "Are these stockings 45 gauge?" and



"How many threads have they?" In buying silk underwear the wise buyer asks, "Is this guaranteed to be pure-dye silk?" In buying shoes the appropriate questions are, "What is the leather?" and "What is the construction?" If the salesperson does not have the desired information, the store's buyer can be consulted.

*The Use of a Rating Service.* Anyone who is trying to improve his buymanship will profit by subscribing to a rating service such as *Consumers' Research* or *Consumers' Union*. For a small fee a year one may secure the published results of expert and

impartial tests of consumer goods. Some services describe

labor conditions and wages in plants where goods are made; the consumer can thus do his buying in such a way as to support proper labor standards. The average householder by utilizing a rating service can save many times its cost.

The individual consumer does not have the time or equipment to rate brands of goods. A consumers' club sometimes attempts rating in a very informal way, in order to train its members to be more discriminating. The "tasting party" is the method commonly used. In this way a group can determine which of a number of brands of food has the best flavor. Sometimes a school class studying arithmetic, science, or economics tries rating goods. One committee of junior high school pupils tested various kinds of bread in order to find out which would be most desirable for use in the school cafeteria. The flavor and attractiveness were judged, and the cost per pound of dried bread was computed. As a result the pupils managing the school cafeteria adopted the recommended brand.

#### HOW CONSUMER ORGANIZATION MAKES POSSIBLE A HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING

*The Consumer Movement.* American consumers are at last beginning to organize to advance their real interests as consumers. This trend toward organization is known as the consumer movement. Its aims have been stated by Mr. Donald Montgomery, who as Consumers' Counsel of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, heads an important governmental agency for the protection of consumers.

The consumer movement may be most briefly described as organized curiosity. What is it that consumers want to know? They want to know the quality of goods that are offered for sale, and they want to know what are fair prices for those goods and what higher or lower prices they should pay for higher or lower quality if they are to get their money's worth. In addition they want to understand how laws, regulations, and trade practices affect the supply of goods to consumer markets and, when prices are fixed, who fixes them and on what basis. And they want to know how the goods they buy may be utilized in order to yield

the maximum in service and satisfaction. When consumers get together to find the answers to these questions they are part of the consumer movement.

One of the primary aims of a consumers' organization is to work for more effective government protection. Existing laws for the regulation of food and drugs have numerous loopholes and fail to give adequate protection at many points. The inspection of weights and measures, and of sanitary conditions in markets, restaurants, bakeries, and places serving refreshment is often woefully neglected by local officials. Furthermore, there is almost no protection for consumers in the sale of products other than foods, cosmetics, and drugs. Consumers must band together to make known their desire for new legislation and stricter enforcement of existing regulations.

Another demand by organized consumers is for more accurate and informative labeling. Why should a blanket containing only five per cent of wool be labeled "part-wool"? Why should a slip heavily weighted with metallic salts that will soon wash out be labeled "silk"? Why should rabbit fur masquerade under seventy-five trade names? Why should ink that will fade in a few years be labeled "permanent"? Why should any cosmetics be sold in jars with false bottoms and without a statement on the label of the net weight? Because of these and similar practices, consumers lose vast sums of money every year. The situation can be improved only if consumers will unite to make their wishes known and their strength felt.

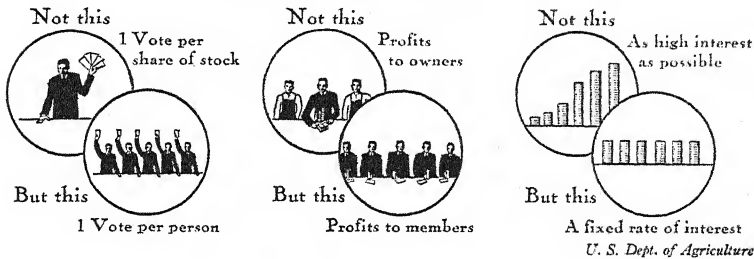
*Consumer Co-operatives.* During the lean years since 1929 the co-operative movement has grown rapidly in the United States. Some six million of our citizens are members of various types of consumer co-operatives including credit unions, purchasing societies and retail stores, burial societies, insurance societies, associations for providing hospital and medical care at low cost, co-operative filling stations, laundries, and cafeterias. There are also co-operative private schools and colleges.

One of the principles of the co-operative movement is that there shall be no religious, political, racial, or social

discriminations in membership. Anyone may become a member of a co-operative society.

A co-operative business is conducted for the benefit of the members. Sales are generally made for cash at prevailing retail prices; the profits or earnings are distributed as a "patronage dividend" every three or six months. The dividend on purchases may be as high as 10 or 20 per cent, and is seldom less than 5 per cent. Frequently the members of a co-operative vote to use some or all the earnings, not as a patronage dividend, but for educational purposes, or for some community project such as a recreation building or

### How a Co-operative Differs from Other Types of Business



library. Many co-operative societies have thus acquired means to a fuller life.

To raise capital for a co-operative business, shares of stock are sold, usually at five or ten dollars for one share. Each family must buy one share in order to have the privilege of membership, and the share can be paid for gradually from patronage dividends. A member may buy more than one share, but he has only one vote regardless of how many shares he owns. That is why the co-operative movement is described as "economic democracy."

The co-operative movement offers not only material benefits but cultural and ethical benefits. Religious leaders of all creeds have endorsed it. Walter Rauschenbush, a prophet of social religion, described co-operatives as one of "the powers of the coming age" and added:

The co-operative associations represent a new principle in economic life, clearly a higher ethical quality than the principle dominant in capitalism. . . . They have proved what a fund of good sense and ability lies unused in the lower classes. . . . They are creating everywhere trained groups, capable of assuming larger responsibilities when the time comes, and a new spirit that can afford to look down on the exploiting spirit of some capitalists. Thus the achievements of these humble co-operators are the beginnings of a higher business morality.

The Roman Catholic bishops of the United States have made the following statement:

In addition to reducing the cost of living, the co-operative stores would train the working people and consumers generally in habits of saving, in careful expenditure, in business methods, and in the capacity for co-operation. When the working classes have learned to make the sacrifices and to exercise the patience required by the ownership and operation of co-operative stores, they will be equipped to undertake a great variety of tasks and projects which will benefit the community immediately and all its constituent members ultimately. . . . No machinery of government can operate automatically, and no official and bureaucratic administration of such machinery can ever be a substitute for intelligent interest and co-operation by the individuals of the community.

#### ACTIVITIES

- I. Send for the following publications and use them in building up a classroom library on consumer problems and the consumer movement: Consumers' Counsel Division, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Washington, D. C. Publication No. 1, *Sources of Information on Consumer Education and Organization. Are We All Consumers? Are Price Tags Enough? Sources of Information Regarding Co-operatives.* Free. Also request sample copies of the free periodical, *Consumers' Guide.* Consumer Distribution Corporation, 205 East 42nd St., New York City, *A Guide to the Literature on Consumer Movements*, by Benson Y. Landis. This invaluable pamphlet costs ten cents. Consumers' Project, United States Department of Labor, *A Selected List of Government Publications of Interest to Consumers. List of Free Publications Available for Limited Distribution.* Free. Superintendent of Documents, Washing-

- ton, D. C. Price list 72, *Publications of Interest to Suburbanites and Home Builders*. Free.
2. Send to the Farm Credit Administration, Washington, D. C., for information about credit unions. Report to the class on how a credit union is organized and operated. Try to find out whether there are any credit unions in your locality.
  3. Find out what is the meaning and purpose of the Consumers' Protection Label which is stitched into many ready-made garments. Report to the class. One source of information is Women's Bureau Bulletin 146, *A Policy Insuring Value to the Woman Buyer and a Livelihood to Apparel Makers*.
  4. Find out and write an article on how a co-operative building-and-loan association operates. How may one invest his savings through such an association?
  5. Report to the class on the difference between a mutual savings bank and a commercial bank with a savings department that is not mutual.
  6. Appoint a committee to make a study of the various types of life insurance. Why is term insurance said to offer the maximum protection at minimum cost?
  7. Send to the following rating services for literature, sample copies, and their special price for group subscriptions: Consumers' Research, Inc., Washington, New Jersey. Consumers' Union, 22 East 17th St., New York City. Inter-Mountain Consumers' Service, 982 South Pennsylvania Avenue, Denver, Colorado.
  8. Appoint a committee to review the book, *The Run for Your Money*, by Earl J. Ellison and Frank W. Brock.
  9. Field Trip. If you are within reach of a laboratory for the testing of consumer goods, try to arrange a visit to it and a talk by one of the directors. Large department stores, the larger mail-order houses, and some of the women's magazines maintain testing laboratories.
  10. Let each member of the class write an article on how he or some member of his family was cheated. The best of these might be typewritten and bound in a booklet for the classroom library entitled, "How to Be Gypped in Ten Easy Lessons."
  11. Invite a speaker to address your class, or better, the school assembly, on the co-operative movement. If you do not know the address of nearer co-operative groups, you may write for suggestions to the Co-operative League of the United States of America, 167 West 12th Street, New York City.

12. Make a collection of pamphlets on budgeting and buying, and household account books distributed by local banks and insurance agents, the home demonstration agent in your county, public welfare officials, and others.
13. Arrange to borrow the traveling exhibit of the Food and Drugs Administration in Washington, also the grading display of the United States Department of Agriculture.
14. Class exercise. Work out a detailed budget for a family of five in your community. You might assume their income to be \$1500 a year (nearly two thirds of American city families live on less than this), or any amount which seems typical of earnings in your community. List exactly what the family may purchase in a year under each heading except food. Under food it will be sufficient to work out menus for one week and the cost of the weekly food. Have your budget criticized by at least one home economist, and compare it with the budget on which families on relief in your community have to live.
15. Examine the diagrams on pp. 210 and 223.

#### WORD STUDY

building-and-loan association	mutual savings bank
consumers' co-operative	patronage dividend
credit union	

#### QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Make a list of ten necessities, ten comforts, and ten luxuries, (a) for yourself, (b) for one living in poverty, and (c) for a millionaire.
2. Does advertising make us buy more or less wisely? Give examples.
3. What is the so-called "snob-appeal" in advertising?
4. It is recommended that a young couple save or have in cash at the time of marriage not less than one fourth to one half of what they expect to spend in a year for living expenses. Assuming that a couple are planning to live on \$1600 a year, how will they probably spend the \$800 with which they begin?
5. What personal services which make an addition to the family income can you render in your own home? What personal services which make an addition to the family income are your parents contributing in the home?
6. Mr. and Mrs. B. live in your town on an income of \$35 a week,

which Mr. B. earns as a clerk. Their son John is a senior in high school, and works on Saturdays and during his vacations. His sister Alice is a junior in high school and occasionally earns a little money as mother's helper. (a) Should the son and daughter contribute their earnings to the family income, spend them on good times that otherwise they could not afford, or use them for some part of their clothing needs? (b) Should Alice have an allowance? If so, how should she use it? (c) Which member of this family will need to spend most on clothes? (d) Can this family afford to operate an automobile, assuming that other transportation to work and school is available as necessary? (e) If the B.'s live in the suburbs, in what ways might they add to their family income aside from earning money outside the home?

7. In buying furnishings and equipment for a home it is desirable to consider carefully the cost of upkeep and depreciation. Explain.
8. Is it desirable for the wife to be obliged to ask her husband for money whenever she needs supplies for the household? Suggest a better arrangement.
9. Suggest a plan for handling double incomes which you believe would prove most satisfactory to both a husband and a wife.
10. Should you accept the advice of a life insurance agent as to how large a policy you should carry? Why or why not?
11. Which members of a family are likely to be thoughtless in their demands upon the family purse? How can this be remedied?
12. Why do department stores encourage their customers to open charge accounts, although this leads to losses in collections and to greatly increased overhead expense?
13. Make a list of the ways in which consumers, by poor buying habits, add to the cost of retailing goods.

#### READINGS

- Abel, Mary H., *Successful Family Life on the Moderate Income*  
 American Academy of Political and Social Science, *Annals*, No. 173,  
 May, 1934, "The Ultimate Consumer: a Study in Economic  
 Illiteracy" (Valuable)
- Berman, Edward, *Life Insurance: A Critical Examination*
- Bigelow, Harold F., *Family Finance*
- Chase, Stuart, and Schlink, F. J., *Your Money's Worth* (Easy)
- Childs, Marquis, *Consumer Co-operation in America*

- Donham, S. Agnes, *Case Book in Family Budgeting. Spending the Family Income*
- Eliot, Thomas D., *American Standards and Planes of Living: Readings in the Social Economics of Consumption*
- Fowler, Bertram B., *Consumers' Co-operation in America* (Interesting, easy)
- Friend, Mata R., *Earning and Spending the Family Income*
- Harap, Henry, *The Education of the Consumer*
- Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics, Univ. of California, Berkeley. *Clothing Budgets. Quantity and Cost Budgets for Four Income Levels* (Published annually)
- Hillis, Marjorie, *Orchids on Your Budget: Or Live Smartly on What You Have*
- Kallett, Arthur, and Schlink, F. J., *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs* (A best-seller)
- Kyrk, Hazel, *Economic Problems of the Family*
- Lamb, Ruth deForest, *American Chamber of Horrors: The Truth about Food and Drugs*
- Lawrence, Josephine, *If I Have Four Apples* (Fictional case study of money management. Diverting)
- McCaw, Malcolm, *Fifty Ways to Save Money* (Easy, entertaining)
- Pitkin, Walter, *Let's Get What We Want* (About the evils of advertising and quackery)
- Randall, H. J., and Daggett, C. J., *Consumers' Co-operative Adventures* (A series of case studies on co-operatives prepared for use in Wisconsin schools)

# Chapter 12

## RECREATION, THE GREAT ADJUSTER

*The moments of supreme satisfaction, the moments of highest realization and appreciation of life come from activities which are characterized by the play attitudes, — either from play pure and simple, or from work in which play-motives dominate. We all have our work, our set tasks and duties, but those of us who get the most out of life are they whose work would be their preferred play, quite apart from its pursuit as a means of livelihood. . . . The things we do for the pleasure of doing are the reward of life; they are an expression of the freed self, the channels of release from the routine of necessity, the sources of inspiration, power, and satisfaction.*

CARL E. SEASHORE

*Growth through Play.* The chief business of life is not the amassing of wealth. Nor is it the enjoyment of physical ease and comfort. It is not the exercise of power over others, nor the winning of fame. The chief business of life is growth, reproduction, development. It is these which bring the deepest human satisfactions.

The organism craves to function in all its parts; when some parts are not allowed to function, it is restless and dissatisfied. Under the compulsion of strong, inward drives, it reaches out for new experience — for activity that will utilize all of its capacities. That is why young animals and children spend so much time in play. Play is necessary for their development.

Each of us wants to live as fully as possible. We want to exercise every one of our powers. We want to explore the possibilities within our environment and the possibilities within ourselves. Especially in youth, we want to try doing all the things that those whom we admire do, and to experience at first hand every kind of sensation and emotion.

Much of this exploring and experiencing we can carry out through play.

*The Search for Complete Living.* We measure the fullness of our lives by the variety and depth of our experiences. If we miss any of the great human experiences — education, useful employment, the sense of belonging to a community, close friendships, marriage, parenthood, grandparenthood — we feel incomplete. It is the incomplete person, be it said, who dreads death; he does not want to die before he has fully lived. It is the incomplete person who is driven this way and that, seeking everywhere, often in unlikely places, that which he lacks. When his search is too discouraging, or if his character is weak, he may turn to vice or crime, may seek the consolation of drink or drugs, or may find imaginary fulfillment in the flight from reality that we call mental disease.

The normal person, however, will find a wholesome substitute for the experiences he has been denied. Thus, the individual whose schooling was cut short pursues his studies in his free time, and the childless woman engages in paid or in volunteer service to children. Most of us use our leisure to compensate for any gaps in the satisfactions we derive from our family life and our occupations. Through the wise management of our leisure, we develop our unused capacities and enrich our experiences, so attaining a fuller life.

*What Is Leisure?* Leisure is that time in which we are free from drudgery and from all other activities not of our own choosing. During leisure we are released from prescribed tasks and duties, and may do things just for the joy of the doing. Leisure is unhurried. It is an interval when we are free from pressure either from without or within — else it is not leisure.

Leisure is time at the disposal of the *whole* man. The man exhausted by his day's work possesses no leisure. The jobless man tormented by worry and a sense of inadequacy has no leisure; he is utterly sick of having time on his hands. It is therefore a mistake to say that all classes of people in modern society have an abundance of leisure. Even the eight-hour day is, in many occupations, so tiring that the

worker has but little energy left when his work is done. Real leisure for all is still in the future. Thanks to our millions of mechanical slaves, we know that some day it can be achieved.

*Can Work Be Leisure?* The most fortunate people in the world are they whose work is what they would rather do than anything else. The artist, the scientist, the scholar are thus privileged beyond other men. They are busy at their own highest pursuits. Their tasks do not become monotonous, for they continually discover new and more interesting projects. Since their work is never completely mastered, they need never cease to grow. Provided they have the necessities of life, they can work wholeheartedly and in the spirit of leisure.

Were everyone to be employed at the work for which he is best fitted and which he likes best, all labor would be somewhat akin to leisure. At least, this would be true if the work were done under agreeable conditions and if the worker could stop before he became fatigued. There is scarcely any kind of work which is not performed gladly by some individuals up to the point where fatigue sets in.<sup>1</sup>

If work is not to be drudgery — is not to be time stolen out of the worker's life — and if it is to become like leisure, it must make use of the *whole* man. This means that the worker must have a share in deciding how the work is to be done, and under what conditions. Why does the domestic worker often hate the very tasks that the housewife enjoys? Frequently it is because she is not given any chance to use her own judgment and her own initiative; she is thought of not as a person but rather as a pair of hands to carry out the orders, and the whims, of her employer. She has little chance to develop because she is not permitted to make decisions; her work is therefore dull and uninteresting.

In a primitive society leisure is not contrasted with work. To every member falls his share of the community work and play. In these group activities labor, talk, and magic rites

<sup>1</sup> Fatigue is due to the accumulation of waste products or poisons in the muscles. When the poison accumulates to the point where the worker can accomplish less than when he began, he is fatigued and should stop work.

are intermingled. Judged by our standards not much is accomplished, yet we can envy the sociability that accompanies almost every task. Furthermore, there is little hurry or monotony. The work changes from day to day and season to season, and there are many holidays. The primitive man uses his mind and his body together; he is free to express his ideas as to how the work should be done. He is engaged in a co-operative activity and he is genuinely concerned that it should succeed. Because of the sense of sharing, and because of the variety and the sociability, primitive labor is satisfying in itself. That is, it has the nature of leisure.

The co-operative activities of a frontier community — the various kinds of work-bees such as house-raising, road building, and cornhusking — were like leisure. Every worker was self-directing and could set his own pace. Besides, he was sharing voluntarily in a community task. Under these conditions work is more pleasure than drudgery.

We, too, can find some opportunities to do work that has all the fine qualities of a leisure-time activity. Witness a high school class working democratically to give a party or a supper, to publish a school newspaper, or to build a school playground or campsite. In working with a group of our equals at something we have accepted as worth doing, we find some of the finest satisfactions.

*What Is Recreation?* Those diversions with which men fill their free time are known as recreation. For most people today recreation and work are sharply separated. They turn to recreation for that variety, excitement, sociability, and self-expression denied by their daily tasks.

Any activity which is joyous to the one who performs it is a true recreation. The same activity may be hard work or mere time-killing for someone else.

Not everyone knows how to find true recreation. Release from work may mean only that one turns to other tiresome pursuits, perhaps those dictated by one's family or the members of one's social set. Often, because of fatigue or ignorance of anything better, people turn to whatever means of passing the time is nearest at hand — the funny papers, maybe, or the radio.



*Tests of a Good Recreation.* In our leisure we want relaxation, freedom, and happiness. These can be had only by the individual who chooses his recreations intelligently. He who knows the greatest number of ways of spending his leisure is most likely to be able to choose wisely.

A good recreation has four characteristics as follows:

1. *It is satisfying to the doer in and of itself.* The individual is not doing it merely to impress his friends or neighbors, or because it will improve his business prospects, or because it happens to be the fashion.

2. *It differs from the activities and states which are forced upon the individual during his work.* It provides experiences that his work does not supply, and it uses a different set of interests and skills. The office worker may long for activity in the fresh air. The housewife probably wants to get out of the house to mix with people. The professional man may be waiting impatiently for the chance to wear old clothes and to "rough it" in the woods or on a sailboat. The manual laborer, on the contrary, looks forward to putting on his best clothes and being free of physical exertion.

3. *It should be of relatively permanent interest to the doer.* The ideal recreation in this respect is one that is not quickly and easily mastered. As one develops skill one becomes increasingly interested, provided there is always something more to learn. The playing of an instrument is an example of a recreation that may gain in interest from year to year. Stamp-collecting is another. Tatting, on the other hand, or playing solitaire, is likely to lose its appeal, because it soon ceases to offer any new experience.

4. *It should promote the physical, mental, and social well-being of the doer.* During recreation strain, tension, boredom, irritability, and that fatigue which is nervous in origin should disappear, leaving the individual relaxed, at peace with himself and the world. If his work provides little physical exercise, then some of his recreations should be active. The moderate physical tiredness that comes after vigorous sport is a healthy state; for the brainworker it is distinctly pleasurable. Almost any recreation which benefits both the mind and body will make for better social adjustment.

There are yet other tests by which a good recreation can be known. Understanding them will show us how best to manage our leisure time.

*Entertainment or Participation?* Modern forms of recreation are too often mere entertainment, with little or no opportunity for self-activity. This condition has been aptly

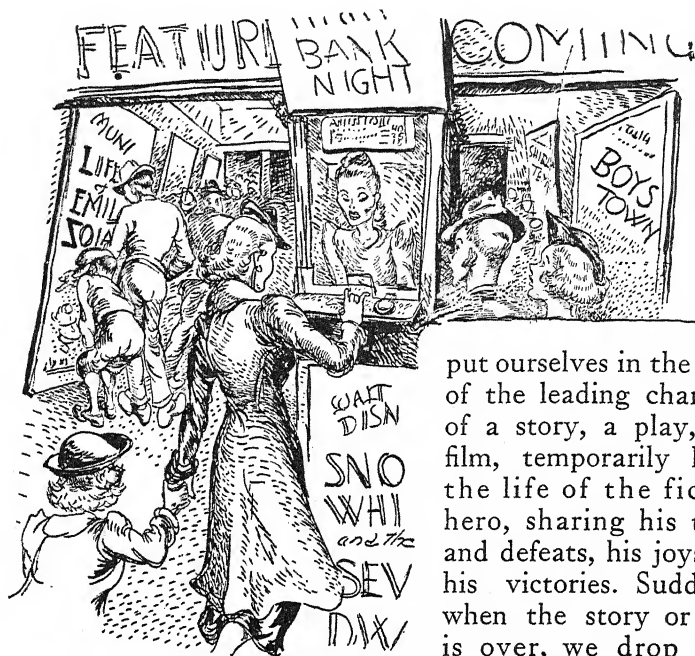
named "spectatoritis." While entertainment is not in itself a bad thing, it is unfortunate to have no other ways of using one's leisure than in being entertained. Self-activity is as a rule more pleasurable, more genuinely recreational, than passive watching or listening. We would get more fun out of our daily experience if we used more of our free time in actual participation in activities that we enjoy.

In many schools and colleges there is a movement on foot to have every student take part in athletics. It is felt that the system by which a small proportion of the students get nearly all the training, while the rest watch, is not justifiable. It is better to have every student participate in some form of athletics, however inexpertly, than simply to have a few who are very skillful.

The players in a neighborhood baseball league are living a new experience, not merely watching it. They forget themselves in the game, and their whole physical and mental tone is heightened from the outdoor exercise. They leave the game with new vigor and poise. The spectators, on the other hand, miss most of the benefits enjoyed by the players.

The Little Theaters now springing up in many parts of the country are an attempt to give to amateurs the fun of acting and directing plays. There is no comparison between the pleasure derived in staging an amateur production and that which is derived from attending the moving pictures. North Dakota and North Carolina have been leaders in the Little Theater movement, and the state universities have sponsored local dramatic clubs in communities of all sizes. As a result, thousands of amateur players have found a new and delightful avenue of self-expression, while a considerable number of persons have discovered that they can write or produce plays.

*Imaginary or Genuine Experience?* At the bottom of our search for pleasurable activity in our leisure time is the desire for new experience. Most of us are obliged to spend the major part of our day in monotonous or exacting effort that leaves us with a hunger for change. This desire may be met in genuine new activity or by imaginary adventure through books and the theater. By identification we can



put ourselves in the place of the leading character of a story, a play, or a film, temporarily living the life of the fiction hero, sharing his trials and defeats, his joys and his victories. Suddenly, when the story or play is over, we drop back into real life.

Imaginary experience is far better than none. For ages it has made life more enjoyable for countless individuals, and today, when everyone has opportunity to learn to read, and books and periodicals are cheap, it is a universal boon. But imaginary experience cannot and should not take the place of genuine adventures. It is at best an escape from reality, a flight into dreamland. Sometimes one whose real life is very unsatisfactory is tempted to spend most of his leisure in enjoying imaginary experiences.

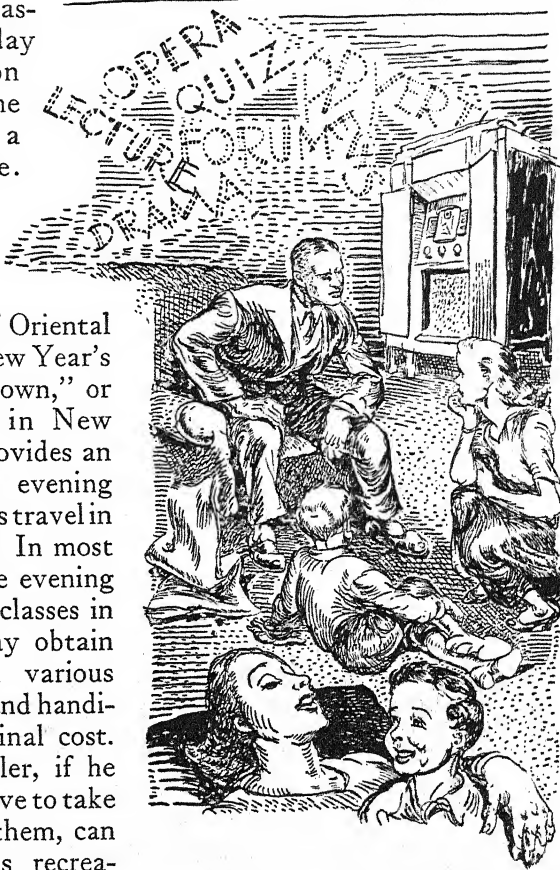
The opportunities to obtain genuine experience at small cost exist all around us. We have only to seek them out. There are, for instance, the Saturday or Sunday excursion trains run by several railway companies. These trains, according to the season, cater to skiers, bicyclists, amateur photographers, fishers, fold-boaters, or hikers. There are in several large cities weekly nature study tramps conducted by expert leaders, free to the public. In New York City

there are the fascinating Saturday Reconciliation Trips, which one may enjoy for a moderate fee. Each trip is organized around a theme such

as "Centers of Oriental Religion," "New Year's Day in Chinatown," or "Old Russia in New York," and provides an afternoon and evening as interesting as travel in a foreign land. In most cities there are evening and Saturday classes in which one may obtain instruction in various arts, hobbies, and handicrafts at nominal cost. The city dweller, if he has the initiative to take advantage of them, can find numerous recrea-

tional opportunities that afford real instead of imaginary experience. Such recreations will bring him new friends, widen his interests and skills, and generally enrich his personality.

*Commercialized or Community Recreation?* Today more than ever before recreation is a commodity that is bought and sold. The manufacturing and sale of recreation has become one of our largest industries. Commercial recreation is generally of low quality because it seeks the widest possible market among the masses and therefore must find their lowest common denominator. Those who produce our movies, our radio programs, our comic strips, our pulp maga-



zines, are catering to the average man — tired, insecure, poorly educated. When night comes the average man is too weary to think; he wants excitement. He is poor, and he seeks escape into a dream world where the hero wins the boss's daughter and inherits the business. He does not know how or does not have the equipment necessary to pursue a hobby; he follows the line of least resistance and takes whatever recreation is near at hand and cheap. He purchases entertainment rather than a chance to participate, imaginary rather than genuine experience.

Yet the average man is aware that he is not getting the deep and lasting satisfaction from his recreation that he would like. A recent survey of five thousand city dwellers in eastern United States, principally adults of small or moderate income, is significant. They were asked to check the leisure-time activities in which they had often taken part in the past year and those in which they would like to take part often but either had missed entirely or had enjoyed infrequently. The ten activities checked as having been often enjoyed, together with the number of individuals reporting them, are:

1. Reading newspapers and magazines.....	3244
2. Listening to the radio.....	2842
3. Reading books — fiction.....	2155
4. Conversation.....	2142
5. Reading books — non-fiction.....	1776
6. Auto riding for pleasure.....	1765
7. Visiting or entertaining others.....	1672
8. Attending the movies.....	1642
9. Swimming.....	1603
10. Writing letters.....	1158

Notice that most of these ten activities are carried on in the home, are inexpensive, are quiet or passive, and are individual rather than social. Swimming is the only item involving physical exercise. Only three items are sociable in nature. Attending the movies and swimming are close to the bottom of the list, doubtless because of their expense. Except for reading and swimming these recreations do not depend on community facilities.

The list of unsatisfied leisure desires shows how greatly these people want active and out-of-door recreations. The ten unmet needs most often checked are:

1. Playing tennis
2. Swimming
3. Boating
4. Playing golf
5. Camping
6. Caring for a flower garden
7. Playing a musical instrument
8. Auto riding for pleasure
9. Attending the legitimate theater
10. Ice skating

Most of these desired recreations involve strenuous physical exercise. All involve expense for facilities, equipment, or admission. For the most part they are not now within the means of the average city dweller. Yet many of these recreations could be provided at small cost through community effort.

Little by little recreational facilities are being provided by local, state, and national government. They include parks, playgrounds, municipal swimming pools, golf courses, tennis courts, bathing beaches, camping sites, and the like. Many of these are partly or wholly supported by charging each user a small fee.

As yet the taxpayers allow the government to spend only a very little for recreational facilities and services — about one-fiftieth of the total of our annual recreational expenditures. This amounts to about one and a half dollars a year per capita spent for public recreation. There can be little doubt that we get a much larger return for the recreation money that the government spends for us than we could get by spending the same sum individually. Shall we not pool a larger proportion of our recreational expenditures and build adequate facilities for the masses of people who now get so little satisfaction from their leisure? The increase of public facilities for recreation is one of the aims of an organized movement to promote play. To this movement we owe the growing public appreciation of play.

*The Play Movement.* Since 1885 the National Recreation Association has been seeking to arouse the public to an understanding of the value of play. The first step undertaken by this organization was the establishment of sand gardens for little children in various large cities. Then an effort was made to secure a public playground and park in every town. That play is one of the most important means by which the child develops his body and his mind was constantly taught, until parents generally came to realize that play opportunities are as important as school opportunities for young children. Later, the emphasis of the Association's work was shifted to the arousing of public interest in community recreation centers. Many communities were induced to build community halls and to organize local associations for providing music, dramatics, and athletics.

Some of the aims of the National Recreation Association are: (1) to substitute participation for looking on, (2) to substitute amateur recreation and amusement, produced by the consumers of amusement themselves, for commercialized amusement which is sold to consumers, (3) to substitute neighborhood recreation for centralized recreation, (4) to substitute organized for unorganized leisure time, which is likely to become mere time-killing of no value to the individual, (5) to harmonize recreation with health, safety, and economy, (6) to provide the greatest possible variety of recreational opportunities, so that everyone has a chance to do many new things.

The play movement has already accomplished a good deal. People are coming to realize that for all ages and conditions of men recreation is a part of normal, healthy life. They are also learning that commercial interests do not promote the variety and kinds of recreation that are most desirable — at least, not at a price that the average person can afford to pay.

Progress is being made in three directions: (1) through the provision of recreational facilities by government agencies such as schools, park commissions, etc., (2) through the provision of recreational facilities by private agencies, such as churches, clubs, and young people's organizations, like

the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., etc., and (3) through educating people to appreciate the importance of suitable recreation.

*Education for Leisure.* Most individuals could doubtless get much greater return than they now do from the money they are in the habit of spending for recreation. The money we squander on such trifles as drinks, candy, tobacco, cosmetics, and unnecessary trinkets would probably buy more happiness if we invested it in materials for our hobbies or equipment for sport. The trouble is that we are not aware of what we are missing. We need to experience the fun of active sports and of hobbies in order to appreciate what they could mean to us. Education for leisure consists in giving people a variety of the best recreational experiences. Thus each individual may discover the kinds of recreation that bring him the greatest satisfaction.

Many people do not know how to make leisure yield them happiness. They wish vainly for the joys of resorts and foreign travel and overlook the recreational opportunities that lie within their reach. How few suburbanites and rural dwellers make full use of their back yards! Almost anybody could build an outdoor fireplace from stones or brick, and could construct convenient outdoor furniture from cheap or free materials, thus making an outdoor living room and picnic place at trifling cost. Almost anybody ought to be able to equip a back yard as a good home playground for children. Some large wooden packing boxes, broomsticks, kegs, planks, and rope are all that is necessary to make a sandbox, playhouse, swing, seesaw, horizontal bar, ladder, and platform in a tree. Even if the lumber is bought new, the expense of this homemade equipment would amount to only a few dollars, yet the pleasure it would give for years to a family of children and their playmates cannot be measured.

The schools will undoubtedly assume more and more responsibility for teaching people to make fuller use of their leisure time. Already such courses as shopwork, art, music, and literature, and some of the extracurricular activities, such as orchestras, clubs, and dramatics, are helping students to develop interests that may be pursued in after life.

The school athletic program may also include games like tennis, cricket, badminton, and golf, which are likely to be played when school days are past. Too often, however, the athletic games taught at school, such as football, are of a sort rarely played by adults.

The awakening of numerous interests is one of the ways of educating people for leisure. Childhood is the best time to learn to enjoy the world of nature, to learn water sports, to learn to care for plants and animals for fun, and to develop a liking for tramping, picnics, skating, and coasting. If well nourished in childhood, these interests are likely to remain in maturity. If not begun in childhood, they will probably never be aroused at all. Adolescence is the time to learn to enjoy all kinds of dancing, music, and art, and to learn the more difficult sports, such as horseback riding, tennis, skiing, and mountain-climbing. A few years later it may be very difficult for the individual to find time and enthusiasm for learning them. Moreover, a grownup hates to be a beginner in activities which his associates either know already or ignore.

To teach people to appreciate and enjoy the arts is another way of helping them find more happiness in their leisure. A taste for good authors is perhaps the best gift that education can bestow. No one who has this taste need ever be bored or lonely. No matter how small his income, or how isolated his situation, he can always find something to read which will fill his leisure time happily. While still in school, every student should seek to learn to enjoy good books, painting, sculpture, and music. By training his appreciation of these things he will be preparing to make a more worth-while and satisfying use of his free hours as an adult.

It is still better if one can learn to practice an art. The joy of creating something beautiful is without parallel. Happy is the young person who learns to play an instrument, or to paint, or model, or carve, or write with satisfying skill. He can practice his art so long as he lives and with ever increasing pleasure to himself and others.

*Leisure and Income.* Under conditions of modern life a great many people miss the joy of making things with their

hands, unless they turn to such occupations in their leisure time. This was not true, of course, in the days when every article was handmade, but is characteristic of the machine age. To the extent that machinery has robbed us of the chance to be craftsmen and artists, we are poorer than our ancestors. There seems to be a real need to put back into our lives the opportunity to make things, not so much for profit as for the joy of creating something useful and beautiful.

We are entering a period in which there is certain to be much more leisure for all than has ever before been the case. At the same time it is doubtful that the average individual's income will increase sufficiently in the near future to allow him to buy all the things he would like to have. Why can we not use some of our spare time to produce the things we want?

The United States Department of Agriculture and the extension services of the land-grant colleges have for years been actively promoting a number of household crafts, including dressmaking, millinery, refinishing of old furniture, constructing furniture, canning, preserving, and the making of toys and various small articles for gifts. These have been stressed primarily as methods of adding to family income. That is, if through the labor of its members the family enjoys clothing, furniture, and foods which are better or more plentiful than it could afford to buy ready-made, its income is increased. It is not always realized that these same activities may also be recreations of a particularly satisfying sort. To be sure, the adding of another task to the program of an overworked housewife may not be justified as a recreation; she may, instead, need opportunity to get away from her home and meet other people. Every recreation stands or falls by the simple test, Does it add to the satisfaction of the individual who engages in it? For many of us, however, these constructive activities may be full of pleasure.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. Summarize the chapter.
2. Make a list of the things you do in your leisure time. Which of these meet the tests of a good recreation? What are your

principal unmet recreational needs? What steps could you take toward filling these?

3. Make a list of desirable apparatus for a homemade playground for children of various ages. Add sketches and directions for making these things. Estimate the cost of each, using waste materials so far as seems practicable. See *Home-made Toys and Play Equipment*, a pamphlet published by *The Farmer's Wife*, St. Paul, Minnesota; Extension Bulletin 360, *Home-made Playthings*, from Office of Publications, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; *You Can Make It*, issued by the United States Department of Commerce; *Home Playground and Indoor Playroom*, a bulletin of the National Recreation Association, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York; and Children's Bureau Publication No. 238, *Home Play and Play Equipment for the Preschool Child*.
4. Make a plan for a simple playroom for an average home.
5. Plan a home workshop in which to carry on your hobbies. Perhaps, if your home is small, you can fit out a corner of your bedroom.
6. Using Joseph Lee's *Play in Education*, or some other reference, make a list of the play interests of different ages from early childhood up.
7. Imagine that your neighborhood needs a playground or an athletic field. Prepare a list of arguments that might be used in a letter to the proper authority requesting some action in the matter.
8. Enumerate the noncommercial recreations provided by public and private agencies in your community.
9. Report on the program of some city which does an unusually good job of providing recreation.
10. Appoint a committee to ascertain the chief unmet recreation needs of your community. For this purpose you might prepare a check list to be submitted to people of various age-groups, and to teachers, ministers, welfare and recreation workers. Write up your data and try to get it published in your local papers.
11. What could your class do to improve the recreational facilities of your school or community? Could you, for instance, build a tennis court, swings, seesaws, horizontal bars, etc., if these are needed?
12. Hold a hobby show and invite your friends and parents.
13. Which recreations illustrated in this chapter are best?

QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Why is education for leisure more important today than ever before?
2. Leisure is an opportunity to compensate for gaps in the individual's family and work experience. Explain.
3. Is physical exercise the chief value of sport?
4. Of what importance is play apart from the enjoyment it gives?
5. Why is it especially necessary that the community provide abundant recreational opportunities for adolescents? Does your community accept its responsibility in this field?
6. Recreation must be chosen by each person to suit his own tastes. Why?
7. What activities have you observed that give pleasure to aged persons?
8. Which is a better toy for a preschool child, a set of building blocks or a mechanical doll or animal? Why?
9. Should parents provide more equipment such as swings and sand piles, and fewer toys? Why?
10. Which gives more satisfaction, to play in a band or to listen to music?
11. Would you prefer to be in a play or to watch one? Why?
12. What are the shortcomings of commercialized amusements?
13. What are the chief appeals made by the moving picture? The radio?
14. Is a community recreational program a luxury? Why or why not? Prepare a list of recreational opportunities which might be offered by any community.
15. As an economy measure it is proposed to discontinue playground leaders in a community. What arguments could you offer in opposition?
16. What opportunities exist in your school for learning how to use leisure?
17. Is it better for play to be a part of the school program or for children to be given the opportunity to play after school without direction? Why?
18. What might be done to improve the athletic program of your school? Show why these changes are desirable. To whom should your recommendations be submitted?
19. What is the essential difference between work and leisure?
20. What is meant by fatigue?

## READINGS

- Cabot, Richard C., *What Men Live By*, chaps. x and xi  
Children's Bureau, *Handbook for Recreation Leaders*  
Counts, George, *Social Foundations of Education*. Part Two, chap. vi  
Greenbie, Marjorie B., *The Arts of Leisure* (Charming essays)  
Lawson, Arthur H., *Homemade Games*  
Lee, Joseph, *Play in Education*  
Leisure League of America, Little books on hobbies  
National Recreation Association, *Partners in Play, Recreation for Young Men and Women Together*  
Office of Education, Bulletin 1936, No. 18-11, *Leisure for Living* (Important)  
Overstreet, Harry, *We Move in New Directions*, chap. xiv, New Uses of Freedom  
Patten, Marjorie, *The Arts Workshop of Rural America*  
Riggs, Austen Fox, *Play: Recreation in a Balanced Life*  
Rohrbough, Lynn, ed., *Handy II: the Recreation Manual for Young People* (Church Recreation Service)  
Seldes, Gilbert, *Seven Lively Arts*

# Chapter 13

## MAKING THE MOST OF MARRIAGE

*Always one will find in marriage only that which one has created in it.*

ALFRED ADLER

IN AMERICA marriage is popularly described as a gamble. Indeed, to judge from the mounting divorce rate, it seems to be growing more hazardous every year. Perhaps some of the hazard lies in the way in which people choose their marriage partners. Marriage is particularly like a lottery where the romantic tradition prevails.

### CHOOSING A MARRIAGE PARTNER

*The Romantic Tradition.* The folkways of courtship and the choice of a mate vary widely in different social groups. Everywhere in the past parents and other kinsfolk have had a great deal to say about who should marry. Matchmaking has been a family or a tribal affair. When marriage is arranged in this manner, emphasis is placed on family status, religion, race, health, cultural background, and economic considerations. The kinsfolk assume that there is no one man or woman with whom their young relative can be happy, but that he can be happy with anyone who has the qualifications they consider necessary.

In modern America the choice of a mate is left almost wholly to the individual. Furthermore, we have a set of romantic traditions about love at first sight and the power of true love to overcome all barriers, including the lack of money, religious differences, unlike social position, and parental objections. These romantic notions are perpetuated



by popular songs, stories, and movies. There is built up in the mind of the adolescent boy and girl a belief that emotion alone should determine the selection of a mate, and that it is disloyal to question the suitability of the person to whom one feels attracted. "Listen to the promptings of your own heart" is a saying that has swept thousands of loving but ill-mated couples into unhappy marriage.

*Why Love Is Blind.* Being in love brings a sense of inward harmony and of heightened well-being. One is stronger, more courageous, and self-confident, and consequently more successful. One solves problems with greater ease, makes friends more quickly, is less subject to fatigue. Life is, for the time being, richer and more promising. Indeed, love is naturally such a happy state that we often speak of a lover as being "in love with love." One who is in love projects his inward happiness upon the beloved. This person is responsible, he thinks, for his new courage, strength, and enthusiasm. And what more could he ask than a companion who makes him feel his physical and mental best?

The more lonely or unsatisfactory one's life has previously

been, the more grateful he is for love, and the more does he idealize the beloved. He cannot bear to awaken from the dream in which he lives. He ignores any cautions he may receive from others, just as he stifles any doubts of his own concerning the beloved. If he is rational enough to see any shortcomings in the other, he quickly finds excuses for them.

The one he loves may be going through a similar mental process. If so, neither has a true picture of the other, and both are happier than they have ever been before in what is a more or less imaginary companionship. To the extent that they have deceived themselves about each other's qualities, they will be disillusioned and disappointed when the real problems of married life confront them.

*The Purpose of the Courtship Period.* The courtship period plays an important part in determining the success of a marriage. It is the time during which the couple should find out whether they are well suited to each other. Do their whole personalities stimulate, reinforce, and develop each other, or are there vital areas of life in which they have nothing in common? Do they agree as to what constitutes a successful marriage? Do they have similar ideas regarding the position of the wife in the family, the way the family income is to be handled, their obligations toward each other's relatives, whether the wife shall work, and whether they are to have children? These and many other questions should be explored before marriage takes place.

Here is a check list for those who are deciding whether they should marry. Each of the two might rate himself and the other on each point as satisfactory, unsatisfactory, or doubtful.

WHAT MY WIFE SHOULD EXPECT OF ME <sup>1</sup>

1. Health
2. Sound health habits
3. Good heritage
4. Adequate income
5. Business judgment
6. Respect for her independence
7. Good breeding

<sup>1</sup> Roy Dickerson, *So Youth May Know*, Association Press, New York.

## WHAT I SHOULD EXPECT OF MY WIFE

1. Health
2. Sound health habits
3. Good heritage
4. Homemaking skill
5. Business judgment
6. Good breeding

## FACTORS OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE TO BOTH OF US

1. Mutual liking
2. Common interests
3. Mutual encouragement and inspiration
4. Self-restraint
5. Co-operation
6. Thoughtfulness
7. Similar ideals
8. Confidence and trust
9. Love of children
10. Constructive attitude toward sex

*The Need for Emotional Maturity.* In order to establish a successful family, people must be grown up emotionally. "It would be foolish as well as cruel," says Walter Lippmann, "to underestimate the enormous difficulty of achieving successful marriages under modern conditions. With the dissolution of authority and compulsion, a successful marriage depends wholly upon the capacity of the man and the woman to make it successful. They have to accomplish wholly by understanding and sympathy and disinterestedness of purpose what was once in a very large measure achieved by habit, necessity, and the absence of any practicable alternative."<sup>2</sup>

Psychologists tell us how we may know whether or not a person is emotionally mature. Is the individual able to keep emotional responses within bounds, and to delay emotional responses when this is desirable? Does he have only moderate reactions of anger and hate? Is he able to handle self-

<sup>2</sup> Walter Lippmann, *A Preface to Morals*. Reprinted by permission of The Macmillan Company.

pity in such a way that he is always more sorry for others than for himself? Is he independent of coddling? Can he endure suffering without trying to attract sympathy? These might all be summed up in the query, Is the individual guided by long-term values rather than short-term? Short-term values include *emotional releases*, as of anger, self-pity, jealousy, being coddled, taking revenge, inflicting punishment, and the like, and *emotional indulgences*, such as excessive smoking and drinking. Long-term values are such things as progress in one's vocation, success in business, good social standing, the development of one's capacities, friendship, and agreeable relationships within the family. The alcoholic sacrifices long-term satisfactions for those of temporary duration. The pupil who clowns in class is taking a short-term value, that of being laughed at, instead of his own intellectual development. The emotionally mature person is aware of his long-term goals, and keeps them steadily before him.

Another test of emotional maturity is the capacity to love someone besides oneself. Is the individual interested in others for *their* sakes, and not for what he can get out of them? Does he seek only to enjoy his beloved, or does he try to serve and benefit her? Does he stop to think whether marriage will fulfill her highest life purposes as well as his own? Not everyone has the capacity for disinterested love. The individual who lacks it cannot be expected to make a success of family life.

*The Need for Intellectual Maturity.* Most of the problems that are faced during marriage can be solved by intelligent effort. They can be solved with least difficulty by persons who are intellectually mature.

One sign of intellectual maturity is a sense of proportion, shown in putting important things ahead of the unimportant. The housewife who nags whenever anything is left out of its place is not mature. The husband who speaks of every defect in his wife's housekeeping is not mature.

Another sign of intellectual maturity is the willingness to take advice and to profit by the experiences of others. Children have to learn by their own sad experience, and so do

childish adults. The mature person seeks expert counsel whenever he can get it.

The ability to face reality, not allowing anger, fear, or wishes to distort the facts, is another mark of the mature mind. Young people in love do not see things as they really are but as they want them to be. Afterwards, when unlooked-for problems appear, they are apt to blame each other. This, of course, is not facing the facts. Problems can be dealt with if both will think objectively, seeking to find a solution. If differences of opinion arise, the realistic course is to reach a compromise. Quarrels develop only when people lose their tempers and give up the effort to reach an understanding.

"Where are my socks?" asks Mr. Cross. "Why can't you ever put them where I can find them?"

His wife resents the slur on her housekeeping. Besides, it is unjust; she always put his socks in the same bureau drawer. She immediately gets angry and wants to punish him for hurting her. Swiftly she strikes at his self-esteem.

"Your socks are in the mending basket. I haven't had time to mend them. Perhaps if you gave me a little help now and then I could do the mending." Her self-pity mounts. "Or if you earned more, there'd be money for new ones. That's the real trouble. Never enough money for the things we need. I need new clothes. I'm ashamed to go anywhere; why, my shoes. . . ."

He has been made to feel inferior, and he can't stand it. He must put her in her place, tell her where she gets off.

"What do you think I am? Am I made of money? Is it my fault that I don't get a raise? Is it my fault the times are bad? You ought to be glad I have a job. . . . Hang it, I shall be late to work. Mend me a pair of socks quick."

Mrs. Cross complies, and as she works her anger disappears. She knows she has said too much. The quarrel is over as quickly as it began, but it leaves them both with hurt feelings. At the next small incident, it will blaze up again. They can't face facts and deal with them intelligently. One of the facts is Mr. Cross's tendency to find fault. His wife ought to see that he doesn't feel adequate and that he compensates by criticizing her. It is disagreeable, but much less so if ignored. She ought to build up his self-esteem instead of trying to tear it down. Another fact is an income too

small to permit her to feel well-dressed. Maybe Mr. Cross could help her more at night and on Sundays and encourage her to make some of her own clothes. Then she would be happier and less likely to blame him for a situation that he cannot help — his insufficient earnings. Only by looking at the facts squarely can the Crosses achieve a tolerably satisfactory married life.

*The Need for Social Maturity.* Nothing is more important for successful family life than social maturity. The individual who is socially mature is willing to employ the customs that make for smooth living. He does not scoff at the accepted rules of etiquette, and he realizes that good manners are more needed in the home than anywhere else.

The socially mature individual is sympathetic with all sorts and conditions of men. He puts himself in the place of others, deriving pleasure from whatever brings them joy.

Another sign of social maturity is the willingness to adjust oneself to the habits of those with whom one lives. Just as the courteous guest respects so far as he can the schedule, the tastes, and the opinions of his host, so does any thoughtful person adapt himself to the ways of his family and his intimates. This does not mean that one abandons his principles of right and wrong, nor that one agrees to everything that others say. It means, rather, that one recognizes the right of others to their own tastes and opinions, and avoids giving them offense.

The child shrinks from doing hard or disagreeable tasks; he has little ability to force himself to do anything unpleasant. A great many grownups are childlike in this respect. They are ill fitted to assume the responsibilities that homemakers must assume. Women are perhaps more likely than men to adopt a childish attitude of helplessness in the face of an irksome task. Witness the woman who cannot keep track of her bills. But men, too, often run away from the difficulties that go with marriage and parenthood. Witness the wife deserter. The mature person has the capacity to persist in spite of difficulties; he alone can overcome all the obstacles to happy marriage.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUCCESSFUL FAMILY

Successful family life depends upon intelligent effort. It is never an accident. The ability to achieve it is one of the tests of emotional, mental, and social maturity.

In the successful family there is respect for the individuality of each member. The husband does not seek to dominate the wife, but regards her as an equal who is entitled to share in making any decisions that affect herself or the children. Both the husband and the wife respect each other's wishes and opinions. Each tries to create for the other the conditions — above all, the freedom — necessary for personality growth. Neither tries to make the other accept his beliefs or personal habits. Points of difference must be tolerated if the individuality of each is to be preserved.

The children in a successful family are encouraged to think for themselves, to take responsibility, and to share in the making of family decisions. Even while they are still little, their wishes are taken into consideration. As they reach teen age they are welcomed into family councils over the budget, the menus, the family recreations, and all other matters that concern them. Because they are treated with respect, it is easier for them to treat their parents with the respect due to experience and years.



In the successful family the husband-wife relationship is dominant over the parent-child relationship. The parents do not allow themselves to care more for their children than for each other. They remain loyal to each other and interested in each other's growth and happiness. No matter how absorbing are their children, neither parent gives to the children the devotion that more properly belongs to a husband or wife.

Misfortune comes to all families, but in the successful family it is followed by a prompt readjustment. There is no dwelling on the past and no fretting over mistakes. By facing forward, the family makes the best of every situation.

In the successful family there is definite planning to reduce the drudgery of housekeeping. Efficient methods of housework are followed. Money is allotted to the purchase of labor-saving equipment in preference to the purchase of fashionable

furniture, apparel, or amusements. The husband does not spend money for cigars, drinks, and dinners when things are needed for the household. If the wife is employed outside the



home, or if she is heavily burdened by the care of children, the husband shares the housekeeping labors. The children, as soon as they are able, are given regular household duties, that their mother may have time to read to them, play with them, and keep her health.

Recreation has an important place in the successful family. Space and equipment for recreation is rated high on the family's list of essentials. Each member is encouraged to spend time every day on the activities he likes best. Thought is also given to arranging recreations in which the whole family may share. The various holidays and family birthdays and anniversaries are observed regularly, just because these add so much variety and pleasure to the year's round.

The successful family is notable for a high quality of association between its members. They may spend comparatively little time together, but when they are together they enjoy each other. Everyone remembers special hours of fellowship with his parents and of pleasant activity or celebration within the family circle. It is these intervals when association is on a high plane that make family life worth while.

*Picture of a Successful Family.* There are no families who do not have to meet problems and disappointments. It is in the way that these troubles are handled that a successful family shows its quality. Here is a brief description of an actual family.

The Gorwins have been married some twenty-five years. They have five children, Rebecca, Alice, Samuel, Bill, and Christine. Mr. Gorwin is a schoolteacher with a salary of \$3000 a year. Mrs. Gorwin was also a teacher before her marriage. She and her husband have very similar tastes and are cheerful and considerate. They seldom disagree, but when this occurs one quickly gives in to the other, and there is no friction. Neither dominates. Mr. Gorwin expects his wife to make all the decisions about the care of the home and the children. She in turn consults him over matters that might affect his wishes or his plans. Important expenditures are always discussed before any action is taken.

The Gorwins live in a small city and own the modest house in which they live. They have a neat secondhand car. Mrs. Gorwin,

with the help of her daughters, does all the housework, including a great deal of baking, canning, and sewing. She has an electric washer, a vacuum cleaner, and various smaller electric appliances. She is a very careful manager and a good housekeeper. Her household arrangements are always flexible. She does not mind having a guest drop in unexpectedly at the last minute before a meal, but quickly makes a place for him at the table. She has been known on a summer day to take the children on a picnic, leaving the morning work unfinished. Sometimes when her mother or Mr. Gorwin's mother is sick (both mothers-in-law live in the same city) she lets the daughters run the household while she goes to care for the sick relative.

Mr. Gorwin has a vegetable garden, attends to nearly all the work that has to be done on the car, and is handy at household repairs. As each child reached five or six years of age, he was given small, easy tasks in the house or about the grounds and taught to perform them faithfully. When a child reached his eighth birthday he began to receive a small weekly allowance, which was increased year by year. The children of high school age bought their own clothes and paid for all their recreations and incidentals out of their allowances.

The Gorwins are fond of quiet, home pleasures. There are swings and other apparatus in the back yard, and a basement playroom with a Ping-pong table. Birthdays and holidays are celebrated in simple fashion. Christmas is a big occasion, but giving to friends and relatives and the needy is more stressed than the family gifts. Picnics and camping trips are frequently enjoyed during the summer. The older members of the family go to church and the younger ones to Sunday school, and all take some part in church activities and parties. All the children have learned to play a musical instrument. They have all belonged to Scouting organizations. Little money is spent for commercial amusements, and they cannot afford to go to resorts or take expensive trips. Yet they seem to have a great many good times. They are very sociable people and like to have guests. They have no guest room, but by doubling up a bit, they frequently make room for a visitor from out of town. Visitors are treated like members of the family, without any effort to pretend that the family life is different from what it is, and they invariably enjoy sharing the Gorwins's harmonious home.

Just as Rebecca, the oldest girl, was ready for college, Sammy, aged twelve, was stricken with poliomyelitis. He was paralyzed

from the waist down. Expenses piled up; the family's budget had to be pared to the bone; bills accumulated. Rebecca stayed at home to help her mother nurse Sammy. Mr. Gorwin learned how to give him the exercises that might eventually restore the wasted muscles and enable him to sit up, perhaps to walk again. Every day for an hour or more the father worked over the crippled boy; as Sammy gained, new exercises were added to the treatment. After nearly two years of devoted care, Sammy was able to hobble about on crutches. In the morning he studied with Rebecca. In the afternoon he rested and went through a long series of exercises with his father. In the evening he worked on his amateur radio station, sending and receiving messages from all over the world. His father had encouraged him to begin on this hobby soon after he was paralyzed, to give him something to do during his long hours in bed. Three years had elapsed since his illness when he returned to high school. He was only a year behind his class.

Rebecca had been studying part time at college in a neighboring city; she was now able to carry a full college program. To save expense she lived at home and went back and forth every day on the train. Alice, the next oldest, was by this time ready for college, but there was no money to send her. Sammy had to have two operations that year so that he would no longer need crutches. Alice found a job and gave most of what she earned to help with the surgeon's and hospital bills. After she had worked two years she entered college. The next year Rebecca graduated and got a position. Both Sammy and Bill are now ready for college, and Rebecca is helping pay their college bills.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. Make a list of the chief problems that confront a young couple soon to be married, or make a list of the things that cause marriages to fail.
2. Read, taking notes, on what a person should know in preparation for marriage. See *Preparation for Marriage*, by Groves, and other references.
3. List the various holidays and events that are celebrated by your own family or by a family you consider unusually successful. Can these be observed satisfactorily without great trouble and expense? Explain.
4. Write a paper on the essentials of mental hygiene and how they can be applied within the home.

5. Write a case study of a successful family, using fictitious names. The best ones might be kept in the files for the use of future classes.
6. Describe a person who, as a family member, shows an unusual degree of maturity.
7. Make a list of common incidents showing how people sacrifice long-term values for short-term values. (People who habitually do this are called selfish when really they are blind to their own interests.)
8. Report the causes of family tension discussed in chapter xix of *Our Dynamic Society*, by Elliott and others.
9. List ways in which the Gorwins showed their solidarity.
10. What principles of successful family life do the drawings on pp. 248, 254, and 255 depict?

#### QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. What is the romantic tradition?
2. Does the approval of parents have any effect on the prospects for success in marriage?
3. What are the signs of emotional maturity?
4. What are the signs of intellectual maturity?
5. What are the signs of social maturity?
6. Is there a more favorable time for husband and wife to talk over their difficulties than when the husband comes home from work?
7. What problems arise from the presence of old people in a home? What rights do they have, and how may these be protected?
8. What rights have children in the home?
9. In successful families why cannot one big adjustment be made at the start to avoid all future conflict and argument?
10. The chief rule for successful marriage is accommodation between the various members of the family. Discuss.
11. Who should make decisions affecting matters important to the entire family?
12. In what ways might the quality of association be improved in the average home in your community?

#### READINGS

- Binkley, Robert C., and Binkley, Frances W., *What Is Right with Marriage?*
- Cabot, Richard C., *What Men Live By*, chap. 29, *Marriage* (Valuable)

- Cunningham, Bess V., *Family Behavior*  
Dennis, Lemo T., *Living Together in the Family*  
Dickerson, Roy, *So Youth May Know*  
Groves, Ernest R., *The American Family. Preparation for Marriage. Wholesome Marriage*  
Groves, Ernest R., and others, *The Good Housekeeping Marriage Book: Twelve Ways to a Happy Marriage*  
Groves, Ernest R., Skinner, Edna L., and Swenson, Sadie, *The Family and Its Relationships*  
Neumann, Henry, *Modern Youth and Marriage* (The ethical view simply presented)  
Nimkoff, Meyer, *The Family*  
Rich, Margaret E., *Family Life Today*  
Rockwood, Lemo D., ed., *Pictures of Family Life*  
Smith, Isabella H., ed., *Are You Ready for Marriage?*  
Strauss, Frances, *So You're Going to Get Married!*  
Tietz, Esther, *The Art and Science of Marriage*  
Wile, Ira S., *The Man Takes a Wife: A Study of Man's Problem in and through Marriage*  
Wile, Ira S., and Winn, M. D., *Marriage in the Modern Manner*

# Chapter 14

## THE FAMILY IN TRANSITION

*The young and foolish expect to find happiness in married life, but wise men know how to make it.*

### FAMILY LIFE YESTERDAY AND TOMORROW

THE family is the oldest and most important of all social groups. It fulfills more human needs than any other group. The members of the family perform for each other innumerable services, many of which cannot be had outside the family circle.

The family has gone through many changes of form. One of these, the transition from the great family to the small family, has taken place almost within the memories of living men. This, like most other recent changes in social organization, was brought about by the Industrial Revolution. The large household lost its age-old advantages with the coming of the machine and the factory, and the small household, being more mobile, replaced it.

Before the Industrial Revolution, the family produced nearly everything it needed. There was no lack of productive work for every member, young or old. Money earnings were small, and over long periods could be dispensed with. In sharp contrast, the modern city family produces almost nothing at home and is altogether dependent upon its money income.

*An Old-Fashioned Family.* Here is the description of a prosperous family in the Ozark Highlands in Arkansas. It is typical of other farm families in this area. In many respects it resembles the kind of family that could be found in all parts of the United States a century or more ago. Note

the size of the family and the fact that the married children live close to their parents' home. Note that the family has never traveled more than a few miles from home and that visits to the near-by town are infrequent.

The Rollins family have a farm of 375 acres. It is located half a mile from Smith's Ford, a village where the Rollinses buy their groceries, clothing, and most of their other needs. Here are a doctor, bank, high school, and church serving the country for some miles round. The nearest railroad is at Orchardville, eight miles away. In summer one of the Rollinses goes to Orchardville twice a month, but in winter only about once a month.

There are nine members of the family living at home — the husband, Jonathan, the wife, Fannie, five children, a son-in-law, and a granddaughter. Three married daughters are living on near-by farms.

All the members of the family share in the work of the farm. During the summer the work begins at four in the morning and ends at eight in the evening. In the winter the day begins at five and lasts until seven.

Jonathan feeds and cares for the horse and other stock, repairs the buildings and machinery, cuts wood for home use, works in the field, and takes the produce to market. The boys and the son-in-law assist in all these tasks. The women and girls do the milking, care for the poultry and small barnyard stock, care for the garden, and help in the fields. They also prepare the food, do the canning, wash and iron, make some of their own clothes, and care for the small children.

For many years Jonathan and Fannie had no time for any sort of recreation except an occasional "hawg-killing," political meeting, or cornhusking. A funeral was one of the few social events of the year. Going to church was both a duty and a chance to meet other people; they attended regardless of the weather or the press of farm work. Last year the family attended one farm meeting and two church socials at Smith's Ford. The parents have never seen a movie nor heard a radio.

The family is very proud of its name and reputation. All the children have been taught from childhood to respect parental authority — to obey without question and adhere rigidly to the moral code of the community. They are taught to respect the home, and are warned against "furriners" who would lead them astray, or who make fun of things sacred to them. All the children

are devoted to their home, and are thrifty, industrious, and upright.<sup>1</sup>

The Rollinses are more representative of the family of the past than that of the future. The swift onrush of urban ways of living may soon invade their highlands. How will these old-fashioned mountain families adjust themselves to modern industrial civilization? Probably they will adopt the same kind of home life seen in more urbanized sections.

In the first place, more and more of the family activities will leave the home. Laundry, canning, the making of clothes, and baking have already left most city homes. Education is more than ever before given over to the public and private school, the summer camp, and the various organizations for young people. While the giving up of so many of the traditional activities and tasks of the home means a reduction of drudgery, it has enlarged expenses and economic strain.

When little production is carried on in the home, a relative is not welcomed as an extra pair of hands but looked on as an extra mouth to feed. For the same reason, a large family of children is likely to be an impossible financial burden. The family no longer furnishes gainful employment for its members; they must seek it outside. They become less economically dependent on each other. This weakens the authority of the husband and father.

*A New-Fashioned Family.* In the twentieth century a strikingly new form of family has made its appearance. The wife is well trained and earns a good salary in business or the professions. Marriage does not interrupt her work. Childbearing causes a brief interruption, but in a surprisingly short time the infant is placed in the charge of a competent nurse, and the mother resumes her occupation. Beginning in its second or third year, the child is sent to nursery school, where it has many advantages that even its own mother could not give it in the home. Sometimes the family has two children, but three is unusual. Following is a brief description of this new type of family.

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from a case study in *Family and Society* by Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle E. Frampton. Courtesy of D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc.

Jane Smith graduated from the state university in 1925. She worked on a local paper for two years, then got a humble job on a city paper. In 1927 she married Richard Roe, a rising young journalist. Soon after, she took a staff position on a weekly magazine at a good salary. Richard got a raise. A daughter arrived. Jane took four months off, two before the birth and two after, then worked part time for two months, before resuming full-time work. She got a raise, and so did Richard. When the daughter was three years old, a son arrived. Jane again had four months off and two months on part time.

Jane is now earning \$200 a month, Richard \$300. They have a sunny six-room apartment with the use of a backyard. Their daughter is in nursery school from 8:30 to 5:00 daily, at a cost of \$50 a month. The baby is cared for by a housekeeper who has had two years' hospital training. She does the housework also at a salary of \$80 a month with board and room. The laundry and heavy cleaning are done by a woman who comes one day a week.<sup>2</sup>

To employ a housekeeper able to take all the responsibility for the household is beyond the means of the great majority of families. Most mothers could not earn enough by working outside the home to afford the services of a really competent substitute. Besides, the expenses of the family are likely to be much larger when a hired housekeeper is in charge. Wastes due to the mother's absence from home, plus the cost of hired help; would, in most families, equal or exceed what the mother could earn. For this reason it seems unlikely that in the near future very many families will live as do the Roes.

Should this type of family become common it will greatly change the present status of wives. The wife will have great independence. She will not stay with her husband unless their life together is satisfactory. Marriage will be more of a voluntary partnership between equals than it usually is today.

#### THE RISING TIDE OF DIVORCE

*An Appalling Record.* In any period of rapid cultural change such as the present there is a great deal of maladjustment which affects family life. Unemployment, insecurity

<sup>2</sup> Adapted from a case study by Beulah Amidon in *Survey Graphic*, vol. 57, p. 305. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.



ity, poverty, disease, poor housing, everything that hurts the social welfare, immediately attacks the family. It is not surprising that our times should witness a tremendous number of divorces and other signs of family breakdown. The family is a mirror of social welfare.

For every six new marriages in the United States one marriage is ended by divorce. What this means in tragic disappointment to the divorced couples, in insecurity and emotional conflict to the children thus separated from one or both parents, and in loss to society of the stable home life which is the basis of our civilization, is impossible to reckon. It is an appalling record of failure and misery in the personal relationship from which the individual ought to obtain his chief satisfactions.

*Some Reasons for the Increase of Divorce.* Since 1887 the number of divorces in each hundred marriages has tripled. Some of this enormous increase is due to the fact that divorce is no longer considered so disgraceful as formerly, which encourages many couples to separate who would have remained together in earlier years despite unhappiness. Some of the increase is due to the fact that women can more easily become self-supporting and are not afraid of coming to want if they leave their husbands. A considerable part of the high

divorce rate can doubtless be blamed upon the prevalence of an idea which has recently become popular, namely, that life should always give pleasure without self-sacrifice and without self-denial. To those with such a short-sighted notion of what makes happiness, divorce seems an easy way out of a situation which brings problems, and which demands from the individual continual effort and some surrender of immediate comfort.

Part of the increase in the divorce rate is a reflection of the belief that women have equal rights. Women are no longer required by public opinion to remain with selfish, unfaithful, or cruel husbands. They can insist upon respect and consideration and can demand a voice in deciding all matters that affect themselves or their children. This new position for women is a gain for the human race. It is raising the standards by which a marriage is judged. Success in family life is coming to be measured in terms of understanding, thoughtfulness, co-operation, and mutual respect.

The modern tendency for persons of unlike background to marry is probably a factor in the rising divorce rate. In former days when husband and wife came from the same village, where they had grown up under the same influences, the problem of adjustment was simpler. Their fundamental habits, manners, and systems of values were harmonious. Both were acquainted with the other's relatives and knew the kind of family life to which the other was accustomed. Today our population is very mobile. People of various races, nationalities, religions, and culture groups mingle together and intermarry. When the backgrounds of husband and wife are widely different, their ideas and habits may not harmonize. There is no doubt that under these conditions marriage is more of a risk than it would be if the couple had had similar bringing up.

Another cause of marriage failure is the difficulty of bringing up a family under city conditions. Children are a more serious burden to their parents in the city than in the country, in part because they cannot contribute to their own support as do farm children, in part because of the difficulty of finding decent housing at a reasonable rental

when there are youngsters in the family, and in part because of the lack of space either within or without the home in which the children may play safely without interfering unduly with other members of the family. Hence, the majority of city families either have no children or only one or two. The childless marriage is far more likely to end in divorce than the marriage with children.

Last, and possibly most important of the influences that tend to the breakdown of family life, is the growing economic disadvantage of marriage. When most of our people lived on farms, marriage was a decided economic advantage for both men and women. The single man or woman could scarcely hope to get ahead, and early marriage was the rule. The combined labor of parents and children was necessary in clearing the wilderness, in plowing, planting, reaping, caring for foodstuffs, spinning, weaving, making clothing, hunting, dressing hides, making shoes, and the thousand other tasks of the self-sufficient home. If either husband or wife died while the children were small, a new marriage was soon entered upon, for otherwise the family could hardly exist. Today the single person is still somewhat at a disadvantage in farming, but if he is employed in the town or city, marriage is not likely to be an economic asset, and it may become an almost impossible financial burden. Marriage often means that two individuals try to live on the income of one. There is a strong temptation for the wife to remain at work and to give up the preparation of meals and other domestic duties. Under these conditions, if the marriage fails to provide the expected happiness, it is more easily discontinued.

*Difficulties of Adjustment Following Divorce.* Many couples, discouraged by the problems that confront them, seek escape in divorce. They think mostly of the troubles they are running away from, not of those which lie ahead. They imagine that divorce will restore to them the freedom and happiness of the days preceding the marriage. They do not realize that the intervening emotional experiences have changed them profoundly, have left memories never-to-be-forgotten, and have awakened new personality needs.

Divorce is often the beginning of a long period of personal disorganization. In loneliness one must work out new life plans. The routine habits of everyday living must be rebuilt. Social relationships must be reorganized, for some friends will drop the divorcee, while others he will avoid from fear of disapproval and unpleasant reminders of the past. After the anger and wounded pride have died away, many a divorced person discovers that he still loves the mate from whom he has parted; then he torments himself with regret and self-reproach.

The best solution to the situation confronting a divorcee is generally a second marriage. Studies of the percentage of the divorced who marry again are meager and contradictory. According to a New York State survey it is estimated that one in every two divorced New Yorkers will sooner or later remarry, the average interval between divorce and remarriage being 3.4 years.

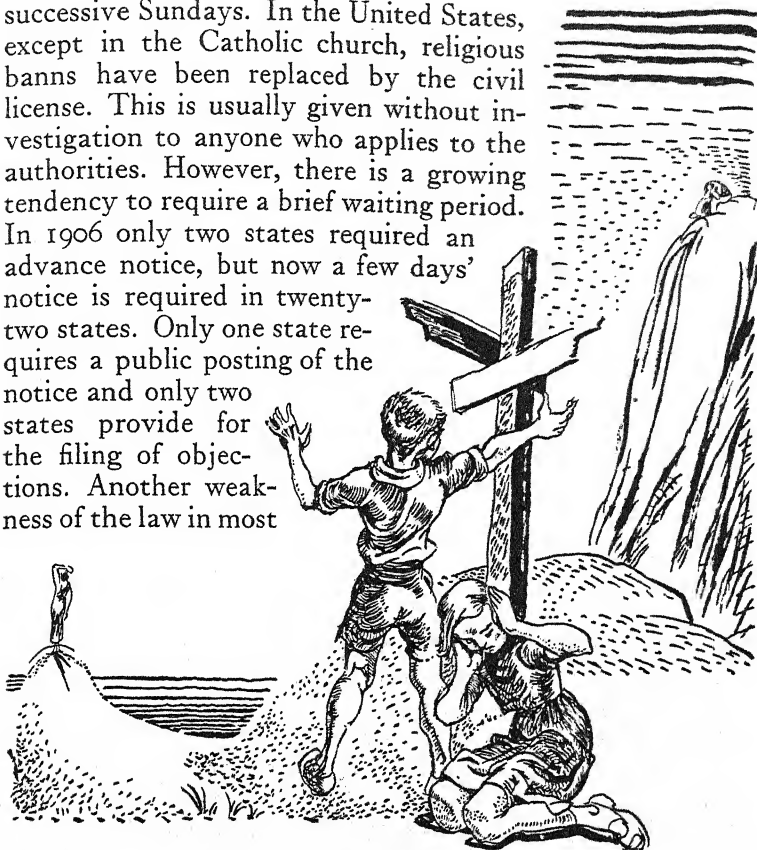
#### WHAT CAN SOCIETY DO TO HELP MARRIAGE?

Society has no substitute for the home as the nursery of social attitudes. It is in the family that the individual is most likely to learn loyalty, sympathy, unselfishness, and the ability to co-operate with others. The increasing instability of the family is therefore a matter of serious concern to society. It is important that the causes for family breakdown should be discovered and if possible overcome. Various proposals have been made for improving the percentage of success in marriage. We may examine only a few of them.

*Tightening Marriage Laws.* Law can only control external forms, never the inward spirit. It cannot reduce the number of unhappy marriages by making divorce more difficult. However, some lessening of marriage failure might result if the marriage laws were made stricter.

In the more settled societies of the Old World, marriage is considered a serious step to be undertaken only after proper consideration by the two individuals and by their families and communities. It is customary to announce the "banns" of the intended marriage at church on two or three

successive Sundays. In the United States, except in the Catholic church, religious banns have been replaced by the civil license. This is usually given without investigation to anyone who applies to the authorities. However, there is a growing tendency to require a brief waiting period. In 1906 only two states required an advance notice, but now a few days' notice is required in twenty-two states. Only one state requires a public posting of the notice and only two states provide for the filing of objections. Another weakness of the law in most



states is that only one candidate for a marriage license needs to appear when making application for the license.

A good many marriages fail because one or both partners has serious mental or physical defects. In about one third of the states there are no restrictions on marriages between individuals with mental and physical disabilities, and in the states having such restrictions the law is frequently ignored. Recently several states have enacted legislation to require each applicant for a marriage license to bring a health certificate from a physician. This is intended to prevent the marriage of those with dangerous communicable diseases.

Child marriages are practically certain to end in failure. The responsibilities of marriage and parenthood are too exacting for boys and girls. In no state may a person under eighteen years of age marry without the consent of his or her parents, but if the parents consent, many states do not forbid the marriage of children in their early teens. In ten states a girl of twelve may marry, with the consent of parents, and in only one state is the minimum marriageable age for girls higher than sixteen years. There are many who think that all the states should forbid the marriage of children under sixteen.

*The Reform of Divorce Laws.* The laws of a few of our states are so lax as to encourage divorce on very trifling grounds. To correct this some reformers advocate that there be a uniform divorce law in every state of the Union. The divorce laws of forty-three states are already similar in most particulars.

Whether or not either party in a divorce case should pay alimony to the other is a question that is often raised. In most divorces no provision is made for the payment of alimony. Either the husband's earnings are too small and irregular to permit of alimony, or the wife does not assert her legal claim, preferring to earn her own living. We are coming to believe that alimony is not a right unless the wife is unable to support herself or unless there are minor children. Alimony payments are sometimes a very heavy burden to the husband, making it difficult or impossible for him to establish another home. Not infrequently the second wife must remain at work because the divorced wife declines to support herself. Alimony is rarely paid to husbands, but it is provided for in the laws of Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Rhode Island.

*The Establishment of Domestic Relations Courts.* In a number of cities a new court has recently come into being, the Domestic Relations Court. One of its chief functions is to hear divorce cases. It is believed that a divorce trial should not be a struggle between opposing lawyers, but rather a quiet, private consultation with the judge by the parties

concerned. The judge of the Domestic Relations Court will seek to reconcile the parties in the case if it seems to him possible that a compromise can be reached. He will take time to investigate the underlying difficulties, with the hope of finding a way to keep the home together. Persons seeking a divorce are usually in an upset frame of mind, in which friendly guidance can be of very great value. If they consult lawyers, as is now the custom except where Domestic Relations Courts have made it unnecessary, they are sometimes led to undertake steps which make reconciliation almost impossible.

*The Marriage Counselor.* Were unhappy married people to regard their troubles as a problem of maladjustment, they would often find a more promising solution than a permanent separation. But after a succession of quarrels, they are too hurt and too angry to be reasonable. They can no longer talk to each other about the problem without further disagreements. What is needed, of course, is that both should look for the causes of the difficulty, calmly, realistically, without blame or self-pity. Sometimes a vacation from each other is sufficient to restore a reasonable attitude in both. Sometimes the help of a disinterested adviser is needed.

A professional marriage counselor can be found in some communities. The marriage counselor is usually a psychologist or psychiatrist who has specialized in the field of family relationships. Occasionally a marriage counselor is found on the staff of a church. In places where there is no professional marriage counselor, there may be a minister, physician, or social worker who is known for his helpfulness in advising unhappy married people.

The marriage counselor cannot, of course, save a marriage when either the husband or the wife has decided it should be broken off. The counselor can, however, help those who would like to preserve their marriage by creating a better relationship. Often the difficulty is due to the ill-health of one or both parties; the rebuilding of health (both physical and mental) may be all that is needed. Frequently the difficulty arises from the poor management of money, or

from poor cooking or housekeeping; what is needed is a little training. In numerous cases the real trouble has been a lack of satisfying recreation; the counselor may suggest ways in which recreational needs can be met. Good recreation can compensate for many unpleasant conditions that perhaps cannot be removed. Another cause of marital unhappiness is fatigue from overwork; if a way can be found for the tired individual to obtain more rest, breakdown of the marriage may be averted. Sometimes the chief difficulty is the strain caused by the presence of relatives in the home. In this event the impartial guidance of a marriage counselor may be particularly helpful.

*Education for Marriage and Parenthood.* The majority of young people today receive little training for marriage or parenthood. Frequently they do not learn how to take care of a house until after they marry.

To some extent, courses in domestic science in high school help to prepare girls for homemaking, but they reach only a small proportion of those who need training. Moreover, this training is ordinarily limited to the elements of cooking and sewing. Often little attention is paid to the very important matters of dietetics, the family health, home furnishing, and economic methods of buying. It would seem that both boys and girls need courses to introduce them to budget-making, the keeping of accounts, the management of money, consumer problems, simple home repairs, hygiene, nutrition, and household chemistry. The aim should be the application of scientific knowledge to every phase of homemaking. This can only come about through the training of both girls and boys.

There is also great need for a working knowledge of mental hygiene. This new science teaches us to look for the causes of faulty behavior rather than to blame the misbehaving individual. *The first rule for getting along well with others is never to blame.* If a member of the family is irritable, bad-tempered, or "touchy," he may be reacting to some situation outside the home that is causing him to feel frustrated and discouraged. Good strategy consists in overlooking his disagreeableness and helping him to make a better adjustment

to the situation. This might mean the giving up of an impossible goal, and finding ways to compensate for what he regards as his failure. Mental hygiene trains us to face objectively our problems in personal relationships. The majority of these problems call for intellectual solutions; in handling them we need the scientific attitude.

Courses on marriage and parenthood are now offered in many colleges and by organizations like the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association in a number of large cities. The attempt is made to prepare the student for some of the problems he will meet later, problems of establishing and maintaining a home, of adjusting physically and mentally to the mate, and rearing children. Courses of this nature are most valuable when given to persons soon to be married.

*Should Household Drudgery Be Lessened?* A recent study by the United States Department of Agriculture of 2000 homemakers picked at random from farms, towns, and cities, and belonging to both the wage-earning and the business class, shows that:

The average working week in the home is 51 hours.

One third of the homemakers studied spent over 8 hours a day at housekeeping.

The 950 farm women averaged 62 hours a week. This included some work around the place, such as the care of poultry or garden.

The city women spent from 48 to 51 hours a week at their housekeeping, in spite of the many conveniences that city life is supposed to give.

Only 10 per cent of women in large cities spent less than 35 hours a week. But this is nearly five hours a day, including Sundays and holidays.

When young children are present in the home the time spent in homemaking is greatly increased. A study of farm homemakers in Oregon showed that in homes without children 49.2 hours per week were spent in homemaking, but when the family included a child under one year, the time was 81.3 hours. In a study of city homes with a child under one year, 94.2 hours were spent each week in homemaking.

It appears that even when there are no small children

housekeeping is still a full-time job in most families. It is evident that unless mothers have help they are likely to be seriously overworked. Confronted by endless household tasks, they have little time for companionship with their children.

Society can take various steps to lighten the drudgery of homemaking. Better housing for families of average and low income would go far to make housework easier. Cheaper electricity and electric appliances, and the extension of electric light lines to farm homes, would be a great help. Co-operative laundries, or stricter supervision of commercial laundries, would be helpful. The establishment of nursery schools where young children can be cared for a few hours each day would do much to make life easier for mothers, and to safeguard the health and welfare of children.

*Lightening the Economic Handicaps of Marriage.* Successful home life is impossible unless there is an adequate income. An adequate income, *earned under conditions which do not interfere with successful family life*, is the foundation of the home. What constitutes an adequate income depends on the number in the family, their ages, and their physical condition. Generally speaking, for a family of five to live on the level of health and decency requires an income of between \$1500 and \$2000 a year. (See p. 210.) Millions of American families are obliged to live below the level of health and decency because their earnings are so small. Additional millions of families earn some or all of their incomes in ways that are hurtful to family life. Among these injurious ways of earning are: the gainful employment of mothers with young children (except those mothers who can afford to employ capable substitutes to care for the children); child labor; industrial homework, such as the making of artificial flowers in the home; night work; employment seven days a week; the keeping of roomers and boarders; employment involving prolonged absences from home; employment under conditions likely to lead to industrial diseases; employment that is irregular and uncertain.

The correction of all these conditions will require a prolonged attack along a wide front. Some gains have already been made. Others will come as the public conscience grows

more sensitive. Others must wait until the national income becomes larger, permitting higher wages to all workers, and giving them more freedom to refuse employment detrimental to health and family welfare.

*The Tax Burden.* It is increasingly believed that part of the tax burden must be shifted to the childless home and to the unmarried man and woman. A small beginning has been made in the income tax laws, which allow a very modest exemption for married people and for each dependent child. The effort to relieve real estate from part of the heavy load of taxation it now carries may result in aiding the small home owner, and, to some extent, the families who rent their homes. On the other hand, the sales tax on necessities now imposed in many states falls most severely upon the families of small income. The whole problem of taxation is exceedingly complex, and may not be discussed here. It may be said, however, that some European countries have gone much farther than the United States in shifting taxation from parents to the childless.

*The Cost of Rearing a Child.* We do not always realize how great a financial sacrifice is made by those who bring up a child. Two people can live as well on a yearly income of \$900 as a family with three children can live on \$1500. Perhaps this helps to explain why, among every five wives between the ages of forty and forty-four living with their husbands, one has never borne a child.

Some interesting figures have been gathered by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company as to the cost of bringing up a child in a family of five whose income is \$2500 a year. The average cost to the age of eighteen is as follows:

Medical attendance and nursing at birth.....	\$ 250
Food.....	2500
Clothing and shelter.....	3400
Education (small items met by the family)....	50
Health.....	284
Recreation.....	130
Insurance, if provided.....	54
Sundries.....	<u>570</u>
Total.....	\$7238

How does the average family afford to bring up several children? Only by continual self-denial on the part of the parents. As a rule, they scrimp on their own clothing, recreation, and medical care, and reduce as much as they can the expense of the family's food and shelter. In families of less than \$2500 income, less is spent per child, but a great sacrifice is required of the parents, particularly if there are several children. They may be obliged to live in a house much too small and to go without almost everything but actual necessities.

Because many families cannot afford to provide suitable conditions for their children, some countries have adopted the family wage system. Under this plan every employer pays into a central fund a tax based on the number of his employees. From the central fund, additional wages are paid to those employees who have dependents. The father of several young children may receive twice as much as a single man doing the same work who has no dependents. This wage system has never found favor among members of American labor organizations or among other workers.

Those who give sturdy, well-trained children to the state are making the greatest of gifts. They are creating the best form of social wealth, for they are enabling our civilization to continue. Whatever society can do to lighten the burden of parents by providing them with more financial security, better preparation, more adequate housing, less expensive medical care, and more desirable conditions for their children, is of fundamental importance to human progress.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. Ask your grandparents or some elderly persons to tell you what they consider the most significant changes in family life since they were young.
2. Write a paper showing how the functions of the home have changed. See chapter x of *Society Faces the Future*, by Gavian, and other references.
3. Write a case study of some family in which the mother is gainfully employed outside the home. Why is she working outside the home? What has been the effect on her and on the quality of the family life?

4. Prepare a paper on the gainful employment of married women. How many are gainfully employed? Why do they undertake gainful employment? For which married women is gainful employment socially desirable?
5. List the sources of information and guidance available in your community for homemakers and parents. Include sources of bulletins that may be sent for.
6. After further reading prepare a talk on the work of Domestic Relations Courts.
7. Find out at what period of married life divorce is most likely. What is the explanation?
8. Should divorce be made easy? See chapter xiii of *Ourselves and Society*, by Lumley and Bode, and chapter xxix of *What Men Live By*, by Cabot, for a conservative view.
9. Make a list of ways in which a homemaker skilled in household management can reduce the drudgery of housework.
10. Can you determine how many hours are actually spent each week in various homemaking duties by your mother? How could she get more time for herself?
11. Invite a marriage counselor to speak to the class.
12. Interpret the drawing on p. 269.

#### QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. The person poorly adjusted to reality readily seeks a divorce. Why?
2. Is such a person likely to be more successful in a second marriage? Why or why not?
3. What do you consider a sound attitude toward divorce?
4. Is it wise for the law to forbid remarriage soon after the divorce?
5. Among divorced persons, which ones are ethically justified in asking for alimony?
6. "The family is a mirror of social welfare." Explain.
7. Why is the risk greater when persons of different background marry?
8. In what ways is city life more favorable to successful marriage than country life? In what ways is it less favorable?
9. How has the Industrial Revolution affected marriage and home life?
10. Why are some occupations more apt to produce family tensions than others? Name occupations that are particularly unfavorable to family life.
11. Why does ill-health tend to create tension in the family?

12. The divorce rate is very low among college graduates, among people who go to church often, and in rural communities. How do you explain this?

## READINGS

- Elliott, Mabel A., and others, *Our Dynamic Society*, chaps. xvii and xxi  
Elmer, Manuel C., *Family Adjustment and Social Change*  
Gavian, Ruth W., *Society Faces the Future*, chap. x  
Groves, Ernest R., *The American Family. The American Woman. The Drifting Home. Social Problems of the Family*  
Marshall, Leon, *The Story of Human Progress*, chap. xi  
Nimkoff, Meyer, *The Family*  
Reuter, A. B., and Runner, J. R., *The Family* (Source-materials useful for the teacher)  
Ross, Edward A., *Civic Sociology*, chap. vii  
Shideler, Ernest H., *Group Life and Social Problems*

## Unit VI

### *Education for a New Day*

THE last unit attempted to make plain how the scientific attitude could help individuals improve their adjustments. Most of us could doubtless manage our money, our leisure, and our family relationships more effectively than we now do, thus attaining more satisfactory lives. But where are we to learn how? Could the public schools provide children and adults with this new and important kind of education?

Schooling for the masses of people is little more than a century old. It has made the United States a literate nation, familiar with the three R's. Of the schools in some areas of our country nothing more can be claimed. In more prosperous areas the schools have prepared pupils for a vocation, taught them to get ahead in the world, and instructed them in the rudiments of music, art, and civics. Here and there schools can be found that do much more — schools that hold character building and training for happy living higher than academic subject matter, that provide opportunities for pupils to learn to function in democratic groups. Schools of this sort are attracting more attention. Perhaps they are to be the schools of the new day.

Chapter 15 shows how amazingly our public school system has grown. It discusses serious educational inequalities that exist in nearly every state and what is being done to overcome them.

Chapter 16 discusses the various purposes of education and raises the question: Is our educational effort producing the kind of people who can create a better society?



# Chapter 15

## THE WIDENING SCOPE OF EDUCATION

*Even in these days of tremendously pressing problems, to my mind the most important question of all is, What are we going to do about our schools? That education should be universal goes without saying. By education I mean more than the three R's. I believe that every child should be given all the education he can reasonably absorb. This does not mean that all children should spend an equal number of years in school or that all should take the same courses. It means that everyone in order to have the best chance possible for a happy and full life should have every bit of education that he is capable of receiving and of using to advantage.*

HAROLD L. ICKES, *Secretary of the Interior*

THE welfare of a people is determined largely by the training which the young receive. The first settlers of our country recognized this. No sooner had they arrived in the New World than they began to establish schools.

For the beginning of our free common school system we must look to New England. In 1642 the colonial legislature of Massachusetts adopted a measure requiring that all children be taught to read. Five years later it passed an epoch-making act providing for the establishment of elementary schools in each town of fifty families and of "grammar" schools in each town having a hundred families. The grammar schools were to prepare boys for Harvard College, which had been founded in 1636. Connecticut and New Hampshire followed the Massachusetts plan, but elsewhere in the colonies the schools were generally private, and usually sectarian, that is, church schools. Poor children could attend only if their parents declared themselves to be "paupers."

The idea of schools for everybody spread very slowly. Many of the founders of the Republic, including Washington

and Jefferson, urged the necessity of public schools. But the majority of the taxpayers were not convinced that public funds should be spent for education. For the most part they sent their own children to private schools and did not think they could be justly asked to support public schools as well. The states took little interest in creating school systems.

The demand for popular education gathered strength, and by the second quarter of the nineteenth century it could no longer be denied. Labor unions were particularly active in this movement. Many towns now established public schools for the first time. Rural dwellers formed district schools. The first public high school in the United States was founded at Boston in 1821, and was soon followed by others in most of the larger cities of the country. After a while state normal schools for the training of teachers were opened. The states, especially in the Northeast and the Middle West, one by one created state-wide school systems aided by state funds. The movement for universal free education was strongest where political democracy was most advanced, among small farmers in the West and wage earners in the East.

To three New Englanders should go much of the credit for these far-reaching changes. James G. Carter of Massachusetts (1795-1849) wrote continually on the need of a training institution to improve instruction in the public schools. His appeals were successful and earned him the title of "father of the normal schools." Another of his great contributions to American life occurred in 1837 when he procured the passage in Massachusetts of the bill for a state board of education.

Horace Mann (1796-1859) was chosen secretary of the new board, and soon attracted national attention by his vigorous campaign for more adequate schools, better teachers, a richer course of study, and above all, for a liberal system of taxation, local and state, for the support of schools and colleges. He believed that education should be universal and free, and that it should be compulsory, for girls as well as boys, to the age of fourteen. He thought that universal education should have as its chief aim moral character and social efficiency — not mere learning, culture, and accom-

plishments. He saw no reason "why algebra, a branch which not one man in a thousand ever has occasion to use in the business of life, should be studied by more than twenty-three hundred pupils, and bookkeeping, which every man, even the day laborer, should understand, should be attended to by only half that number."

In Massachusetts, during the twelve years of Mann's service on the Board of Education, three normal schools (the first in the United States) were established, the appropriations for public education were more than doubled, a full month was added to the school year, school attendance was enormously expanded, fifty new high schools were founded, squalid and inadequate school buildings were put in order, and teaching methods were much improved. Best of all, he had created throughout the country a strong desire for more and better schools.

Henry Barnard of Connecticut (1811-1900) made the next important contribution to the educational awakening. Through his voluminous writings he gave America a better comprehension of what was being done by educational reformers abroad, especially in new methods of teaching. Thus he helped bring about many changes in our schools. He advocated that Congress create the office of United States Commissioner of Education, and in 1867 was the first person appointed to that office. Now, at last, the United States was to have statistics and information about all the schools in the country. Educational progress would henceforth be a national concern.

*Gain in the Amount of Schooling Received.* After the work of Horace Mann in Massachusetts, the school term was gradually lengthened in other states. The four-months' term gave place to the five- or six-months' term. By 1900 many cities had provided for an eight- or a nine-months' school. A school term of eight months or more is now usual in the United States. In 1930 public schools throughout the country were in session an average of 173 days.

In the last fifty years school attendance has become more faithful. In 1890 the average pupil enrolled attended only 86 days a year, but in 1930 the figure was 143 days. This

indicates a growing determination among parents that their children shall receive all the schooling possible, and also reflects a decline in child labor.

With the great increase in the number of schools, the lengthening of their terms, and the tendency of children to remain in school to a later age, the total amount of schooling received by the average person has, since 1800, been multiplied twenty times. Counting attendance at public and private schools, the number of days spent in school by the average American in his entire life has been as follows:

Year	Total number of days
1800	82
1840	208
1860	434
1880	690
1900	934
1920	1226
1930	1591

*The Rise of the Public High School.* Until after the Civil War private academies far outnumbered public high schools. In those days only well-to-do youth had leisure to attend secondary schools; and the building of such schools at public expense was opposed by a good many average citizens, who asked, "Why should we pay taxes to keep the children of the rich in school?" When Lincoln became President there were only about three hundred public high schools in the entire country, half of them in Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio. By 1880 there were 800, and by 1900 there were 6000 public high schools.

In 1900 some 500,000 pupils were in high school. Secondary education was still thought to be the privilege of those expecting to enter the professions. The curriculum was designated solely to prepare for college or professional schools; Latin, Greek, algebra, geometry, history, English, French, German, physics, and chemistry were practically the only courses offered.

After the turn of the century there came a marked growth in high school enrollment. Banks, insurance companies, de-

partment stores, and large-scale businesses were demanding better-trained workers. Since a few years' more schooling meant, at that time, much larger earning power, young people flocked to the high schools. In 1910 one million students were in high school; in 1920, two million; in 1930, five million; and in 1935, seven million. About two thirds of the persons of high school age are now in school. Probably most of those not in high school would be there if their parents could afford it.

Only a small fraction of present-day high school students will go to college. Hence, the high school has had to widen its offerings to fit more nearly the needs of the average boy and girl. It has introduced many vocational courses, since employers will no longer hire untrained people. It has begun to consider vocational guidance one of its principal functions. It has added many extracurricular activities — dramatics, orchestras, athletics, hobby clubs, etc. — in order to hold the interest of the students and prepare them for richer living.

Because many high school graduates are not able, in these times, to find employment, they are asking for postgraduate courses. Unfortunately the facilities of most high schools are overtaxed, and there is often little or no provision for postgraduate students.

*The Fuller Use of School Property.* Not long ago the school-house was open only a few hours of every day; it was locked during vacations, and was rarely used at night. Today this is considered to be a wasteful practice.

In some places the school buildings and grounds are used all day long. Athletics and other extracurricular activities continue after classes are over. Classrooms may be used at night and on Saturdays for adult education. The auditorium, gymnasium, athletic field, and the school library may also be placed at the disposal of the community on Saturdays or after school hours. Thus the school becomes a community center.

A number of progressive cities keep their school property in use throughout the summer by offering special vacation schools. These vacation schools may be conducted to help

pupils who, for any reason, are behind in their classes, or they may be entirely devoted to recreational and vocational activities. The summer school idea is likely to spread, for it gives children something interesting to do through the long summer vacations, when otherwise most of them would be idle. It appeals to parents who live in crowded city homes. It also gives opportunity to the school to teach children leisure-time activities and vocational subjects for which there is all too little time in the regular school term.

*The Remarkable Growth of Higher Education.* In 1800 the United States had some twenty colleges, with not more than two thousand students. By 1860 there were 246 colleges and state universities. These institutions were not much different from the colonial colleges; they prepared for the learned professions and were devoted to the study of theology, mathematics, the classics, and literature. In 1862 Congress passed the Morrill Act, giving public lands to each state on condition that the money obtained from selling the lands be used to support and endow a college for the study of agriculture and the mechanic arts. This gave impetus to a revolution in higher education. From that time many colleges began to be concerned with scientific research, with the object of promoting human progress.

In the past fifty years colleges and universities have greatly expanded the scope of their work and increased their enrollment. Half a century ago an institution with a thousand students was noted for its size. Today many institutions enroll from five to twelve thousand. In 1890 about 110,000 men and women were in colleges and universities. Today the number is over a million. Eleven per cent of the persons of college age are now in college.

The growth in the number of our colleges and universities is unparalleled in the history of any other country. We have nearly 1100 institutions of higher learning, of which forty per cent are publicly owned.

The rapid growth of the universities has been a factor in the development of the junior college, which is designed to give two years of college work to high school graduates. The first junior college was founded in Joliet, Illinois, in 1902.

The second one was opened in Fresno, California, in 1907. Now there are more than 550 of them in the United States, about one third being supported by taxation. The number of junior colleges, both public and private, is steadily growing. One reason for this is the difficulty that high school graduates experience in finding employment. Employers are demanding college or junior college graduates in many positions formerly filled by high school graduates. Furthermore, great numbers of young people who could not possibly afford to attend a distant institution can continue their studies if meanwhile they live at home. The public junior college is thus an application of the democratic ideal of equal educational opportunity for all.

#### THE SCHOOLS REACH OUT TO GROUPS FORMERLY EXCLUDED

As the idea of universal free education took root, schooling began to be demanded for groups of the population which had formerly had no access to the schools.

*The Education of Women.* In colonial times most people thought that girls were better off without much schooling. There were dame schools conducted in someone's home, where girls could learn to read, write, and cipher, but girls did not go to grammar schools or academies. After the Revolutionary War, girls were gradually admitted to private academies, and some academies for girls only were established. When the first public high schools appeared, they were only for boys. Girls who had graduated from private schools began to seek admission to colleges, all of which refused them entrance.

A strong movement for the admission of women to college began about 1830. Many of the educational leaders and business and professional men of that time opposed such an innovation in education. They argued that women would demoralize the college; that standards of scholarship would be ruined; that, lacking the mentality of men, they could not pursue a college course; and that women with college training, in competing in business with men, would be harm-

ful to society. It was also thought that the education of women would mean the breakdown of the home. But these ideas were soon cast aside, and throughout the whole country higher schools and colleges for girls and women were established.

Among the early leaders who advocated collegiate training for women were Emma Hart Willard and Mary Lyon. Mrs. Willard opened a school for girls at Troy, New York, in 1821, and Mount Holyoke Seminary was founded by Mary Lyon in 1837. In 1893 it became Mount Holyoke College. Mary Lyon is regarded as our foremost woman educator. She began teaching school for seventy-five cents a week with board when she was only sixteen years old. Ridiculed and opposed on every side, in three years she collected gifts of \$68,500 with which to build her school. When it opened, eighty girls filled the only building, to the great surprise of the founder, and others were refused admittance for lack of room. The following year more than four hundred girls were turned away for the same reason.





The success of these and other early institutions founded for women convinced the people that women should be given full opportunity for higher training. The movement soon spread westward, and women were even admitted to colleges founded for men only. When Oberlin College (Ohio) was opened in 1833 it admitted both sexes, and therefore has the honor of being the first college in the world to take in women on an equal basis with men. When the first college was incorporated (1851) in California, now the College of the Pacific located at Stockton, it admitted women who met the standards set for men. Two years later, when Horace Mann became president of Antioch College in Ohio, he made

it coeducational also. By 1860 there were six "female seminaries," as they were commonly called, and many of the state educational institutions had become coeducational.

Today nearly one half of the students in our colleges and universities are women. From 1920 to 1930 the collegiate students increased 108.8 per cent, but the women collegiate students increased 142.3 per cent. In the graduate departments for this same period the number of men increased 195.5 per cent, but the number of women grew 214 per cent. Formerly few women teachers were found in our colleges and universities. Today nearly one fourth of the 67,200 teachers in our institutions of higher learning are women. Few educational changes in our history have been so striking as the advance that women have made.

*The Education of Negroes.* In most of the slave states the instruction of slaves in the three R's was forbidden. It was feared that book learning would make the slaves discontented and that it would encourage them in armed uprising against their masters. Hence the freeing of the slaves found most of them illiterate, that is, unable to read or write. The table below shows that since 1866 they have made remarkable educational progress.

#### NEGRO EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

	1866	1930	Gain in 64 Years
Per cent literate.....	10	90	80
Schools for higher training, including night schools....	15	800	785
Students in public schools...	100,000	2,288,000	2,188,000
Teachers in all schools.....	600	56,000	55,400
Property for higher education	\$60,000	\$50,000,000	\$49,940,000
Annual expenditures for all education.....	\$700,000	\$61,700,000	\$61,000,000
Raised by Negroes.....	\$80,000	\$3,500,000	\$3,420,000

Although Negroes have made a striking educational advance, they are still far from having equal educational opportunities. Wherever separate schools are maintained for Negroes and for whites, the Negro school is almost certain to be inferior — the building usually old, out of repair, and

ill-equipped, the teachers as a rule meagerly trained and poorly paid, the classes large and the attendance laws not strictly enforced.

The Negroes pay less taxes in proportion to the number of their children of school age than do the whites. It is frequently argued, therefore, that they should not have as good schools as the whites. This seems a shortsighted doctrine. There will always be serious race problems so long as Negroes are poorly taught.

No southern state has an average of ten colored children to the square mile. This means that schools for them are likely to be far apart in the rural sections and not within reach of some of the children. Moreover, many colored children are kept busy on the farms during much of the year, so that they are obliged to miss school.

The following table shows the handicaps under which the Negro race still labors in trying to secure an education:

THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION IN SIXTEEN FORMER  
SLAVE STATES IN 1930

	White	Negro
School population.....	9,095,000	3,326,000
School population enrolled in school..	90%	79%
Average annual expenditure per child of school age.....	\$45.63	\$14.95
Average investment in public school property per child of school age....	\$120.09	\$29.62
Average annual salary of teachers....	\$1020	\$524
Expenditure for teachers' salaries per enrolled pupil.....	\$32.57	\$11.78
Average number of pupils per teacher	31	44
Average length of school term.....	164 days	144 days
Average number of days attended by each pupil enrolled.....	117 days	95 days

The first institution for the higher education of Negroes was founded in Washington, D.C., in 1867, with the name Howard University. In 1928 Congress authorized the granting of appropriations to this institution, and as a result a financial and educational program has been undertaken which will make it one of the foremost universities of the

nation. Important liberal arts colleges for Negroes include Atlanta, Fisk, Wilberforce, and Lincoln. Altogether there are some eighty educational institutions for Negroes, giving courses which are wholly or partly of collegiate grade.

*Education of the Handicapped.* For a long time the effort to provide schools for normal children was so absorbing that little, if any, thought was given to the needs of the blind, the deaf, and the disabled. The first school for the deaf was founded in 1817 at Hartford, Connecticut, by the Reverend Thomas Gallaudet. The first state school for the deaf was started by Kentucky in 1823. It was not until 1832 that the first schools for the blind were opened, privately, in Boston and New York. In 1848 Michigan founded an institution for the instruction of the deaf, the dumb, and the blind. Similar institutions were gradually established in other states. Until after the Civil War, schools for the handicapped were few and small. Even today there are not enough school opportunities for the handicapped.

*The Blind.* The United States has about 65,000 blind people. Most cases of blindness are due to disease and industrial accidents and are therefore preventable.

In prosperous times only one in every six blind persons is employed; the others are dependent. Ordinary economic, recreational, and social activities being closed to the blind, they have long hours of idleness and isolation. If life is to be worth living, they must have special training that they may earn part, at least, of their own living and that they may be useful to their families. Teaching the blind to read by touch is one of the surest ways to improve their lot.

Many of the states train part of their blind population in special schools. Large cities generally have special school classes for children who are nearly or totally blind. But as yet only a small portion of the blind receive any kind of public instruction.

*The Deaf.* There are about as many persons with severely impaired hearing or none at all as there are blind people. Most deaf persons go to school, and nearly all learn to speak to other deaf persons with their hands. Those whose hearing goes before the age of ten generally soon lose the power of

speech. Those who become deaf later in life tend to lose the ability to speak clearly. By special instruction the deaf may be helped in speaking, in communicating with other deaf persons, and in lip reading. Classes for the deaf are conducted in many large cities, but elsewhere the special instruction they need is not generally provided at public expense.

*The Disabled.* Disabling or crippling is due principally to infantile paralysis, bone tuberculosis, and accidents. Surveys in a few places indicate that there are six disabled in every thousand people, of whom four were disabled before the age of sixteen.

Some states and many cities provide special training and medical care for the disabled. In rural areas and in the less prosperous states little or no public provision is made for them. The federal government gives financial assistance to any state with a program for retraining disabled adults. This is designed particularly for the victims of industrial accidents. The attempt is made to retrain the individual that he may once again support himself.

Unfortunately, the majority of employers are unwilling to employ the disabled or those otherwise handicapped. This suggests that in addition to training of the handicapped, it is necessary to teach employers how to make use of them. Mr. Henry Ford has long believed that every industry should include among its employees the same percentage of handicapped persons as is found in the adult population. This would mean the employment of two handicapped persons among every hundred employees. According to Mr. Ford it is not difficult in a large manufacturing plant to find positions for the handicapped where they can be as productive as normal individuals.

*Schools for Young Children.* Beginning in the early seventies Boston added a few kindergartens to her public schools, followed soon after by St. Louis, and in 1880 by San Francisco. By 1900 two hundred cities had kindergartens as part of the public school system. So greatly does the kindergarten contribute to the development and the happiness of children, that parents of young children everywhere began to ask that

kindergartens be opened in their communities. The number of kindergartens grew steadily until 1930. Since that time the curtailment of school budgets has caused many kindergartens to be closed.

The nursery school movement began about twenty years ago. A nursery school cares for children of two and three years of age for several hours a day. In no sense a substitute for the home, it is intended to aid and supplement the home.



Like the kindergarten, it provides an environment planned to meet the specific needs of young children in a way that few homes can do.

The foundations of both mental and physical health are laid in early childhood. The personality is outlined, and later life will only fill in the outline. The emotions are much in evidence as the young child reacts to the restrictions and coercion which, in all too many cases, he is constantly made to feel. Much of his future happiness is at stake. Anger, jealousy, fear, and other antisocial emotions may be intensified by conditions that seem to him unjust, harsh, or uncertain. Nervous difficulties, such as stuttering, and emotional difficulties, such as extreme shyness, fearfulness, and violent temper, which originate at this period, may handicap him throughout life. Social conditions are therefore more im-

portant during the child's early years than at any other time. This is the principal argument for the nursery school and the kindergarten.

In families where the mother is overworked or in poor health and is therefore nervous and irritable, it is important both for her sake and the child's that they be separated part of every day. In other homes where the child is indulged and spoiled by too much attention, or is perhaps left alone too much, or left in the care of a servant, it is equally desirable that the child be placed in nursery school or kindergarten. Nor is it too much to say that children from good homes will benefit from the wise handling of the teacher expert in the training of youngsters, and by the other advantages of the nursery school or kindergarten environment. As people come more generally to appreciate the needs of young children, and to see the risks to which they are exposed because of poor mental hygiene in the average home, public nursery schools will be established and the closed kindergartens will be reopened.

*The Education of Adults.* No educational trend of the present day is more interesting than the rapid growth of adult education. It has been greatly stimulated by recent psychological findings. Contrary to a belief once widely held, scientists have shown that adults possess abundant capacity to learn. One's capacity to learn grows until his early twenties. For a few years thereafter it remains stationary, then almost imperceptibly begins to decline. Accordingly, there is no reason why those of any age should not study. As a matter of fact, adults should be able to study more effectively than children and adolescents; they know what they need to learn, and they can apply it at once. When they study they are hunting for the answer to a problem that is vital to them; when it is found it is not likely to be forgotten.

The industrial depression is one cause of the remarkable spread of the adult education movement. Great numbers of unemployed or partially unemployed workers have sought through study to improve their qualifications for a job. Others have found in study a relief from discouragement

and monotony; they have followed a program of guided reading, or have undertaken to learn hobbies.

The breath-taking advance of science and technology is another reason why adults find need to study. Teachers, doctors, and professional workers in every line must study if they are to keep abreast of new developments in their field. Skilled workers, too, may have to seek retraining. For example, the change from steam to electric locomotives requires the retraining of the engineers and their assistants. This kind of vocational readjustment will be needed by millions of workers if the present rate of technological change continues.

Night schools were one of the first types of adult education provided at public expense. They were first started about a century ago for young people who could not attend day school because they were at work. In recent years such schools are attended largely by adults.

The public library is the chief means of adult education. But forty-five million Americans have no library within easy reach. Of 3070 counties in the United States, less than 300 have county-wide library service. In one third of our counties there is not a single public library; these are rural counties where poverty is widespread and where most of the people cannot even afford private reading matter. For one dollar a year per capita, experts say, good library service could be provided over the entire country; this is about three times what is actually spent for public libraries in the United States.

Another important type of adult education is the extension service to farmers and homemakers carried on co-operatively by the land-grant colleges, the counties, and the United States Department of Agriculture. As part of this service there is maintained in nearly every rural county a full-time county agricultural agent, a home demonstration agent, and one or two boys' and girls' club agents. These specialists bring scientific knowledge to rural dwellers. By personal visits to farms and homes, by holding meetings and organizing clubs, by exhibitions and demonstrations and the distribution of bulletins, millions are reached. In less

than a generation the extension service has contributed enormously to the improvement of methods of farming, homemaking, and child care.

The forum on public questions is a valuable device developed by the adult education movement. There are now several hundred cities which conduct regular forums. Psychology, economics, politics, and a wide variety of social problems are discussed during the year by eminent speakers. Usually there are two or three speakers at any one meeting, in order that various points of view on controversial issues shall be represented. At each meeting, time is reserved in which the audience may ask questions of the speakers. Often these discussions are broadcast over the radio. Because they know that both sides of the issue will be fairly treated and that they will not be asked to accept the opinions of any speaker, people of all shades of belief are attracted by the forum.

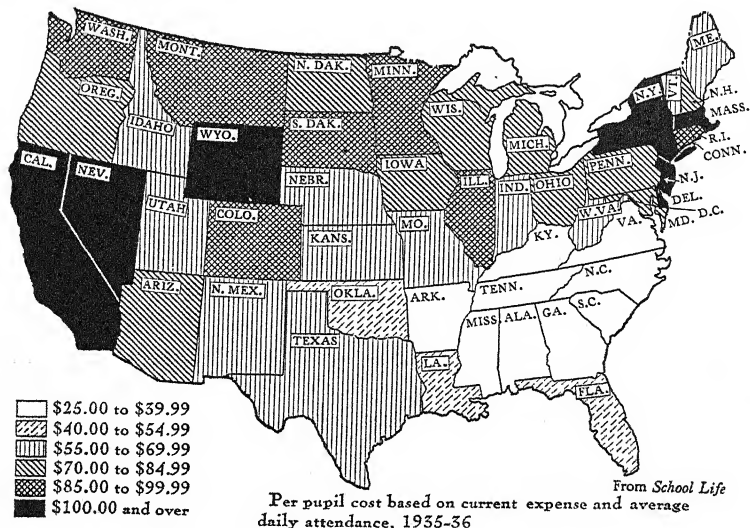
Other types of adult education are carried on by churches, colleges, clubs, associations, and welfare agencies. The methods used include classes, lectures, radio programs, moving pictures, exhibits, study tours, correspondence courses, and individual conferences. Some of these services to adults are available practically everywhere. That they are being offered and utilized proves that the idea of self-development has taken hold of our people.

#### EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITIES AND EFFORTS TO REDUCE THEM

For a century the United States has been making remarkable educational progress. Yet the goal of equal educational opportunity for all is still far in the distance.

Educational opportunity varies widely in the different states. The average school term ranges from six and one-half months in one state to nine and one-half months in another. The average annual expenditure on education for each child enrolled varies in the different states from \$24 to \$134. The average valuation of school buildings and grounds for each child enrolled ranges from \$74 to \$438.

## Per Pupil Cost

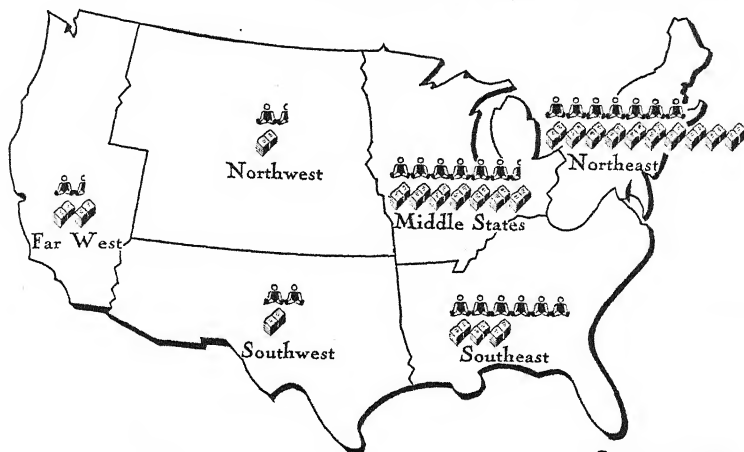


Teaching services differ from a quality represented by an average annual teacher salary of \$593 to that represented by an average yearly salary of \$2500.

These glaring inequalities have two causes. These are (1) wide differences in the wealth and income of the various states, and (2) the fact that the states with the least wealth and income have by far the largest proportion of children in their population. Thirteen per cent of the children of the United States live in the southeastern states; their parents receive only two per cent of the national income. The states range in wealth from \$2000 per child enrolled in the poorest state to \$20,000 per child in the richest state. In annual income the poorest state has but \$500 per child enrolled, while the richest state has \$4000.

Inequalities just as striking exist between various districts within each state. A study made some years ago in Minnesota revealed that the poorest school district must depend on taxing an average wealth equal to \$1600 for every school child; the richest district had \$34,700 which could be taxed for every school child. Such differences in the ability

### Percent of Nation's Children and Percent of Nation's Income In Six Geographic Regions, 1935-1936



© Nat. Educ. Assn.

Each child represents 4 percent of child population 5-17 years of age.

Each stack of bills represents 4 percent of accountable income.

of the districts to support schools are found in practically every state. Moreover, these differences seem to be increasing, due to the tendency of wealth to concentrate in cities.

The least satisfactory schools in the United States are found for the most part in rural areas. The explanation is simple. In rural areas the number of children for every thousand adults is nearly double that in large cities. Furthermore, this heavy educational load has to be carried on a per capita income that is only about half as great as that in the cities. To support even their present inadequate schools, most rural districts are expending a much larger portion of their total income than are the cities. These facts go far to explain why there are still 132,000 one-room school buildings in the United States, and why the average expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance in rural schools is only two thirds that in urban schools.

Rural children have yet other handicaps in getting an education. Many of them live far from a schoolhouse. Unless free transportation to school is provided, they may not

be able to go to school at all. Again, in about half the states (and these are states which are largely rural) free textbooks and supplies are not furnished; some children actually cannot go to school because their parents are unable to buy the necessary textbooks, paper, and pencils. The majority of rural school districts are too small to support a high school. Unless the community or state pays their tuition and transportation to some near-by high school, most boys and girls in the district will have to stop school at the eighth grade. All of these disadvantages are likely to weigh still more heavily on the Negro children than on the whites.

*What Is Being Done to Reduce Inequalities?* Massachusetts began in 1874 to help weak districts, New Jersey in 1881. Now, most of the states give financial aid to the poorer districts. The states can tap incomes, inheritances, and other sources of revenue which are closed to smaller units of government. Moreover, they may distribute to rural areas taxes largely gathered in the comparatively wealthy cities. This is just, since a large number of rural boys and girls go to the city to live, once they have finished school, giving the city the benefit of the most productive years of their lives.

Four plans for state aid are now in practice. Some states allow each school district a sum based on the number of children of school age within its boundaries. This is not fair to sparsely settled districts, which must spend considerably more per pupil than thickly settled districts, if the same standard of schooling is to be reached. In some states the distribution of state funds is proportional to the number of teachers employed in each district. But the poorer districts have fewer teachers in proportion to the number of children of school age.

A plan recently adopted by several states is thought to be fair. The amount of money which is regarded as necessary for the conduct of a reasonably good school is determined. Then the legislature passes an act recognizing the joint obligation of the district and state to provide this minimum for every school. When the local district cannot raise the amount by a reasonable rate of taxation, the state provides whatever is lacking. New York has fixed \$1500 as the mini-

mun for a one-teacher school. If a one-teacher school district levies a four mill tax (forty cents on \$100) on the full value of property in the district, and if it fails to obtain \$1500, the state makes up the amount. In some communities in New York eighty to ninety per cent of the cost of education comes from state grants.

The fourth plan is in force in North Carolina. In 1932 that state began to pay for an eight-month school term for every child within its borders. The financial crisis closed many schools in neighboring states in the years 1932-35 (in one state in 1933 eighty-five per cent of the schools were closed), but all the schools of North Carolina remained open.

However, state aid to schools does not seem to be enough. The tax-paying ability of some states is so low that the entire revenue of the state would be insufficient to support schools equal to the average schools of the whole nation. (Of course, no state could use its entire revenue for schools, since it must also provide government, highways, courts, prisons, hospitals, and other services.) If the schools in these poorer states are to be made equal to the average schools in the nation, federal aid is necessary.

The policy of federal aid to education is well established. Federal grants have long been made for instruction in land-grant colleges, for agricultural and home economics extension work, agricultural research, and vocational education. Federal aid has not, however, been given to elementary schools, nor to secondary schools save for vocational instruction. There is a growing belief that federal aid should now be extended to improve the weaker elementary and secondary schools of the nation. Some people fear that if the government should give money to these schools it might regulate them as well, and federal interference with the schools has been opposed throughout our history.

In 1938 the President's Advisory Committee on Education recommended that Congress appropriate funds (1) to help the poorest school districts in the nation to maintain their schools, (2) to improve the preparation of teachers, (3) to construct consolidated school buildings to replace one-room schools, (4) to assist state departments of education, (5) to

provide education services for adults, (6) to provide library service in rural areas, and (7) to conduct research for the purpose of improving methods of education.

*Shall College Education Be Made Free?* Few young persons go to college from families with a total income as low as \$2000. Even those who receive a scholarship must usually have more home resources than that to pay the remainder of their way. Yet eighty per cent of the families of this country receive no more than \$2000 a year. "We estimate," says Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard University, "that a family of three or four dependents and an income of \$2000 can hardly be expected to contribute more than \$100 or \$200 a year toward the college education of a promising son. On the other hand, a family with an income of over \$5000 and one or two children should be able to supply almost the total requisite amount."

The heaviest cost of a college education is the loss of four years' earnings. Most young people are trying to earn their own living and to help support their families while college students of the same age are enjoying four extra years of carefree youth. Few parents can afford to support their sons and daughters beyond the high school period. Those parents who can provide support are, for the most part, not able to meet the extra expenses involved in attending college. Attendance at a state university costs from \$400 to \$700 a year for extra clothes, travel, books, fees, and the additional expense of living at school as compared with living at home. When the family home is within commuting distance of the college, the cost may be cut one third or more. Nevertheless, it is still far beyond the means of the average American family. In prosperous times many college students are able to earn a portion or sometimes all of their own way by part-time employment; in recent years, this has been difficult.

"It is perfectly evident to me," says Dr. Conant, "that at the college level and at the advanced professional school stage all the institutions of the country have been fishing in one small pond. They have been concerned, by and large, with a competition for the most promising youth in the income-taxpaying group, and at least three quarters, or more

probably ninety per cent, of the youths of the country are not to be found within this class." In this ninety per cent there is a large untapped reservoir of youth of superior intelligence, for keen minds are found in every social and economic class.

A great many high school graduates who go to work are superior in intelligence to some of those who go to college. This was brought out by a recent study of 45,000 high school and college students in Pennsylvania made by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. A quarter of the high school seniors scored higher on an achievement test than the average college sophomore. The superior fifty per cent of the high school graduates who went to work scored higher in intelligence than the lowest quarter of those who went to college. These findings suggest that the colleges are taking many students who ought not to be in college, and are excluding many who should be in college. We ought not to waste our great educational plants on those of mediocre ability.

In general, the college student pays in tuition only about half what it costs to teach him; the other half is met from endowment or taxation. It is folly to bestow these gifts on those not best fitted to profit by them.

We cannot afford not to educate our best minds. They are the greatest asset of our society, and an asset of which we can never have enough. To them we look for discovery and invention and leadership in every worth-while human activity. If we could find them all and give them the opportunity to develop fully, how our society might advance!

The time will probably come when free higher education will be provided for all gifted young people. Sustaining scholarships may be given to those with dependents to support, who otherwise could not obtain the leisure necessary to continue their studies. Thus we shall realize the proposal of Thomas Jefferson to "cull from every condition of our people the natural aristocracy of talent and virtue."

*Federal Aid to Young People.* Unemployment is greater among persons of sixteen to twenty-five years of age than among any group except the aged. Millions of our young

people are neither in school, at work, nor obtaining any type of experience that might prepare them eventually for work. How shall they be enabled to use their time constructively? This is one of the most important social problems of our time, not only in the United States but in other industrial countries.

The federal government has established two agencies for helping unemployed and needy young people. One of these, the Civilian Conservation Corps, operates camps in every section of the country. In these camps some 300,000 young men are given useful work at a small wage, vocational training and guidance, and the opportunity to take part in athletics and to study. After a few months of healthful outdoor work in the CCC, they find it easier to obtain regular employment.

The second federal agency for young people is the National Youth Administration. Established in June, 1935, it has two programs — student aid and work projects. Under the student-aid program it gives part-time work to students of sixteen to twenty-four years of age who otherwise would not be able to continue in school. Under the program of work projects, the NYA gives assistance to some 150,000 youths who are not in full-time attendance at school. The young people are placed, so far as possible, on projects that will give them training for the private employment they hope to get. About 3300 of them, selected from low-income farm families, are receiving special agricultural training and home-making courses at state agricultural schools and colleges. They spend half their time at work in order to pay their expenses. Their term of study varies from six weeks to six months. This plan has provided training in farm management to young people who have never had any opportunity to study scientific farming methods.

The Advisory Committee on Education, in its report to Congress in February, 1938, commended the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration. The Committee recommended that both be placed under a single, new federal agency, and that the work be continued until 1945. If this recommendation is adopted,

it will perhaps lead to permanent acceptance of the principle of federal aid to needy young people for the purpose of improving their qualifications for private employment. It will be another attack on the problem of inequality of educational opportunity.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. Summarize or outline the chapter.
2. Make a bar graph, poster size, of the table on page 291.
3. Appoint someone to find out what provision is made by your state for the aid of local schools. How does it affect your community? What federal aid is being used for education in your community and county?
4. Hold a panel discussion or an open forum on the merits of additional federal aid to education. Relate this to any bill that may be pending in regard to such aid.
5. Appoint a committee to list all the facilities for adult education that are available in your community; also such facilities elsewhere as are actually being made use of by residents of your community.
6. Visit a kindergarten and a nursery school. Talk with the teachers about their aims and methods and problems. Report to the class.
7. Make a pictograph illustrating the growth of the enrollment in high schools.
8. The class secretary might send to the Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, for its free pamphlets *School Money in Black and White* and *Rural Education*. Worth-while reports to the class could be made from these. If an opaque projector is available the charts from the pamphlet first mentioned should be thrown upon a screen and discussed by the class.
9. What is being done in your community, county, and state for the handicapped? Consult your state yearbook or write your Secretary of State for information as to what the state is doing.
10. Visit an open forum.
11. Find out the average cost of attending the institutions of higher learning in which members of your class are interested. Consult Office of Education Pamphlet 52, *Cost of Going to College*. This, and Education Bulletin, 1936, No. 10, *Scholarships and Fellowships Available at Institutions of Higher Education*, should be in your school or home-room library.

12. What is now being done by the National Youth Administration?
13. Make a graph that will show the annual cost per pupil in the five leading states, your own state, and the five lowest states. Consult the *Biennial Survey of Education*.
14. Write a sketch of the life of some noted educator, such as: Mary Lyon, Emma Willard, Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, Booker T. Washington, or Calvin Stowe.

## QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. High schools formerly existed only to serve those who intended to go to college. Why and to what extent has this policy been changed?
2. How are the high schools changing to meet the new demands upon them?
3. Do you approve of summer vacation schools? Why or why not? Would you suggest that attendance be voluntary or compulsory?
4. How have the colleges changed in the past eighty years?
5. What are the advantages of the junior college? Disadvantages?
6. Why was there so much opposition to higher education for women?
7. What are the educational handicaps of the Negro race?
8. What can be done to make life more worth living for the blind? the deaf? the disabled?
9. What can the nursery school do for the child that the average home does not do?
10. What advantages has the adult learner as compared to the child?
11. Why has the adult education movement made rapid progress in recent years?
12. What do teachers in your school system do for professional improvement?
13. How have some communities obtained their public libraries?
14. If your community has not an adequate public library, what could you, in combination with other public-spirited citizens, do to remedy this lack?
15. What are the usual educational handicaps of rural dwellers? How can each of them be overcome?
16. What are the advantages and the disadvantages of free textbooks?

17. More than three fourths of all children who are above average in intelligence come from the middle and lower occupational groups. Are most of these children probably getting the education they need to make their maximum contribution to society? If not, what might be done to improve the situation?

READINGS

- Beard, Charles A., ed., *A Century of Progress*, pp. 357-79  
Cubberley, Ellwood Patterson, *Public Education in the United States*  
Fisher, Dorothy Canfield, *Learn or Perish* (About adult education)  
Johnson, C. E., *The Negro in American Civilization*  
Judd, Charles H., *Problems of Education in the United States*  
Julius Rosenwald Foundation, 4901 Ellis Ave., Chicago. *Every Tenth Pupil: The Story of Negro Schools in the South. School Money in Black and White* (Free)  
McConn, Max, *College or Kindergarten?*  
Messenger, James, *An Interpretative History of Education*  
Norton, John, and Norton, Margaret, *Wealth, Children, and Education*  
Office of Education, Bulletin, 1935, No. 6, *Fundamentals in the Education of Negroes*  
Schorling, Raleigh, and McChisky, H. Y., *Education and Social Trends*  
Tippett, J. S., *Schools for a Growing Democracy*

# Chapter 16

## EDUCATION IN BETTER WAYS OF LIVING

*Whom, then, do I call educated? First, those who control circumstances instead of being mastered by them, those who meet all occasions manfully and act in accordance with intelligent thinking, those who are honorable in all dealings, who treat good naturedly persons and things that are disagreeable, furthermore those who hold their pleasures under control and are not overcome by misfortune, finally those who are not spoiled by success.*

ISOCRATES, 330 B.C.

THERE is an old story about a little boy who was kept after school for extra work on his English. The boy dutifully wrote on his paper the words "I have gone" a hundred times, ending with a note to his teacher: "I have done what you told me and now I have went home."

This typifies a great deal that goes on in the name of education. Our educational efforts are well-meaning but do not always bring the desired results. We need to inquire more closely into the purposes of education, and how these purposes may be accomplished in the most effective manner.

### THE PURPOSES OF EDUCATION

What is it that society expects in return for the vast sums being spent on education? What is it that the individual student expects in return for his efforts and sacrifices? Are these expectations being realized?

*To Make Democracy Possible.* From the very beginning of our Republic, great leaders, such as Washington and Jefferson, urged the importance of public education. People can-

not be self-governing unless they have knowledge. "In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion," wrote Washington in his *Farewell Address*, "it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

From time to time the privilege of voting was given to groups who had not previously voted. First, property qualifications were removed, so that men without property could vote. Then, the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted, making it illegal to exclude men from the polls because of their color. Finally, women were given the ballot. Each time the voting public was enlarged there came new efforts to educate the voters, for our people have always believed that in the hands of an ignorant person the ballot would be an evil.

When corruption appears anywhere in the government, it is blamed on popular ignorance. Similarly, if unwise legislation is enacted, it is thought to be directly or indirectly the voters' fault. To cure these weaknesses in our government, better public education is always urged. Our people are convinced that democracy requires a well-informed citizenry.

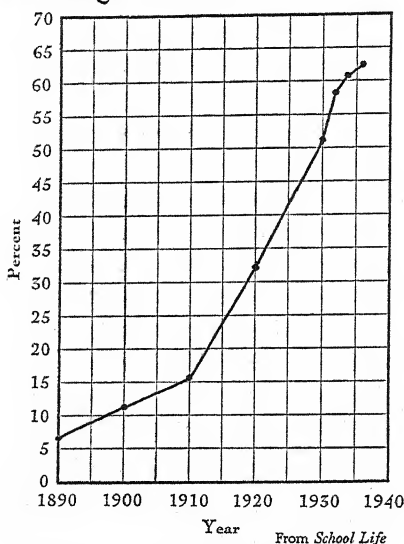
*To Assimilate Aliens.* We are a nation of immigrants. Millions upon millions of people have journeyed here to make homes and become citizens. They have had to learn a new language, new ways of making a living, and new manners. Those who came here as grownups often could not accommodate themselves very well, nor could they prepare their children for American life. The task of Americanization had to be given to the school; no other agency could have performed it. Americanization even today is one of the chief tasks of many schools. Immigrants are still coming, especially from Central and South America, who must be helped to accommodate themselves as well as possible. And there are millions of children whose parents are foreign-born who need to be made really at home in our culture.

*To Prepare All for Economic Opportunity.* One of the basic ideas of American democracy is the belief that every individual has the right to advance as far as his talents can carry him. Therefore all should have equal opportunity to

acquire knowledge and training. Education should not be a class privilege, but should, from kindergarten to graduate school, be open to everyone. This is the great American ideal.

We have gone far toward providing equal educational opportunity, but we are still a long way from the goal. As was

### In High School



Percentage of children of high school age (14-17) enrolled in public and private high schools, 1890-1936.

pupils were expected to take the same studies; abstract thinking was demanded of all; the handicapped, the slow learners, the hand-minded, and the artistically gifted were neglected. Now the best schools are providing for individual differences. Equal opportunity really means surrounding each child with the conditions in which he can grow best.

*To Raise Individual Earning Power.* Parents want their children to go to school partly because they realize that learning is a good thing in itself, but even more, because they

demonstrated in the previous chapter, not even common schooling is yet accessible to all the children in America, and much of it is of very inferior quality. So strong is our belief in the ideal of equal opportunity that we shall doubtless try in the near future to remove the graver inequalities by federal aid.

Lately we have begun to see that equal opportunity does not mean that every child should have exactly the same kind of schooling. Rather, each should have the kind of training that will best develop his own talents and personality. In the past all

expect schooling to raise their children's earning power. They want their children to have a better chance than they have had, and they look to the schools to provide it. In considerable measure their hopes have been justified. Schooling has provided a ladder from one social class to another. Many children of manual laborers have been able to climb into the ranks of skilled workers, store clerks, and office workers. Children from these vocational groups have often succeeded in advancing another rung or two on the social scale, and a few of very superior ability have got to the top of the ladder. Without the training given by the public schools, most of this climbing from one class to another would have been impossible.

Generally speaking, those individuals with the most years of schooling find it easiest to obtain employment. Moreover, they are likely to be employed at the pleasanter kinds of work, which are also the more socially esteemed. However, there have always been some exceptions, and these are becoming more frequent.

High school graduates are now so numerous that there are not enough of the pleasanter jobs to go around. Many of them either cannot find work or have to take unskilled jobs. Often they do not earn any more than those who have not graduated from high school.

College education, a generation ago, had a scarcity value. There were not enough college graduates to fill the positions that demanded college training. The time and money invested in a college education brought a large financial return. Parents could be almost certain that the sacrifices they made in sending their children to college or professional school would be repaid several times over. This is no longer true. In many professions today there is a sizable surplus of trained men and women. There are in the United States well over a million students in institutions of or above college grade. A large proportion of these are preparing for the professions of law, medicine, dentistry, teaching, the ministry, architecture, and engineering. The total employed in all these professions in the United States is about two millions. Obviously most of these young people are going to

find it extremely difficult to enter the profession for which they have prepared and to earn a livelihood. Only those of unusual ability and superior personality will be able, unassisted, to make more than a moderate income.

Education, even at the highest levels, has largely ceased to have a scarcity value. Therefore it can no longer be counted on to raise earning power. Those who seek it for this reason alone may be paving the way for keen disappointment to themselves and their parents.

*To Help People to Live More Fully.* If education does not assure larger earnings, is it still worth what it costs? Only the materialist will say no.

Growth is one of the highest satisfactions that human beings know. Everyone, at least in his youth, wants to develop all his capacities for doing, being, and feeling. For this he needs a stimulating environment, one that will awaken and nourish a great number of interests, that will lead him to participate in all the best activities of the race. The school is, except in rare cases, by far the most stimulating environment that children and youth can experience. Even a poor school is likely to give the average child many opportunities for growth that he otherwise would not have in his formative years.

Over the past century, the schools have much enriched their offerings. They have added one activity after another likely to help boys and girls to live more fully — singing, art, physical education, handicrafts, instrumental music, shopwork, home economics, nature study, field trips, clubs, dramatics, hobbies, creative writing. Through these enlarged experiences, the individual's talents have a chance to grow.

*To Show People How to Create a Better Society.* In the past two centuries, the idea that men can improve the institutions that shape their lives has steadily gained ground. Lately it has begun to permeate the schools. Teachers once satisfied to inculcate loyalty to inherited practices, institutions, and ideals, are realizing more and more that too great a loyalty to tradition is dangerous. They are coming to believe that one of their first duties is to show people how the

institutions that have come down to us from the past can be altered so as to serve us better in the present day. These modern teachers do not avoid controversial issues, nor seek escape from reality by living in an academic ivory tower apart from the world. They try to understand the maladjustments of our society and the methods recommended by experts for dealing with each maladjustment. As they become scientific in their own social outlook, they communicate the same attitude toward their students.

There are two ways of teaching history. One illustrates the attitude of the traditional teacher of any subject; the other, that of the new type of teacher. The traditional teacher feels that history should be studied and enjoyed for its own sake; the best student is the one who can most faithfully describe and explain bygone events. The new teacher feels that the study of history is only a means to an end — the better understanding and operation of our own society; the best student is the one with the deepest insight into our contemporary problems, the historical forces that produced them, and how they can be most effectively dealt with. If a generation of students should go forth from the high schools and colleges with this scientific attitude toward social problems, would they not be able to create a better society?

#### CRITICISMS OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

Any enterprise as large as our public school system is bound to be criticized. It is a convenient target for all who are dissatisfied with their fellows. "If only the schools did a better job," is the cry, "there would be less crime, or fewer accidents, or less labor unrest, or less rubbish on fire escapes, or better manners."

A good many critics do not realize that the school child spends only one seventh of all his waking time in school. Can the school offset the undesirable influences that may play upon him during the remaining six sevenths of his waking hours? Millions of American children go twice a week to the movies and listen one or two hours a day to the radio, spending in these ways almost as much time as they spend

in the classroom. Do the movies which children attend and the radio programs to which they listen strengthen the refining and character-building efforts of the schools?

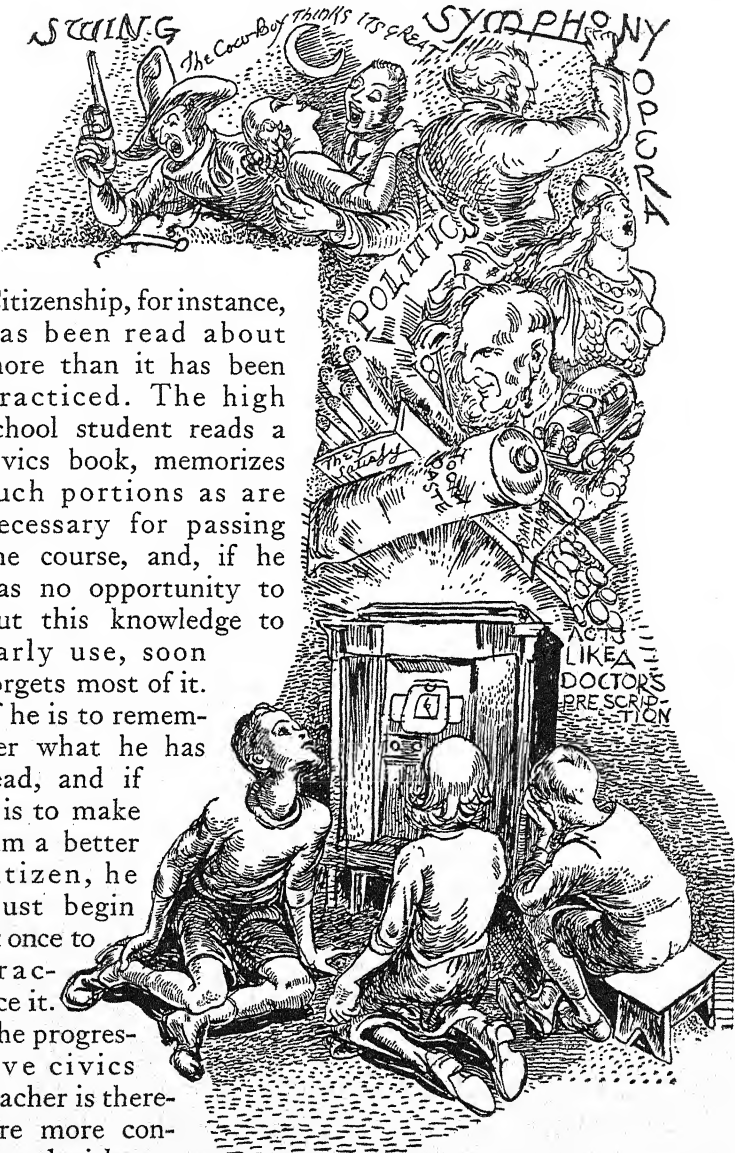
It may be that we are expecting too much from our schools. The most perfect school which we could devise would probably be unable to counteract in the mind of a child the influences of a poor home plus a slum neighborhood plus inferior amusements. The child is shaped — that is, he learns — by all his experiences, and not only by those that go on within the school.

This is not to say that American schools could not be made much more effective than they are. Undoubtedly most of them have serious weaknesses.

*Criticisms Made by Employers.* Employers are active in their criticisms of the schools. Why, they ask, are all pupils not required to master the fundamental skills — reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic? Why are they not thoroughly trained in courtesy, honesty, dependability, and the other traits of a sound character? Why are they not given more adequate vocational guidance and more thorough vocational training? Why do nearly all high school graduates expect to enter white-collar jobs? Why do so many leave school with maladjusted personalities?

*Criticisms Made by the "Progressive" Educator.* The so-called "progressive" educators believe that traditional methods of education do not make for well-adjusted personality and intelligent moral character. They claim that there has been far too much emphasis on competitive marks, with the result that bright pupils to whom high marks come easily feel self-satisfied, while those who cannot get good marks are deeply impressed with a sense of inadequacy. Success in school has been measured almost entirely by the winning of high grades, rather than by growth in sympathy, co-operativeness, and other social virtues. The competitive spirit has been so overdeveloped as to make it hard for many to adjust themselves to noncompetitive situations such as family life.

Progressive educators also declare that there has been too much book learning and not enough of learning by doing.



in the textbook. Hence, he will allow his students to participate in planning the course; may encourage them to organize the class as a club and appoint a chairman to conduct discussions; may arrange for them to take over the government of the community for a day; may help them to choose and carry out some project for the betterment of the school or the community. Furthermore, in a progressive school the students would be having democratic experiences in all their classes. Every teacher would provide opportunities for them to share in the planning and carrying out of the course and in self-government. Thus the students would learn democratic processes and attitudes by living them — the only way they can possibly be acquired.

Progressive educators are also testing the course of study, the material that is taught. It has already been shown that a large part of the traditional course of study in the elementary school is unnecessary and should be weeded out in order to make room for material of real value. For example, the spelling textbooks until very recent years contained thousands of words, most of which the average person would never use. The arithmetic books included entire chapters on multiple discounts, cube root, complex fractions, and other topics unlikely to be used outside the schoolroom. Geography and history courses were burdened with long lists of names and dates, sure to be forgotten, and of doubtful value in training the mind. A great deal of useless information has been discarded from elementary textbooks, and they are becoming more practical and interesting every year.

The high school course of study has also been attacked. The progressive educator believes that some of the traditional subjects, especially ancient languages and advanced mathematics, have little value to the majority of the students. It is a question whether modern foreign languages have value to those who are not going to college or expecting to travel; very few high school graduates are able, a few years after leaving school, to read, write, or speak the languages they have studied. These subjects were once defended on the ground that they sharpened the wits and trained the in-

tellest; but it is now known that there is little transfer of training from one subject to another. For instance, the study of French does not help one to learn chemistry or typewriting, and the study of algebra does not help one appreciably in learning bookkeeping or salesmanship. The progressive educator would have the high school student master the use of English, study applied science, personal and business economics, homemaking, industrial and fine arts, literature, music, hygiene (including mental hygiene), and social science (with emphasis on contemporary problems and personal adjustment); and constantly apply all of these in improving the quality of his everyday living.

Progressive educators would place an expert in personal and vocational guidance on every faculty. Opinion differs, however, as to the merits of vocational training in the high school. Many vocational students do not enter or remain in the work for which they have prepared. Probably a good general education, plus the opportunity to sample briefly a wide range of vocational courses, would be a better preparation for life than a high school course that is rather narrowly vocational.

#### HOW EDUCATION IS BEING MADE MORE EFFECTIVE

Our educational system has not taken all these criticisms "lying down." Improvements are continually being made. Let us examine some of them.

*Better Understanding of the Learning Process.* Until a generation ago there was practically no science of education. The methods used in the classroom had, for the most part, been used for centuries. Any child who failed was thought to be stupid or lazy. The individual with the most book knowledge was considered the best educated.

In recent years there has been much educational research, and we already have a better understanding of the learning process. Learning is not the same thing as memorizing. Learning actually changes the learner so that he lives differently in some way than before. He may not necessarily live better, but at any rate, he lives differently.

Learning takes place when the individual confronts a situation that is new to him. He has to contrive what is to him a new behavior pattern. This pattern will involve his body, mind, and emotions. If it seems to work, it is accepted for subsequent use and is incorporated in the organism. Learning, then, is the process of contriving a new response and keeping it for future use. A student is to apply for a position. He plans what he thinks is a good approach. If it works well he remembers it and uses it the next time he is similarly placed. If it doesn't work well he will try to think of a better approach the next time. In either case he has learned something through meeting a situation that is meaningful to him.

Learning takes place every time one makes a choice and accepts responsibility for the results. It does not take place when one merely carries out somebody's orders without having any responsibility for the results. A student is told, "Memorize this chapter or you'll get a bad mark." He may study to avoid the bad mark, but if he has no more genuine purpose in studying, his responsibility ends with avoiding the bad mark, and he probably will not learn the chapter in such a way as to change his behavior. On the other hand, he may know that the chapter contains information that he should have in order to get a job he wants, or that he needs in order to understand some problem (personal, intellectual, or social) in which he is interested. In this case he accepts responsibility for acquiring the information and also for putting it to use. If his behavior is changed, either outwardly or in the way he interprets problems, then he has really learned.

Once a parent or teacher understands the learning process, he knows that his task is, in the long run, not to *compel* the child to do what is right but to get the child to *choose* what is right. Good behavior can be compelled only so long as the child is within sight, but if the child has chosen to be good he will not have to be watched. Unless a pupil wants to speak good English it is almost useless to make him write "I have gone" a hundred times. Unless a high school student wants to learn to typewrite, it is almost useless to make

him spend one period a day in typewriting practice; no matter how long he practices he will not acquire skill. Let him have work of his own choosing — perhaps learning to play a violin in the school orchestra or learning to play tennis or learning to carry out scientific research — and he will progress rapidly, since he has accepted responsibility for the results. However, this does not mean that children should never be made to do things, including studying, that they do not want to do. Sometimes they learn to like the thing that is demanded of them, choosing to continue it of their own free will. The intelligent parent and teacher applies as little external pressure as possible, and for as short a time as possible, while at the same time he helps the child to discover the pleasure and the importance to him of the work he is doing. If the task set for the child has no pleasure or importance for him, it is mere drudgery and is not educative.

Many tasks set for the child in the traditional school were not educative. They lacked meaning to the child, since at the time they were presented to him they did not help him solve any problem in which he had a genuine interest. Consequently, he memorized only what was necessary to escape punishment. Since he took, and could take, no responsibility for using the material, it was soon forgotten. The average school still gives the child some tasks of this sort. Many children are not ready to learn to read until they reach second grade; they will then learn quickly; but if they are compelled to study reading earlier than this, they make scarcely any progress.

Similarly with arithmetic. Children cannot learn to do number work until they are using number ideas freely in their play; when this stage is reached they begin to take interest in school arithmetic. Again, many children in the elementary school profit little if at all from the study of grammar; in high school they will quickly learn as much grammar as they are ever likely to need. Most geography and history textbooks contain considerable material that makes no appeal to children; they will not remember it because it answers no questions that they wish to have answered. They will, however, quickly learn whatever helps

them to understand the things they hear their parents discussing or that they see in the movies or that helps them solve some personal problem such as how to do something they want very much to do. Those school tasks are most educative that are most eagerly undertaken by the children and that begin the soonest to improve their thinking and their behavior when not under the teacher's eye.

*Studying to Control Our Experiences.* The true end of education is not book knowledge. It is not even the ability to speak and write excellently. *Education looks to the control of experience.* Whose experience? That of the person who is being educated. Physical education looks to the better control of the body; business education looks to the better control of business experiences; consumer education to the better control of buying experiences; agricultural education to the better control of farming experiences; homemaking education to the better control of one's experiences within the home. Why do pupils in the elementary school study reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic? Because these are tools which they will need in order to be self-directing. It is not enough to study the tool subjects in a formal way. Many a person who has mastered the mechanics of reading does not know how to read for enjoyment, or how to use a reference book. And some who know perfectly the common arithmetical processes have difficulty in keeping track of their money or selecting a life insurance policy. It is the social studies and science courses, perhaps, which most often fail of application to the problems of real life. When these are taught in the traditional way, students may not learn how to use the knowledge gained in improving their own ways of living.

Teachers have lately been emphasizing school activities in which students may practice better ways of living together. Athletic associations, school clubs, and assembly programs put on by students give opportunity for boys and girls to learn the techniques of group action. The co-operative school store, school bank, or school cafeteria may afford valuable social and business experience. Another device is the student association for self-government. In fact, there

are many school activities which can be planned and carried out by students. These help students to gain control of their social experiences.

Teachers have been slower in discovering community activities suitable for boys and girls. Sometimes students, especially in rural schools, undertake projects like painting and decorating their school, landscaping the school grounds, and making a playground. Occasionally students work with adults in a community chest drive, a clean-up campaign, the holding of a community field day or festival, and the like. Now and then pupils make an original contribution which the grownups in their community have never thought of. A good illustration is an eighth grade in Illinois who studied the slot machines and punchboards used in their village for gambling. They found that the slot machines took an average profit of 79 per cent, the punchboards of 89 per cent. They made graphs of this information and presented them to the village board. As a result the officials forbade the use of these gambling devices. The boys and girls not only learned something about arithmetic and about gambling, but what is much more vital, they had a rewarding experience in citizenship.

It is our group activities in which we are least proficient. How hard it is for us to harness our emotions! How often we blunder in our relationships with our families, our schoolmates, our associates! How greatly we need better techniques in discussing subjects on which the group is divided; in giving suggestions and corrections without humiliating anyone; in persuading others to try what we believe to be a better way of doing something; in receiving suggestions and criticisms gracefully. It is precisely in these areas that most of us do not yet have control of our experiences. That is why people need all the opportunities that the schools can give for free participation in group activities. The old-fashioned school in which pupils sat with hands folded awaiting the orders of an autocratic teacher gave almost no practice in social ways of living. The pupils were not allowed to be self-directing. They could not, during school time, engage in any democratic give-and-take. It is not surprising that

some of them grew up not knowing how to take their places as citizens in a democracy.

The need for training boys and girls in democratic ways of living has now been recognized and is bringing many changes in our schools. Still another improvement in education has to do with the teacher.

*Better Preparation and Utilization of Teachers.* In most communities a century ago any common school graduate was thought capable of teaching school. Then the first normal schools appeared, and there began to be a demand for teachers with special training for their work. The majority of teachers today are graduates either of normal school or of college. Yet in thousands of rural schools there are teachers who have not graduated from high school. In many rural schools for Negroes the teacher has had no more than a common school education.

If the general level of culture is to be raised by the schools, they must have teachers who are superior to the majority of people in the community. Not only must the teacher have more book knowledge, but he must know more about the art of living than the average citizen. He teaches more by his example than by what he says. "It does not matter what your studies are," wrote Emerson, "it only matters who your teacher is."

The problem facing every school board is how to obtain superior teachers. Although there is a surplus of teachers, there is a shortage of well-trained and gifted candidates. There are several reasons for this. As a rule, salaries, except in the larger cities, are not very attractive. Also, teachers in small communities usually have difficulty in finding a place to board which affords both privacy and homelikeness. Another factor likely to discourage entrance into the profession is that teachers are not always free either to live or to teach as they wish. Communities are apt to be very critical of teachers — of their manners, amusements, associates, ideas, and even of what they read. Teachers are often not free to discuss controversial subjects with their pupils, or to express opinions not accepted in conservative circles of the community. Where these conditions obtain,

teachers of intelligence and character will not remain longer than is needful.

The policy of requiring the woman teacher to resign when she marries does not help the schools in getting and keeping superior teachers. On the contrary, it removes from service some of the most attractive and agreeable women. They are replaced with inexperienced girls, most of whom in their turn will marry and leave the profession about the time that they reach their greatest usefulness.

Another problem of school boards is how to promote the teacher's own development. The good teacher is the one who never stops growing in courage, power, and refinement. Some of the things that help teachers to grow are: (1) a democratic school administration in which teachers are encouraged to participate, (2) a teaching load that is not excessive, (3) congenial living arrangements, as in a community teacherage, (4) earnings sufficient for gracious living and for travel and study, and (5) the sabbatical year for rest and study on half pay. Communities which provide these essentials have no trouble in finding gifted men and woman to teach in their schools.

*Realization that the Community also Educates.* Now that teachers are concerned with developing the whole personality of the child (not merely having him learn prescribed amounts of book knowledge), they cannot be unconcerned about his life outside the school. Is he properly nourished and properly clad? Are his physical defects receiving treatment? In what sort of neighborhood does he live? How does he spend the time when he is not in school? Is he, perhaps, employed in a street trade or at industrial home work? Does he come from a normal or a broken home? Are his parents on relief? The teacher cannot understand and guide the child without knowing the answers to these vital questions.

If unfavorable conditions are found which seriously threaten the child's development, the teacher cannot be indifferent. Sometimes the conditions can be corrected with the help of other community agencies, such as clinics and the family welfare society. Sometimes there is little that can be done to make life better for the individual child;

grave social maladjustments such as unemployment must first be conquered. Teachers must therefore be active in educating the community to the necessity for social change. They must also make the community aware of what can be done immediately to safeguard its less fortunate children, by working actively for more playgrounds, better housing, and more public health services for underprivileged neighborhoods. Increasingly, teachers are taking up these community responsibilities. They have seen that education goes on through all the child's waking hours, not only in school, and that the school's efforts may be undone by the hurtful education which the child receives in the gang, the poolroom, the vulgar amusement place, the disorganized home, or the slum neighborhood.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. Write a paper entitled "Why I should (or should not) like to be a teacher."
2. List the characteristics that you most like in a teacher; those you most dislike.
3. List your own educational needs as you now see them. How are you going to satisfy each?
4. Ask each member of the class to report the activity or study, either in or out of school, that has been most helpful in giving him greater control of his experience.
5. Find out why Roman Catholic parents often prefer to send their children to a church school rather than to a public school.
6. Find out why some parents whom you know prefer private schools.
7. Prepare an exhibit of textbooks in use a generation or more ago. Use typewritten cards to call attention to the copyright date and to other interesting features of each book.
8. Invite your principal or superintendent of schools to discuss with the class the educational problems and needs of your high school. Could your class take any responsibility for improving your school?
9. Appoint a committee to review the book, *Youth Serves the Community*, by Paul R. Hanna.
10. Read further on the meaning of progressive education. Take such notes as will guide you in planning your own continuing education.

QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Does higher education have any economic value to the individual?
2. Name some of the social purposes of the public schools.
3. How would you reply to the criticisms commonly made of the public schools?
4. What are the faults of the traditional course of study?
5. Under what conditions does an individual learn?
6. How can the teacher be sure that learning has taken place?
7. Why is punishment not effective in developing a fine character?
8. Name some school tasks that may not be educative to the age groups required to perform them.
9. Is there a difference between becoming educated and acquiring knowledge? Explain.
10. Which of the following procedures would probably be most effective in building character? Least effective?
  - a. Having the pupils memorize poetry of fine moral sentiment.
  - b. Having the pupils take part in a play that dramatizes high ideals.
  - c. Having a weekly period for character education.
  - d. Taking part in projects of community service.
  - e. Conducting a student association for self-government.
  - f. Playing on an athletic team.
11. Why are not courses in the social studies always effective in improving citizenship? What changes would you propose?
12. How might a greater number of gifted candidates be attracted to the teaching profession?
13. Should teachers be expected not to take part in politics and other controversial community affairs? Defend your position.
14. "A century ago parents sent their children to school to get book learning; they themselves educated their children for life." Is this a sound statement? Explain your reply.
15. Why do not parents take as much responsibility today as parents once took for educating their children?
16. Why did the boy in the story at the beginning of this chapter not learn to write "I have gone"?

## READINGS

- Beale, Howard K., *Freedom of Teaching in the Schools*  
Cobb, Stanwood, *New Horizons for the Child*  
Coe, George A., and others, *Am I Getting an Education?*  
Counts, George S., and Beard, Charles A., *Education in an Industrial Age*  
DeLima, Agnes, *Our Enemy the Child*  
Hanna, Paul R., *Youth Serves the Community*  
Jacks, L. P., *The Education of the Whole Man: A Plea for a New Spirit in Education*  
Kilpatrick, William H., *Education for a Changing Civilization*  
Kilpatrick, William H., and others, *Remaking the Curriculum. The Educational Frontier*  
Meiklejohn, Alexander, "Teachers and Controversial Questions," *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1938 (Suggests that the teacher must appear before his pupils as one who is struggling with the essential problems of his time)  
Quick, Herbert, *The Brown Mouse* (Fiction; how a rural teacher helped his community to better living)  
Shields, James M., *Just Plain Larnin'* (Fiction)

## Unit VII

### *Is Health a Social Problem?*

SOCIETY'S greatest resource is a healthy population. Healthy people are productive and inventive. They are able to create and to enjoy wealth. They are not easily discouraged. They are usually cheerful, good-natured, and well-balanced. They are less apt to become antisocial than the unhealthy. If our people were more healthy, many personal and social problems would diminish.

Continuous good health is rather uncommon, but in an ideal society it would be almost universal. Science is already able to formulate the broad outlines of a program by which this happy goal could be approached. Our difficulty is to utilize what has been discovered, and to marshal our community and national resources for stamping out disease. The laissez-faire attitude toward health must go. It is too selfish and shortsighted to persist among civilized men. Happily, it is rapidly disappearing.

Chapter 17 shows how health is distributed among economic classes, and explains why many doctors have little to do, while two out of five people have no medical care in a given year. It discusses experiments in bringing medical care within reach of all.

Housing, which is closely connected with mental and physical health, is presented in Chapter 18. Today this vital subject is in the news. The twentieth century, which has already witnessed a large-scale attack upon bad housing in many other countries, will surely see a similar drive in the United States.

Community planning, treated in Chapter 19, can give us garden cities and towns that are far more healthful and comfortable than those we live in today. What can be achieved by good planning has been demonstrated in scores of towns here and in other lands. Will American communities grasp their opportunities to guide all future building in accordance with long-range plans?



# Chapter 17

## THE PUBLIC HEALTH

*Public health is purchasable. Within natural limitations a community can determine its own death rate.*

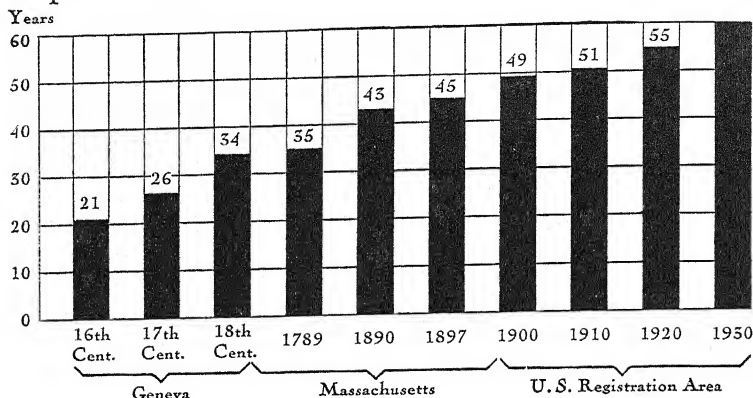
DR. HERMANN BIGG

A GENERATION is a short time as we count human affairs, yet in this space a revolution has occurred in reducing the hazards to life and health. Thanks to the discoveries of modern medicine and the development of the public health movement, one infectious disease after another has been brought under control. The ravages of typhoid fever, yellow fever, cholera, scarlet fever, and infantile enteritis, some of which raged in American cities as late as 1900, have been checked. Tuberculosis, which a generation ago was the chief destroyer of life, has been reduced more than fifty per cent; it is now fifth among the causes of death. In the same time the death rate from diphtheria has been reduced six sevenths.

These achievements in the field of public health have completely changed the life of the average American. Fifteen years have been added in the last half century to the span of life. Men are able to live and work more freely, unhampered by the fear of premature death. Life is safer, easier, and economically more productive. Parenthood is becoming a source of happiness rather than sorrow, for, since 1900, out of every 1000 babies born alive, the number that die before the end of their first year has dropped from 170 to 54. Those who pass the rigors of early childhood generally live to old age.

In spite of these gains there are still many fields left to cultivate. The death rate in the United States is higher

## Expectation of Life



than in several other countries, indicating our need for more public health services. Let us consider briefly some of the fields in which public health work is most needed.

### THE PRESENT STATE OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH

*How Many Are Ill?* The burden of preventable illness is terrific. The best information we have of its extent is from a survey made in the fall and winter of 1935-36 by the United States Public Health Service. House-to-house visits were made to 800,000 families in 84 cities and 23 rural counties, in all walks of life. The families were questioned as to the cases of illness lasting a week or longer that they had had in the past year. Taking their experience as representative of the entire population, some startling facts came to light:

1. On an average day in winter, 6,000,000 men, women, and children are unable to go to work or to school because of illness. On an average day of the entire year, 4,000,000 are disabled by illness.

2. Of the 6,000,000 sick on a winter day, 42 per cent, or about 2,500,000 persons, are suffering from a chronic disease (one that lasts for a long time. In the sample surveyed, the average case of chronic disease resulted in 138 days of disability); 1,500,000 persons are suffering from colds, in-

fluenza, pneumonia, and the like; 500,000 were injured in accidents; 250,000 have acute infectious diseases (measles, mumps, and the like); and 250,000 have digestive diseases (appendicitis, indigestion, and the like, not including chronic conditions).

3. Each person in the United States suffers, on the average, ten days of incapacity a year from disabling illness lasting a week or longer.

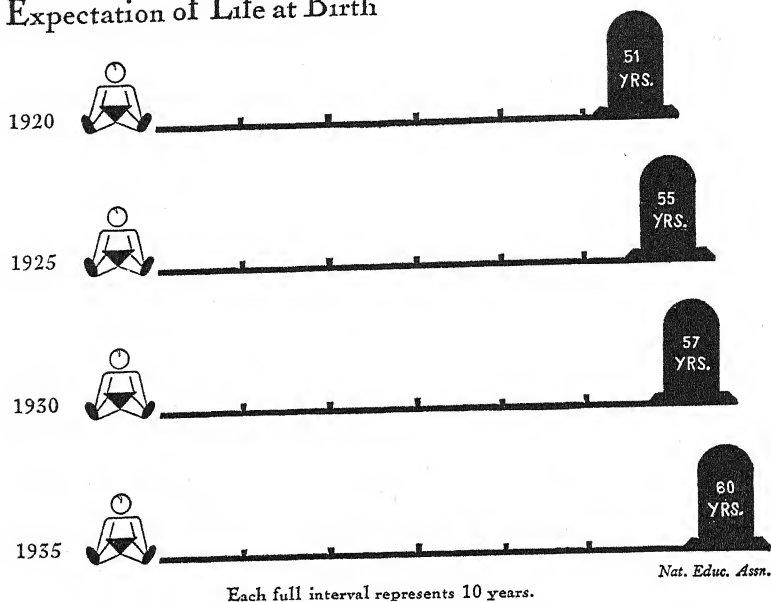
These figures, it should be remembered, do not include disabling illnesses or injuries lasting less than one week. Nor do they include the illnesses of those who feel seriously ill but remain at work. If all such illnesses were included, the total would be much greater.

Most of this immense amount of illness and injury is preventable by methods already known to science. Were it to be prevented, our people would benefit immeasurably. The productivity of every individual — school child, housewife, wage earner, businessman — would rise. Nearly two billion dollars a year of lost wages would be saved, with savings of an equal amount for medical care. Family life would be ever so much happier; there is nothing that so disrupts it as the serious illness or injury of a member of the family. Everyone would be more free from pain and discomfort. We should begin to approach the goal, now only a dream, of buoyant good health for all.

*How Many Die Prematurely?* It is believed that we could at once increase the average span of life to sixty-five years by the application of such medical knowledge as is now at hand. In New Zealand this span of life has very nearly been achieved. A similar achievement in the United States would save 463,000 persons a year from premature death due to disease.

Tuberculosis still causes seventy thousand deaths annually and a loss of about one and three-fourths years in the average expectation of life. This death toll could, in the near future, be cut in half. A large proportion of the deaths from heart disease, especially those which occur at the younger ages, are preventable. Their prevention would add very appreciably to the life span. Similarly, the prevention of

## Expectation of Life at Birth



other diseases which we already know how to prevent would add years to the average expectation of life.

*The Economic Value of a Life.* Life and health have a much higher value for us than money; they give value to everything else. Therefore no expenditure to preserve them ought to be thought too great. But there are some who believe our nation cannot afford to spend any more at present on public health. Those who hold this opinion cannot be aware of the actual value, in dollars and cents, of a human being.

Dr. Louis Dublin has carefully computed the economic value of a man. In a typical American community, in a family whose yearly income is \$2,500, it costs \$7,238 to rear a child to the age of eighteen. Including interest on the capital, and making due allowance for the cost of those who do not survive to age eighteen, the total is raised to \$10,000. This amount does not include the money value of the mother's care, but only the usual cash expenses for food,

shelter, clothing, and the like. The cost of bringing up a child may be looked upon as an investment of capital — a very profitable investment for the community, although not for the individual family. When the child is grown he will produce a good deal more than he consumes.

For the class of workers whose maximum yearly earnings will be \$2,500, the present worth at age eighteen of a man's future earnings are calculated to be well above \$41,000, and the present worth of his future expenditures to be less than \$13,000. The present worth of his net future earnings is therefore close to \$29,000. The maximum value of a man in this income class is reached at age twenty-five, when the present worth of his net future earnings is \$32,000. At age fifty, the figure will have shrunk to \$17,510, and at age sixty, to \$8,500. After age seventy, the present worth of net future earnings is negative, because earnings cease and the cost of maintenance continues. For a man whose maximum earnings will be \$5,000 a year, the greatest present worth of his future earnings is \$49,100, when he is thirty-two years of age.

On the basis of these figures, it is possible to compute the value of a male child at birth. Dr. Dublin found the sum to be \$9,333. This is the amount which it would be necessary to put at interest at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in order to bring up the child to age eighteen and to produce the net income throughout the working period of life. In a sense, the money value of a baby is the value of the social inheritance which comes to him because he is born in an economically organized state. A baby born in a primitive community, or in a place like India, where an individual has little productivity because of the absence of machinery, would have a much smaller money value.

Our national wealth in people is five times that of our national wealth in real estate, machinery, livestock, agricultural and mining products, and all other material assets. Should we not do everything possible to conserve life — the most valuable of our nation's resources?

We now spend less than a dollar a year per capita on public health work. This expenditure is doubtless respon-

sible for saving hundreds of thousands of lives every year. The expenditure of \$2.50 per capita on public health work would suffice, it is believed, to save nearly half a million more lives each year. According to Dr. Dublin's estimates, the economic value of these lives, having due regard for their probable future earnings at each age period, is several billion dollars. Can there be any question that money wisely spent on public health will be returned to us many times over?

*Infant Mortality.* The infant mortality rate is the number of deaths of children under one year for every thousand live births. It is considered the most sensitive index of social and economic conditions which we have. It is a measure of community efficiency in providing for every family wholesome conditions of life. The underlying causes of infant deaths are social, such as improper feeding, bad housing, employment of mothers in industry, lack of prenatal care, inadequate care at childbirth, and ignorance. Infant mortality is always much heavier in poor sections of the population.

Infant mortality in the birth registration area of the United States was one hundred in every thousand live births in 1915. It had dropped to 54.4 in 1937 as a result of health education and a more general concern for the welfare of babies. However, this figure is only an average for the country as a whole. There are many communities that have lower rates and many that still have very high rates. By further public health work, it is believed that the infant mortality rate throughout the country can be reduced by at least one half.

*The Health of Children.* The first year of life is the most dangerous. But after the child has reached its first birthday, and until it reaches the fifth, many hazards still remain. In the course of the last twenty-five years the mortality of children in this age group has declined about seventy per cent. It can, however, be much further reduced by good public health work. Diphtheria, whooping cough, and tuberculosis are the principal destroyers of this age group. In cities where every child is immunized against diphtheria, this disease has practically disappeared. Tuberculosis, too,

has been almost eliminated among children in several demonstration areas.

After age five the death rate of children is less severe, although considerably higher than it needs to be. The illness rate also could be much reduced by effective public health measures. There is a great need for treatment of physical defects. It is estimated that three out of four children in American schools have physical defects which endanger the health, the most common being badly decayed teeth. One out of every four school children has a defect so serious as to be a severe handicap to school progress. A million school children are tubercular, half a million have heart damages, and 300,000 are crippled.

Many of the physical defects of children can be corrected, yet in the majority of cases nothing is being done. This is an appalling state of affairs. The child with a serious physical defect cannot learn properly, is likely to develop strong feelings of inadequacy, may possibly become delinquent, and perhaps may never be able to support himself. If his defect is cared for, his chances of becoming a happy and productive member of society are greatly improved. The expenditure of a very modest sum of money in treating his defect may easily add thousands to his future earnings, which, of course, are added to the total income of the community.

*Malnutrition.* Malnutrition results from a lack of the right kinds of foods. It may be caused by ignorance of food values, by poor methods of cooking, and by false economy which leads people to stint on fresh milk, vegetables, fruits, butter, and eggs. Often, of course, it is due to downright poverty.

Some twenty million Americans are living near or below the threshold of nutritive safety; that is, they are not getting a safe allowance of the protective foods. Sooner or later most of them, if their diet remains poor, will have to pay for these deficiencies in seriously impaired health. A good many are already feeling the effects of poor food, though they may not know it, in diminished vigor and diminished resistance to fatigue and to disease.

Rickets is a very common nutritional disease of infancy

and early childhood. It is due to a lack of vitamin D and of direct sunlight, resulting in poor formation of teeth and bones. It is now thought that at least half the children in the northern third of the United States have or have had rickets. It can be prevented by adding tested cod liver oil to the diet.

Pellagra is a starvation disease. It is common in squalid mill villages and tenant cabins in the South, where the diet consists of cornmeal, molasses, and salt pork. In 1935, it killed at least 3000 Americans, while more than 100,000 others were dragging out their lives half dead of it. It is quickly cured when milk, lean meat, and green vegetables are added to the diet. Public health departments in the southern states are now fighting pellagra by teaching poor people in the villages and on the plantations to plant home gardens, and also by administering a newly discovered remedy, nicotinic acid.

*Teeth Defects.* An investigation of 1400 New York children showed that 96.5 per cent had defective teeth, with an average of seven cavities per child. Similar conditions have been found in other large cities of the United States.

This situation is alarming in view of the relation of teeth defects to heart disease, rheumatism, neuritis, and kidney disease. Individuals whose teeth are neglected may develop some of these conditions in later life.

Dental care, although essential for good health, is regarded by the great majority of our people as a luxury not within their reach. It is estimated that only one in five Americans ever receives any dental care other than the extraction of teeth. If people appreciated the importance of regular dental care, many could adjust their budgets so as to obtain it. Some could not afford it even with the most careful management of their earnings.

Dental clinics are greatly needed, both for school children and adults. There is also urgent need for work in the prevention of tooth defects. It is believed that poor teeth are largely due to faulty diet, particularly in early life.

*Occupational Diseases.* Dust, dirt, dampness, stale air, excessive heat or cold, fatigue, inactivity, infections, and poisons are the chief occupational hazards. Dust is the most

common. One eighth of all wage earners in the United States are exposed to dust, fumes, and gases while at their work. Respiratory diseases, particularly tuberculosis, are connected with dust, as the following figures indicate:

DEATHS PER THOUSAND FROM PULMONARY  
TUBERCULOSIS

Occupation without dust production.....	2.39
“ with dust production.....	5.42
“ “ porcelain dust.....	14.00
“ “ iron dust.....	5.55
“ “ lead dust.....	7.79
“ “ stone dust.....	34.9
“ “ wood and paper dust.....	5.96
“ “ tobacco dust.....	8.47

Many factories now have effective dust-removing systems. In some types of work it is necessary to wear masks, but some workmen prefer to take a chance rather than to submit to the discomfort of a mask.

Poisoning is another very common hazard. The metal trades, the making of chemicals, dyestuffs, storage batteries, and painting are especially dangerous. Usually the poison accumulates in the body for years before the worker becomes seriously ill. Lead poisoning is the most common and the most serious, being a hazard in over a hundred different occupations.

*Degenerative Diseases.* Wonderful progress has been made in the control of communicable diseases. Unfortunately the degenerative diseases — those afflictions which fall mostly among the middle-aged, including heart, arterial, and kidney troubles, nervous disorders, diabetes, and cancer — seem to be on the increase. The expectation of life at age forty is therefore no greater now than it was in 1850.

One cause of the increase in the degenerative diseases is the increasing age of the population. Many more people are living to the age when degenerative diseases are most likely to occur. Another cause is thought to be the tension of modern life, with its financial insecurity, fatigue, and nervous strain.

Heart disease is now the first in the list of causes of death. It is also first in the amount of damage it does through producing disability and invalidism. Unlike the other degenerative diseases, half the deaths from heart disease occur before the thirtieth year of life. For every death from heart disease that occurs in a given year, there are probably ten persons living impaired and deficient lives because their hearts are functioning badly. The campaign against heart disease has several lines of attack. Children must be protected against the infections — rheumatic fever, scarlet fever, diphtheria, tonsillitis, sore throat, etc. — which may bring heart disease in their train. Rheumatic fever is the most dangerous. Its cause is not known, but it chiefly afflicts the poor, undernourished youth of cities. A study made in New Haven, Connecticut, shows that nine out of ten of the young victims are stricken in the poorer, more congested areas of the city.

It is important that individuals with heart defects discover their condition in time, and re-arrange their living and working habits so as to avoid further impairment of the heart. The many school children with impaired hearts should be given special instruction and care, that they may learn how to live in spite of their handicap. They are "cripples who do not limp" yet require special treatment and a daily program suited to their condition. Everyone, adult as well as child, should have a complete physical examination every year, that any heart defect may be discovered in its early stages.

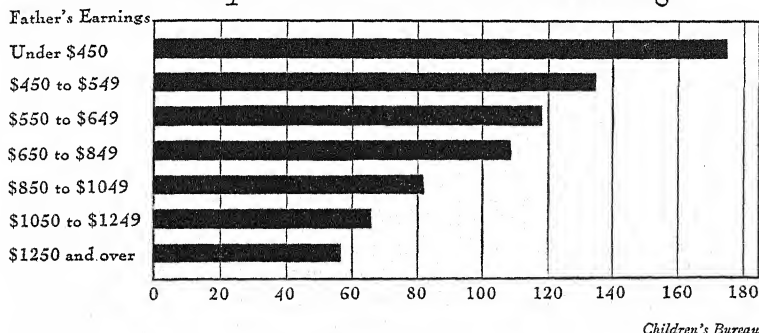
The yearly physical examination is the best safeguard against the degenerative diseases. Medical authorities unite in urging that everyone have a thorough going-over on every birthday. By this means it is possible to detect many serious conditions in their early stages while prospect of cure is bright. Prompt treatment often adds years to the patient's life. The average person, however, is likely to have a childish fear of the physical examination. He prefers to remain ignorant of whatever is unpleasant. Besides, he thinks he can save money by calling the doctor only when he is actually ill. He does not realize that by so doing he may be

running a risk of premature death. A person runs his automobile into a garage at least once a year for a check-up. Why should he not attend as regularly to his own body, which is, after all, nothing but a machine, wonderfully constructed, and frequently in need of rest and repair?

#### HOW INADEQUATE EARNINGS LIMIT PUBLIC HEALTH WORK

*The Relation of Health to Income.* Health depends, to a considerable degree, upon adequate income. The conditions necessary to good health — plenty of nourishing food, warm

#### Infant Mortality in Relation to Father's Earnings



Deaths of Children Under One Year Per Thousand Live Births

clothing, good housing, sufficient medical care, freedom from excessive or dangerous labor, and freedom from anxiety — cannot be had, for the most part, by persons living below the standard of health and decency.

Infant mortality is closely related to the father's earnings. This is made clear in the diagram above. When the father's income is adequate, the mother is likely to have good medical care, proper food, and enough rest before and at the time of the baby's birth. She will be able to stay at home to care for the baby, and give time without stint to his feedings, his daily sun baths, and to all the other essentials of his daily program. But when the father's earnings

are too small, hardly any of the right conditions can be provided, and the baby will be fortunate to survive and to escape permanent damage to his health from rickets and the other hazards of early childhood. Not only is infant mortality very high in families of low income, but so is mortality among adults.

Sickness comes oftenest and stays longest in families with small incomes. Some years ago the United States Public Health Service made a study of sickness in seven South Carolina mill villages. The families of lowest income had four times as much sickness as the families of highest income. The table below shows, on four income levels, the number of persons in every thousand found to be too ill to work.

Half-Monthly Family Income per Adult Male Unit	Number of Persons Considered	Sick Persons	
		Number	Per 1000 Persons Considered
Less than \$6.00.....	1,312	92	70.1
\$6.00 to \$7.99.....	1,038	50	48.2
\$8.00 to \$9.99.....	784	27	34.4
\$10.00 and over.....	1,027	19	18.5
All incomes.....	4,161	188	45.2

The most recent survey by the United States Public Health Service, that made in 1935-36, shows that the number of days of disabling illness in a year is twice as great among families with an annual income under \$1000 as it is among those with an annual income over \$3000. Among families on relief the volume of disabling illness is three times as great as among the \$3000 income families — twelve days a year as compared with four days a year per person.

*Illness as a Cause of Dependency.* When the breadwinner of the family has a disabling illness, the family income falls. The illness of any member of the family is likely to bring heavy, unexpected expenses, and when the mother is disabled, the family may be completely disorganized for lack of her labor in the home and her care of the children. It is

not strange, then, that a disabling illness lasting for weeks or months forces many a family, hitherto self-supporting, to seek relief. A study of cases aided by the New York charities before the 1929 depression showed that ill health was usually either the first cause of the family difficulties or a seriously contributing cause. The United States Public Health Service found in 1935-36 that in relief families one in every twenty family heads was unable to seek work because of chronic disability. In families having a comfortable income only one in 250 family heads was not seeking work because of chronic disability. A number of communities have undertaken to provide surgical operations and other treatment needed by the chronically ill members of relief families. This policy is both humane and economical, since it helps many families to become self-supporting again. When the choice is between repair and relief, can there be any doubt of the intelligent answer?

*The Negro Health Problem.* The infant mortality rate among Negroes is much greater than among the whites. The contributing causes are chiefly poverty, ignorance, bad housing, and a lack of medical care prior to birth, at birth, and after birth. Due to public health work, the infant mortality rate of Negroes is now decreasing.

Tuberculosis takes a very high toll among Negroes. With them it is the chief cause of death, as it used to be also among the whites. Their death rate from this disease in urban areas is four to six times as great as that of the whites. For Negro children aged five to nine the tuberculosis death rate is six times that of white children of the same age, and for Negro children aged ten to fourteen it is nine times that of white children of the same age.

In 1928 Tennessee had the highest tuberculosis death rate among Negroes of any southern state — 270.3 per 100,000 compared with 94.4 for the whites. An intensive public health program was then begun among Negroes. As a result their death rate from tuberculosis fell, in the first seven years, to 162.2.

In cities the Negroes are concentrated in a "black belt." Most of them are seriously overcrowded, a whole family

sometimes having but one room. Their earnings are meager and they are likely to be malnourished. Furthermore, they do not, as a rule, receive their share of the expenditures for public health work. The result is that their sickness and mortality rates are extremely high. Undoubtedly these bad conditions are a menace to all the residents of the city.

In any health program for Negroes, the Negro doctor, dentist, and public health nurse should play an important part. They have, of course, a special interest in their race and greater understanding of its problems. Their number is still too few, however, and they are not found in the areas needing them most. Negroes have only one fourth as many Negro physicians, in proportion to the total Negro population, as whites have of white physicians. Furthermore, forty per cent of all Negro physicians are in ten northern states having only eighteen per cent of the Negro population. Even in the North there are few modern hospitals in which a Negro physician is permitted to treat his own patients; this will be remedied as more hospitals for Negroes are built, and as public hospitals where both races are treated adjust their programs to allow Negro doctors to treat Negro patients. The number of Negro nurses employed in hospitals and in public health work is still very small but is gradually increasing.

*The Rural Health Problem.* There are many rural areas so sparsely populated and so impoverished that a doctor is reluctant to settle in them. It often becomes a serious problem to obtain the most essential medical services in these areas. Hospitals, clinics, dentists, and other necessary health facilities may be so far away as to be practically out of reach.

Under the Social Security Act of 1935 federal funds are being used to increase public health work in rural areas. As a result the number of county health units is growing. On January 1, 1938, one in three rural counties of the United States had a full-time public health organization.

The lack of hospitals in rural areas is another serious health problem. Eighteen million of our people live in counties in which no hospitals of any kind exist.

There are few doctors in rural areas. Whereas in large cities there is one physician to 550 people, in rural districts there is one physician to 1300 people. Thousands of villages and open-country neighborhoods have no doctor within miles.

Doctors in rural areas are handicapped by the absence of diagnostic laboratories to which specimens can be sent for chemical and microscopic tests. A county health unit or rural hospital can scarcely perform a more important service than the maintenance of a diagnostic laboratory. Such a laboratory is essential for the prompt diagnosis of many diseases. It enables the doctor to be vastly more effective in saving life than he otherwise could be.

*A Demonstration in Rural Public Health Work.* The Frontier Nursing Service of Wendover, Kentucky, was started in 1925 by two nurses eager to prove that health facilities could be brought to one of the most isolated regions in the United States. Here in the mountains, where roads were nonexistent, where modern transportation and communication had not penetrated, where an eighteenth-century civilization continues to exist over thousands of square miles, where doctors were unable to make a living and therefore did not settle, a practical health program was established which might well become a model for other neglected rural areas. Financed chiefly by gifts from interested persons in other parts of the country, and partly by a small state subsidy and by small fees from patients, the work has grown to include nine nursing centers, from which thirty nurses go out on horseback to make visits. An eighteen-bed hospital has been built. There is a medical director, a dentist during the summer months, and a full-time social service worker. Traveling clinics with visiting specialists are arranged for from time to time. Hundreds of people have been sent to physicians and hospitals in distant cities. Amazing results in reducing infant and maternal deaths, and in preventing typhoid, diphtheria, smallpox, and other diseases, have followed.

*The Municipal Doctor System.* Some rural areas have solved the problem of providing medical care by paying a



regular salary to a doctor willing to settle in the locality. In rural Saskatchewan, Canada, twenty communities engage full-time physicians at annual salaries ranging from \$3000 to \$5000. The tax levy to pay the salary ranges from \$7 to \$10 a family. Both the doctors and the communities participating in this system are heartily in favor of continuing it. A small fee is charged for the first house visit on each case; this is to discourage needless calls. Major surgery, dentistry, and hospitalization are not provided, and some of the people in this region be-

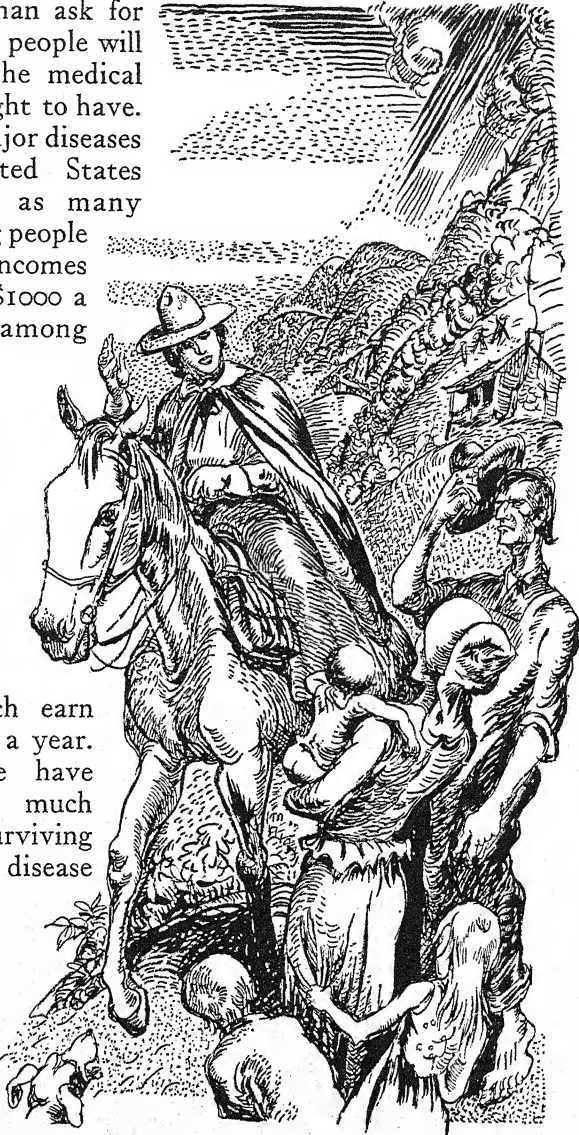
lieve the system should be extended to include them. In some cases rural communities in Saskatchewan have combined to build and maintain union hospitals, where residents may obtain service free or at a moderate price.

*The Ability to Pay for Medical Care.* That a great many people cannot afford adequate medical care is a

matter of common knowledge. It is true that physicians give their services free, or for very small fees, to the needy,

but rather than ask for charity most people will go without the medical care they ought to have.

The ten major diseases in the United States cause twice as many deaths among people with family incomes of less than \$1000 a year than among those with incomes above this level. The importance of this fact may be seen when we realize that about 45,000,000 Americans belong to families which earn \$1000 or less a year. These people have only half as much chance of surviving from a serious disease as do those who receive larger incomes. They cannot afford to take the best available steps to protect their health and their lives. In fact, they often have no medical care at all until they are dangerously ill.



Another large group of the population has little trouble in buying medical care for ordinary illnesses but finds great difficulty in meeting the cost when a long, serious illness occurs. The individual family, except in the high-income brackets, is unable to manage its budget so as to meet an expensive illness without exhausting its savings, disrupting its entire scale of living, and running into debt. Under these conditions the patient cannot help but worry about the expenses involved. Doctor bills pile up and may never be paid in full.

The list of diseases for which hospital care is thought necessary is constantly being lengthened. And hospital service is expensive.

Half of all cases of hospitalized illness occurring among families whose income is less than \$1200 a year are obliged to have free hospital care; one fourth of those with incomes from \$1200 to \$2000 receive free care. In places where free hospital care is not to be had — and these are numerous — many patients cannot go to the hospital.

These facts represent a serious situation. It causes mental suffering to many self-respecting people who shrink from accepting charity. It results in the postponement of treatments, especially of operations, that are greatly needed. It is a heavy burden to doctors, who are expected to give their services in all cases of need. It is directly responsible for a vast amount of unnecessary chronic illness and preventable death.

A growing number of people are coming to believe that some plan must be worked out to enable every man, woman, and child to receive proper medical care and protection whenever needed, and without the stigma of charity. Governor Lehmann of New York expressed the views held by many Americans when he declared, "It is my firm conviction that, so far as science and government can make it possible, an equal opportunity for health is the right of all citizens of the community, regardless of circumstances, birth, economic conditions, geographical limitations, race, creed, or color."

*What Does Adequate Medical Care Cost?* The Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, which reported its findings in 1932, estimated that adequate medical care can be pro-

vided for an average population for a yearly cost of about \$36 a person. This includes \$10.70 a year for dental service. The total bill for medical service in the United States is actually about \$30 a person, but because it is spent very wastefully it fails to provide anything like adequate care.

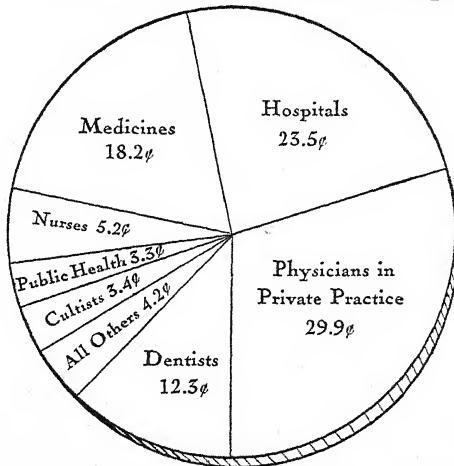
*Wastes in Providing Medical Care.* Despite the fact that so many of our people cannot afford proper medical care, a large amount of money is wasted each year on patent

medicines, quack doctors, magical "health belts," and other appliances. Health education makes progress slowly against the superstitions of the past.

Exaggerated faith in medicine is an example of cultural survival. Today most doctors are prescribing less medicine than formerly, but are stressing the importance of well-

chosen diet, sufficient rest, sunshine, fresh air, and suitable exercise. Millions of people prefer quacks who mix magic elixirs, pills, and tonics claimed to be capable of curing everything from toothache to cancer. Millions of others choose for themselves some of the myriad advertised remedies, partly from ignorance, and partly from a desire to save the expense of consulting a doctor. About \$200,000,000 a year is squandered for patent and proprietary medicines. These remedies are mainly worthless, and some are positively harmful, containing drugs that aggravate the symptoms for

### How Our Medical Dollar is Spent



Notice the small share for local, state, and federal public health services. The large slice for medicines is chiefly used to purchase advertised remedies by those who prescribe for themselves.

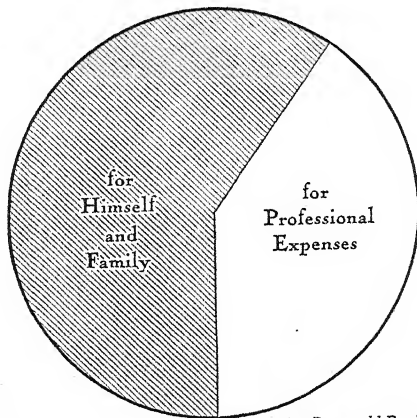
the purpose of inducing the purchaser to buy more of the article. The quack doctor or the advertiser who claims he has a medicine or a method to cure ankylosis, cancer, or heart disease, is a thief. He steals the buyer's money, but worse, he may steal the buyer's chance to get proper care in time to save life.

Many sectarian practitioners of various kinds are competing with physicians trained in standard medical schools.

Where the  
Physician's  
Income  
Goes

□ 40%

▨ 60%



*Julius Rosenwald Fund*

Physicians in individual private practice have large professional expenses such as office rent, equipment, assistants, and transportation.

These sectarian practitioners ordinarily cannot compare in education and medical training with standard physicians. Many of them are not able to diagnose disease accurately, since they lack the years of training in medical school and hospital which standard physicians must undergo before a license will be issued to them. Money is spent on these cult-ists which could better be used for expert medical care.

Nevertheless, there are much more important wastes than those we have mentioned. Medical practice as now organized is exceedingly wasteful. The extent of unemployment among physicians is so great that even in 1929 (the year that our national income was at its highest point) the services which they rendered could have been supplied by half of those in active practice if each had had enough patients

to utilize fully his working time. Yet if all persons needing medical care were to obtain it, an acute shortage of doctors would become evident. Graduate nurses and dentists are in much the same state of underemployment. General hospitals, although large numbers of people are going without needed hospital care because they cannot afford it, are occupied on the average to only 65 per cent of their capacity.

The distribution of doctors, dentists, and nurses follows the dollar and not the need. These practitioners are concentrated in areas having the largest income. The distribution of hospitals is even more highly concentrated in the cities and towns of large economic resources. Hence many metropolitan areas are oversupplied, while most rural areas are undersupplied. This is another proof of the wastefulness of existing medical service.

A modern doctor needs expensive equipment, an office suite, and also an attendant to answer the telephone. To provide these things takes, on the average, some 40 per cent of a doctor's gross earnings. When a number of doctors share the same offices, help, and equipment, a large saving can be made.

*Economy through Group Clinics and Voluntary Health Insurance.* The greatest economy results when medical service is provided by an organized medical unit. This is usually a group clinic operated by a number of general physicians and specialists, who pool their skill and resources and use in common the same plant and equipment. Occasionally the group clinic is operated by a co-operative for the benefit of its members. Some of these organized units in different parts of the country furnish complete medical care (excepting dentistry, and hospitalization for tuberculous and mental cases) at an annual cost of from \$12 to \$25 per person. One of these, the Ross-Loos Clinic in Los Angeles, has attracted much attention. The clinic is operated by some twenty-five physicians. For the sum of two dollars a month a person may receive medical service either at his home or at the clinic. There are more than 20,000 subscribers to this plan.

Hospital service is also more economical when it is supported by a large number of subscribers. In the last few

years this plan, known as voluntary hospital insurance, has made remarkable headway in the bigger cities. By paying a regular sum in advance — seventy-five cents a month on the average — the subscriber is entitled to hospital care for three weeks in any one year, and reduced rates if longer hospitalization is needed.

*Is Voluntary Health Insurance the Answer?* Voluntary health insurance plans are excellent so far as they go. But according to the Technical Committee on Medical Care, which reported in 1938, one third and perhaps one half of the population is too poor to afford the full cost of adequate medical and dental care, no matter how the cost might be distributed over a series of years. There are several entire states, whose per capita income is very low, that could not afford adequate medical and dental care for all their people even under a state-wide insurance scheme.

How this situation can best be met is a subject much discussed among medical men and thoughtful people generally. There is considerable disagreement as to what ought to be done.

Some believe that the government should provide more health services. They think that diagnostic laboratories should be maintained in all parts of the country at public expense. Many big cities already have such laboratories as part of their public health program, but in rural areas there are hardly any. It is also urged that hospitals for chronic diseases should be maintained at public expense. Only the wealthy can afford the long period of hospital care that chronic cases require. In the case of tuberculosis and mental and nervous diseases, government has already assumed most of the cost of hospitalization. Should not patients with cancer, a disabling heart disease, or other malady that requires months of rest in bed, be assured of hospital care? As in government hospitals for the tubercular and the mentally ill, a small charge might be made in proportion to the family's ability to pay, the balance coming from taxation. Care for mothers before, during, and after childbirth is another type of service which probably ought to be provided everywhere for those in the lower-income groups, a moderate fee being

paid by the patient, the remainder by the government. It is also urged that general hospitals be built and maintained in rural areas now without hospitals, the cost being met jointly by federal, state, and local government.

Compulsory health insurance is also advocated by some. Most European countries have long had programs of this sort, and not one has abandoned the idea. The system most frequently recommended is the one in effect in England. It covers every person who receives less than \$1250 a year — four fifths of all the employed people. Every insured person pays about nine cents a week out of his wages. The employers must give nine cents for each employee. The government takes this money from employers and employees and makes an additional contribution of its own, the whole fund being used to provide medical care for the insured people. Each insured person is allowed to choose his own doctor from a list of doctors who have agreed to handle insurance cases. The doctors who wish to take part in the scheme are paid according to the number of people they treat. The average doctor has about 1000 insured patients on his list, receiving about \$2250 a year from the government for the care he gives them. In addition he has the right to engage in private practice. The British Medical Society has proposed that the dependents of workers should also be included in the scheme.

The American Medical Association has opposed the idea of health insurance until recently. Now, the majority of doctors belonging to this organization have agreed to co-operate with the government in the effort to work out some sort of new health policy for the nation. The American College of Surgeons has for some time been interested in health insurance. However, American doctors will certainly fight any plan which might bring their profession under political control.

*Conclusion: The Broadening Concept of Public Health.* In the last fifty years the public health movement has steadily grown. It has taken on many new duties. It has reached out beyond the cities and entered many neglected rural areas. It has been extraordinarily successful. And it has

paid magnificent dividends. Our greatest statesmen have said that public health should be the first concern of government. Public health never has been the first concern of government; it has never received more than niggardly appropriations. The result is that numerous grave health needs are still unmet. Preventable sickness and premature death take a huge toll, and hardly anyone has the buoyant good health that is his birthright.

We are gradually developing a new concept of public health — much broader than the one which now prevails. Dr. Thomas Parran, Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, has stated it in these terms:

We now have reached a stage in the evolution of citizenship when all the people, poor and rich alike, are beginning to demand at least a minimum of health protection as a right. Our plans for distributing such health protection must be based on the concept of an equal opportunity to be born healthful, to maintain health, to prevent needless disease, unnecessary disablement and premature death.

To the informed modern mind, this opportunity for health is beginning to rank with the other basic equalities of American life — freedom of speech, of faith, of assembly, of franchise. No man can exercise his rights and privileges if he has not also the inalienable privilege of health.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. Send to the Children's Bureau for a map showing the infant mortality rate by states. Make a copy on a large blank map and post at the front of the room. How do you account for the differences shown? What factors might account for the difference between your state and the average for the United States?
2. On a large blank map of the United States differentiate by color or by means of dots, crosshatching, and other marks the states with a death rate under 10.0, 10.0 to 11.4, 11.5 to 12.9, and over 13.0. Post the map at the front of the room. How do you account for the differences shown? Is your state below or above the average for the United States? Can you give any reason for its position?

3. Report to the class on the work of the United States Public Health Service. (Consult the *World Almanac* and other references.)
4. Prepare a list of arguments for and against compulsory health insurance. Consult the *Readers' Guide* for recent articles.
5. Draw a curve graph of the death rate and infant mortality rate of your community for the past fifteen years or for every fifth year as far back as you can obtain figures. Can you explain any fluctuations?
6. Find out about the work of your local board of health. Ask the chairman about the special health problems of your community, the occupational hazards, infant mortality, extent of malnutrition, and other conditions.
7. If you have a county health service, find out what it tries to do, what it costs, what are the needed next steps.
8. Find out about the work of visiting nurses in your community. How is the work supported? What services do the nurses perform? Among what classes of the population do they work?
9. Prepare an exhibit of advertisements of medicine. Do some of them make people think themselves ill? Try to obtain a physician's opinion of some of the remedies. Ask a druggist which of these remedies are widely used in your community.
10. Consult Consumers' Union Reports and Consumers' Research bulletins regarding the merits of advertised health appliances, remedies, and health foods which are being used by members of the class. Or consult your school physician or your local or state board of health.
11. Is there a group clinic or hospital insurance plan in your community? What does it have to offer?
12. What training is required from each type of doctor and sectarian practitioner in your community? How much education must each have?
13. Write a paper on the common occupational diseases. How can a worker protect himself against them? (Consult the *Social Work Yearbook* and recent articles.)
14. Interpret the drawings on pp. 344 and 345.

#### WORD STUDY

degenerative diseases	infant mortality rate
municipal doctor system	

## QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Why did public health work expand with the growth of cities?
2. Is public health work necessary in rural areas? Why or why not?
3. Discuss the method used by Dr. Dublin in computing the money value of a human being.
4. In view of the enormous amount of physical defects among school children, do you think additional school appropriations should be used for medical or for educational work? Why?
5. Of what importance is the yearly health examination? Why do not more people have yearly examinations?
6. Of what importance is the general neglect of teeth defects?
7. Why are degenerative diseases increasing?
8. What is the importance of malnutrition?
9. What is the connection between illness and dependency?
10. What are the special health problems of Negroes?
11. What are the difficulties in obtaining adequate medical care in rural areas? How can it be provided?
12. Is the use of patent medicines related to family income?
13. In what ways do the doctors in your community waste time and money which might be saved by some sort of group medical service?
14. Should health insurance be paid for entirely by those who benefit from it, wholly by the government, or by both together? Give reasons.
15. How would voluntary health insurance help many families who without it are not able to meet all expenses for serious illness?
16. How do you explain the almost complete disappearance of smallpox in the United States?
17. In one year two out of five Americans get no medical care whatsoever. Discuss.
18. What would you do if a sick person of small income asked you how he might enter a hospital immediately?
19. Mrs. B. is a poor widow with six children. She develops tuberculosis. What would you advise her to do?
20. Resolved: That every person in the United States should receive needed medical and dental care regardless of his earning power.

READINGS

- Brainerd, Dudley S., and Zeleny, Leslie D., *Problems of Our Times*, chap. xiii
- Counts, George, *Social Foundations of Education*, chap. iv, Health
- De Kruif, Paul H., *Microbe Hunters*
- De Kruif, Paul H., and De Kruif, Rhea, *Why Keep Them Alive?*
- Dublin, Louis I., *Health and Wealth*
- Gillett, John M., and Reinhardt, James M., *Current Social Problems*, chaps. xii-xiv
- Heiser, M. D., *An American Doctor's Odyssey*
- Kallett, Arthur, and Schlink, F. J., *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs* (A best-seller)
- Lamb, Ruth deForest, *American Chamber of Horrors: The Truth about Food and Drugs*
- Muntz, Earl E., *Urban Sociology*, Part III
- Mustard, Harry S., *An Introduction to Public Health*
- Phillips, M. C., *Skin Deep*
- Wald, Lillian D., *Windows on Henry Street*

# Chapter 18

## HOUSING

*Next to food and clothing, the housing of a nation is its most vital social and economic problem.*

HERBERT HOOVER

THE house that a family lives in has a tremendous influence upon the health and happiness of every one of its members. Some houses are light, pleasant, and comfortable; others are dark, damp, and crowded, more attractive to vermin than to human beings. In some houses there is storage space for everything that the family uses; in others there is a dearth of closets, shelves, and other places for putting things away, resulting in confusion, clutter, and endless inconvenience. Some houses provide privacy to every one of the occupants; others defeat the attempt to rest, to study, to perform human functions with dignity, or even with decency, because privacy is wholly lacking. The kind of house a family occupies has much to do with the quality of the life that goes on within its walls.

### WHAT IS GOOD HOUSING?

*The Functions of the House.* President Hoover's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership drew up a list of the functions of a modern house and its furnishings. A good house for any family must serve these functions.

First, the house is a *work center* for carrying on the various tasks of household production. Despite the fact that much household labor has been taken out of the home, the ordinary housewife must still clean, cook, scrub, wash, iron, mend, make repairs, and do a dozen other jobs. The house is her

place of employment and should have facilities — running water, sink, set tub, pantry, abundant storage space, etc. — to enable her to work with a minimum expenditure of time and energy. Her working hours will be long at best; without these facilities she will find her work exhausting.

Second, the house is a *health center* for those within it. It should be built so as to have sunlight, air, and proper sanitation. It should be practically vermin-proof. It should not contain fire hazards, nor hazards to life and limb. Nearly half of all accidents occur in the home, which proves that a great deal more thought must be given to making houses and their equipment safer for those who use them.

Third, the house is a center of *family activity*. First, it ought to provide a background of peace and security so that the members of the family may relax from the strain of life outside. This requires that the house be free from dirt, clutter, and excessive noise, and be spacious enough for the occupants to move about freely without interfering with one another. Second, it ought to permit privacy. The members of the family should not be obliged to remain together when they want rest and quiet. The children should have other places to play in addition to the family's living room. It should not be necessary to go through anyone's bedroom to reach the bathroom or the kitchen. Parents should not have to share their bedroom with the children. Third, a house should provide opportunity for all members of the family, both parents and children, to entertain friends. There ought to be a place where the family and their guests can get together for good times.

*Minimum Standards in Housing.* What are acceptable standards for an American house? The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics has made a careful study of the minimum requirements for an average family living on the so-called "level of health and decency." The Bureau decided that in housing the American standard is met when:

For each person in the household there is one room, not counting the bath. A family of five requires five rooms and a bath.

The parents should have a separate bedroom. The girls should have a bedroom, and the boys a bedroom also.

The total floor space, including closets, halls, and bathroom, must not be less than 660 square feet for a family of five.

There must be in each room at least one window opening to the outer air.

There must be a complete bathroom with toilet not shared by other families.

The house should be located in a neighborhood with reasonably well maintained streets, and it should be near to means of transportation, playgrounds, places of recreation, and schools.

The foregoing standards are hardly luxurious. The floor space is certainly very meager for a family with three active children. Nothing is said about central heat, electric light, refrigeration, gas for cooking, or window screening, and not even closets are required. Yet at least one third of city dwellers are housed in dwellings that fail to meet the requirements. The majority of village and farm houses fall below the standard because of their lack of bathrooms.

*A Personal Word.* Once we begin to think about the functions of a house and the minimum standards for an acceptable house, most of us are bound to become dissatisfied with the houses in which we live. If this dissatisfaction leads us to make our houses better, it is a good thing. But if it only causes us to be discontented with our surroundings and to indulge in self-pity, we shall be worse off than before.

How can we turn our personal dissatisfaction into a constructive channel? In the first place, we might study government bulletins designed to help people improve the homes they now have. There are many inexpensive ways to make even a rented house more comfortable and convenient. In the second place, we might try to work out practical plans for making our own house into a better environment for the kind of family life we want to have. Naturally, these plans should be discussed by the whole family. Often the best place to begin is with one's own room. It is nearly always possible to improve its storage arrangements, perhaps by making a closet, putting up a clothes rod and a shoe rack, adding shelves, and partitioning bureau drawers. Other desirable improvements, such as painting, papering, and refinishing the furniture, can often be made at small cost, if

only one is willing to give the necessary time. After one's own room is in order, it might be well to think about improving the kitchen. Almost any kitchen needs additional shelves and homemade conveniences, and practically always it is possible to rearrange the things used in the kitchen so as to bring them nearer to the spot where they are actually needed.

When one's home is crowded, the most pressing problem is how to insure the privacy so vital if family life is to be tolerable. Those who really value privacy will use their ingenuity in such ways as dividing their bedrooms with curtains or screens, scheduling the use of the bathroom, keeping certain hours quiet for study and rest, and restricting the use of the radio. When the family cannot afford more space, it is not a disgrace to live in a house that is crowded. It is a proper cause for shame when the occupants of the house do not respect one another's desire for privacy.

*What about Home Ownership?* Once every American family aspired to own its home. Even yet the dream of some day buying a little home with a garage and a flower garden around it is dear to millions. But for the vast majority of Americans (other than farmers) home ownership can no longer be recommended.

Dr. Edith Elmer Wood, who knows as much about the problems of shelter as anyone in the country, declares that urban families with incomes of less than \$2500 have no business attempting home ownership. Those with incomes of \$3000, who are reasonably sure of the permanence of that income, may wisely buy a house. But, says Dr. Wood, no family whose income is less than \$5000 a year should buy a house costing more than twice their annual income. To go higher does not leave adequate margin for the emergencies of unemployment, illness, accident, death.

Few people can afford to buy a house outright. Therefore most houses are mortgaged. It is customary for the mortgage to be paid off gradually (amortized) over a period of years, usually twenty. Can a person who takes on a mortgage for twenty years be sure of his income during that time? Such sureness of income is becoming increasingly rare. Rapid technological changes that displace workers are going for-

ward in most industries. Furthermore, businesses frequently move from one section of the country to another, and employees who own their homes are not free to move. Because of these and other hazards of life, millions of home owners lose their property by foreclosure. Between 1920 and 1938 no less than forty per cent of all the homes in the city of Philadelphia were foreclosed. In the country as a whole between 1926 and 1936 there were no fewer than 1,600,000 foreclosures of nonfarm homes. In addition, a million homes were saved from foreclosure only because a special government agency was formed for that purpose — the Home Owners' Loan Corporation.

#### THE PRESENT HOUSING SITUATION

The need for housing is revealed in a number of ways. Let us take these up one by one.

*The Analysis of Existing Housing.* In 1934 the Department of Commerce studied nearly 1,500,000 buildings (a total of 2,102,000 dwellings) in 64 typical cities. The results may be considered a fair picture of the dwellings in all urban communities in the country. It was found that:

- 18.1 per cent either needed major repairs or were unfit to live in
- 16.7 per cent were more than 40 years old
- 16.8 per cent of the dwellings were overcrowded (having 2 or more persons per room)
- 13.5 per cent had no private indoor water closet
- 20.2 per cent had neither bathtub nor shower
- 34.0 per cent had both hot and cold running water
- 5.0 per cent had no running water inside

*The Rents Being Paid.* Better than 50 per cent of these urban dwellings rented for less than \$20 per month. (This is about \$6 per room.) More than one third brought \$15 or less, and 15 per cent were priced below \$10. Generally speaking, adequate housing cannot be had for less than \$20 per month rent. When the rental is less than this the housing is almost certain to be substandard — most likely lacking bathing facilities and a private indoor toilet, and perhaps not having running water. In New York City and in some other

large cities virtually all rentals below \$30 a month mean bad conditions. In Cincinnati 41 per cent of families paying \$28 a month have no plumbing within the apartment other than a cold-water sink. On the other hand, in many towns in the South \$15 a month might command a fairly good home.

Adequate modern housing in cities can seldom be rented for less than \$30 to \$50 a month. The lower figure would apply to small cities in the South, the larger figure to the great metropolitan areas. If owners charged less than this, they could not pay expenses and obtain interest on their investment.

It is agreed by budget experts that the average family should not spend more than 20, or at most 25, per cent of its income for rent. But half of all American families have an income of less than \$1200 a year. This means that they cannot afford to pay more than \$20 to \$25 a month for rent. If they live in a large city it is impossible for them to obtain decent quarters for this figure. Even for the substandard homes they now live in, they usually have to pay more than 25 per cent of their income. This means that they spend for rent money that is needed for other necessities. A good many families in this group take lodgers in order to help pay the rent. They often live under conditions of extreme crowding and lack of privacy.

*Housing for Negroes.* Housing conditions are particularly bad for Negroes, both in the country and in the city, in all parts of the United States. A study of 1014 Negro families living in West Harlem, New York City, in 1928, showed that their average family income was 17 per cent lower than that of white workers in the same occupations, while their average rent was three dollars a room a month higher than white workers paid for similar accommodations. These Negro families were spending one third of their incomes for rent, a far too large proportion. Because of high rents, 25 per cent of the Negro families in American cities have lodgers, with a resulting loss of privacy for family life and desirable conditions for children.

These bad conditions are not hard to explain. During and after the World War Negroes flocked into northern cities.

They could find living accommodations only in certain portions of the city, where Negroes were already living. White owners banded together to prevent the invasion of Negroes beyond the edges of the "black belt." But as the migration from the South continued, the Negro section of each city had to expand. Landlords found that Negroes were so desperate for houses that they would pay rents almost twice as great as the whites would pay for the same accommodations. As their earnings are far less than those of the whites, they sometimes have to pay as much as 50 to 60 per cent of the family income for rent. The inevitable result is severe overcrowding. A single apartment often shelters several Negro families. Sometimes a family with children has only one room. A family so fortunate as to have an apartment not shared by other families is likely to take lodgers. The final stage in taking lodgers is known as the "hot bed" practice, because extra space is rented continuously both by day and by night. Such a deplorable practice testifies to the utter poverty of both the lodginghouse-keeper and his lodgers.

*The Decline in Building.* Between 1925 and 1930 about 800,000 new homes were built every year. Since that time the housing industry has been in a deep depression, producing only about one fifth as many new homes each year as it did prior to 1930. Our population has continued to grow, with the result that we now have a serious housing shortage. The number of new dwellings that we shall need every year for the next ten years is variously estimated between 400,000 and 1,000,000 units. At the same time, it is believed that there are six and a half million substandard dwellings which ought to be replaced. Thus the total need for new housing in the next decade is not less than ten million dwelling units and may be as much as sixteen million.

Why, then, are the needed houses not being built? The answer is not far to seek. Good city housing costs more than the great majority of families can afford to pay. Eleven dollars a room per month is thought to be the lowest possible rental at which private enterprise can afford to furnish new houses in our larger cities. But six dollars a room per month is the most that half our city families can afford to pay.

The last statement is supported by two lines of evidence. In the first place, half of the city dwellings now rent for less than this amount; and presumably any family that could pay more would do so in order to escape from the substandard housing they now obtain. In the second place, the known earnings of this group of city families, if they spend no more than 20 to 25 per cent of their budget for rent, will not permit a rent greater than six dollars a room. Private enterprise cannot furnish adequate housing, or anything approaching it, for this rental. Therefore, the housing shortage, which is chiefly a shortage of low-cost housing, continues to exist.

#### THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE HOUSING SHORTAGE

The most obvious result of the housing shortage is that millions of antiquated dwellings, some of them utterly unfit for human occupancy, continue to be used. This has numerous evil consequences.

*The Connection between Housing and Health.* Housing affects health in various ways.

Lack of sunlight lowers the general tone and lessens resistance to disease. It is an important cause of rickets in children. A five-year study in New York revealed that three out of four babies in the tenement population have rickets from lack of sunshine, or from faulty diet, or both. (In those cases where faulty diet, rather than lack of sunshine, is the cause of rickets, the underlying reason may be the excessive cost of the family's shelter. Slum dwellers frequently pay 40 per cent of their income for rent, the result being that they cannot possibly afford proper food and medical care.) Lack of sunlight, when there is an advanced case of tuberculosis in the family, enormously increases the danger that other members of the family will become infected. The tubercle bacillus quickly dies in a sunny room but may live for weeks in one that is dimly lighted.

Insufficient fresh air, if it results from too few windows or lack of cross ventilation, is an aspect of bad housing. It lowers well-being and vitality. Dampness is most often found in basement or cellar dwellings but may result any-

where from leaking roofs or dilapidated walls. It is likely to produce rheumatism and to favor the development of colds, pneumonia, and tuberculosis. It also seems to induce mental depression.

Lack of running water in the dwelling, or an impure water supply, are wide-spread deficiencies, particularly in village and country. Surface wells are often contaminated in the open country; in villages and small towns they are usually so. Typhoid fever, which is spread by contaminated milk and water, has almost disappeared from cities, but is still not uncommon in small communities. City water is carefully safeguarded. However, one in twenty city dwellings is without running water. Sometimes city water is supplied only through a hydrant in the yard. Sometimes it is frozen in winter. Often every pailful has to be carried up several flights of tenement house stairs. Whether in city or country, if water has to be carried any distance it will be used very sparingly, and the cleanliness of the home and the people in it may suffer.

Crowding is one of the most important factors in the relation between housing and health. When people are tightly packed together in their homes, above all in their bedrooms and beds, infectious diseases quickly spread through the family. In city slums, where entire buildings are apt to be crowded, the illness rate from infectious diseases is several times higher than it is in uncrowded buildings. The spreading of infection from one family to another is especially rapid where several families have to use the same toilet — a condition which exists in one out of every six city dwellings in the United States.

Studies throughout the country show in every case a concentration of disease, with infant and general mortality, in areas of bad housing. The illness and death rates begin to rise at the point where crowding begins. (Crowding is the condition where there are more persons than rooms. Twice as many persons as rooms is considered overcrowding.) Of course, the crowding is not solely responsible for the increased amount of illness and death. Crowding is a symptom of poverty. When a family is crowded it does not, as a



rule, have money enough for proper food, nor for sufficient warm clothing, fuel, and ice, not to speak of medical care and recreation. All of these deficiencies lower the resistance to disease. Then, after disease appears, crowding helps to spread it rapidly.

Infant mortality varies directly with the number of persons sleeping in the same room with the baby. Where the baby sleeps in bed with others, the rate is more than twice as high as where the child has a separate bed. During the

### Infant Mortality is Highest in Overcrowded Homes

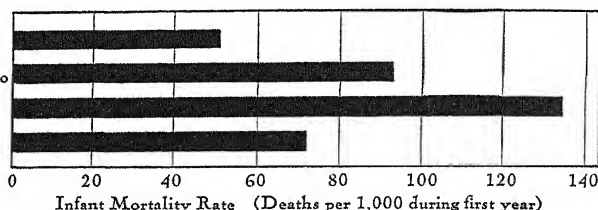
Average Number of  
Persons per Room

Less than one

One; less than two

Two and over

Average of all



years 1930-33 the rate of infant mortality in a blighted district in Buffalo was 100 per 1000 as against 20 per 1000 in other areas.

People who live in bad houses are particularly susceptible to tuberculosis. In 1933 one area in Buffalo had a death rate from this disease of 5.7 per 1000, as against 3 per 1000 in a district of decent housing. In New York City slums the death rate from tuberculosis is 2.2 times that in the city as a whole; in Louisville slums it is three times that of the whole city. It has been found that in quarters where the rent is \$20 a month or less, there are six times as many deaths from tuberculosis as where the rent is \$75 or more.

The general death rate is often twice as high in the slums of a city as in the city as a whole. In New York the death from all causes is 87 per cent higher in the slums than in the entire city. In Tampa, Florida, a slum area has almost four times the death rate of the remainder of the city.

The most miserable housing in a city is usually that where Negroes are obliged to live. In these areas the infant mortality rate and the general death rate are terribly high. The

tuberculosis rate is almost unbelievable. Thus, in the worst tracts of Cincinnati, Negroes had in the years 1929-31 a tuberculosis mortality of 5 per 1000, ten times that of the whites in the city as a whole. Similar conditions are known to exist in many other cities.

The human cost of these unhealthful conditions is great. The money cost to the taxpayers is also large. Thus a bad slum area of Indianapolis, inhabited by 10 per cent of the population, shows 30 per cent of the city hospital cost and 19 per cent of the cost of keeping the insane.

*The Connection between Housing and Delinquency.* Areas of bad housing and of high truancy and delinquency rates coincide. An area of bad housing is sure to be an undesirable neighborhood — a place where the poor cannot escape association with the derelict and the vicious; where playgrounds and play spaces are lacking; where the church has little influence; where futility and personal disorganization are much in evidence. Probably these neighborhood conditions are chiefly responsible for the high delinquency rate found in areas of bad housing. But the housing itself is partly responsible.

Within the crowded tenement there is no place for children to play. There is no house yard where the children can be turned loose, still under the mother's eye as she goes about her work. The tenement child, restless and cramped at home, finds his way to the street while little more than a baby. He is out of his mother's sight, and she cannot prevent him from playing with children who are pre-delinquent. Before he is in his teens he will probably belong to a gang led by the bad boys of the district. Is it surprising, then, that in one typical large city half of the delinquent boys come from a slum covering one tenth of the city area and sheltering one fourth of the city's people?

In crowded uncomfortable dwellings it is difficult to maintain wholesome family life. The father and the older children spend as little time as possible at home. There is no place to bring one's friends. The quarrels and brawls of the neighbors cannot be shut out. The privacy so essential to decent living cannot be had. Family relationships tend to

become coarse and inharmonious. This situation is particularly hard on young girls, making any means of escape seem attractive. A 1932 study of delinquent girls in Milwaukee shows that 83 per cent of them had come from bad housing in congested areas.

Warden Lewis E. Lawes of Sing Sing recently said: "Studies of case histories of admissions to Sing Sing prison amply bear me out when I say that much of the juvenile delinquencies and their subsequent major offenses are directly attributable to the misery, discomfort, and the impairment of morals that are inevitable to life under slum conditions."

*Other Costs of Bad Housing.* In areas of bad housing children play on the streets for lack of any other place to play. Hence in any city most of the deaths from vehicular accidents among children under sixteen occur in just these areas.

Fires occur with great frequency in substandard dwellings, and because escape from them is so difficult, often cause loss of life. In the year ending April 1, 1935, eighty-one lives were lost in tenement fires in New York City. This destruction of life took place in antiquated buildings which can truly be described as firetraps. Today every city of any size has a building code to prevent the erection of buildings that are not fire-retarding. Unfortunately, dwellings put up before these codes went into effect are not affected. Many of them are so dilapidated that they cannot be made safe. In any case, to remodel them would necessitate higher rents than their present occupants can pay.

*The Financial Cost of Bad Housing.* The staggering cost to the public for the maintenance of a slum area has only recently been learned. It is now known that the taxes derived from such an area are far short of the money that must be spent there for fire and police protection, health and sanitary services, and public relief. These costs, in excess of tax receipts, are referred to as the "hidden subsidy." In a slum district the city must spend per capita on social services from two to seven times as much as in other parts of the city. In view of these facts it has been said that the taxpayers' greatest extravagance is the maintenance of a slum.

All sickness and delinquency could not, of course, be eliminated by substituting good housing for bad. Still less would good housing be a cure for poverty and unemployment, although slum clearance on a nationwide scale could be expected to employ millions of additional workers for years to come. But this much can certainly be said: Experience abroad shows that a slum population, when moved to good housing, soon approaches the average rates in health and in conduct.

England, Scotland, and the Netherlands have had more than thirty years of experience in slum clearance projects. The consensus of opinion among housing authorities in these countries seems to be that the great majority of slum dwellers when rehoused in modern fashion make a good response to their new environment. A small percentage — those who are mentally defective, alcoholic or drug addicts, lazy, or psychopathic — retain their old slum ways and appear incapable of improvement. The remainder show marked improvement in housekeeping and health habits.

A physician who is medical officer of health in Southampton, England, recently wrote an article in praise of rehoused families. He said:

Criticism made by the inexperienced that the poorer classes when rehoused soon make slums of the new dwellings is now known to be incorrect. In recent years it has been definitely established that the great majority of the rehoused tenants improve their standard of living, and that the children brought up in the new surroundings would never tolerate the filth and squalor which their parents accepted as their destiny.

Should American experience with rehoused families be similar to that abroad, there is every reason to expect that the housing program will more than pay for itself.

#### EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE LOW-COST HOUSING

The housing problem is found in all parts of the world. Everywhere it is the same story, namely, that of the reluctance of private enterprise to invest money in housing for the lowest paid group of the population.

*What Other Countries Have Done.* All the other great nations, and some of the smaller ones as well, have gone much farther than the United States in solving this problem. They have generally made three different kinds of attack on substandard housing: (1) slum clearance by public authorities, (2) housing loans by the government to private builders at a low rate of interest, and (3) housing built by public authorities at public expense. The experience of these countries should be of value to us.

Over two million new dwellings have been built in Great Britain since the World War. About half of them were put up through government assistance to public housing authorities or private individuals. The remainder have been built by private enterprise unassisted. By 1934 houses were being put up faster than ever before, and private enterprise, unassisted, was building 85 per cent of them. It is claimed that the public housing program, which began in 1919, was directly responsible for starting this boom in private building. The explanation is that the public housing program helped the heavy industries by creating a demand for building materials; when heavy industries are active, employment and payrolls rise, and the entire country tends to become prosperous; this increases purchasing power, part of which is used in obtaining better shelter; hence, private builders can again make a profit.

In Germany co-operative and limited-dividend housing societies had built many dwellings before the World War. After the war this program was continued. In addition, public authorities built many houses, and the government lent large sums of money to private builders. Between 1919 and 1935 some three million dwellings were provided, 80 per cent of which had direct public aid.

The Netherlands has since 1919 provided new homes for one fifth of her people. Some of these dwellings were built by public authorities, some by limited-dividend and co-operative societies, and some by private enterprise assisted with government loans. Belgium, too, has carried on a large-scale housing program, aided by government loans and subsidies. In Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries

housing programs assisted by the government have been going forward for many years. In Copenhagen and in Oslo every fifth person lives in a dwelling put up either by the city or by housing societies. In Stockholm more than one tenth of the population lives in co-operative developments. Large housing programs are also going forward in many other countries, including France, Italy, Soviet Russia, Turkey, Japan, Australia, and Chili.

*Housing Demonstrations in the United States.* A few model housing projects have been carried out by American philanthropists. As a rule these projects have been intended as a long-term investment yielding a moderate rate of interest, and have therefore been operated on sound business principles. Their founders hoped to prove to businessmen that good housing at moderate rentals could be made to pay.

In Chicago there are two projects of this kind, the *Marshall Field Garden Apartment Homes* for whites, and the *Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments* for Negroes, erected by the Julius Rosenwald Foundation. These have not succeeded in reaching people of low income. Like similar philanthropic projects in other cities, they demonstrate that a fair return on the investment in good modern housing is possible only if tenants are drawn from the comfort level of income (over \$2000 a year). The rentals asked tell the story. Thus, in the apartments for Negroes built by the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the rentals average about \$15 a room. In Chatham Village, a model housing project financed by the Buhl Foundation in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the rentals are about \$11 a room. In the Fred L. Lavanburg Homes, erected in the ghetto in New York, the building provides no return on the investment, yet it has been found necessary to charge \$9 a room per month. This is below the average rental for even fair-grade apartments in New York, but it is too high for the low-paid workers whom Mr. Lavanburg wished to help.

Since 1920 New York has been trying to encourage low-cost housing by a policy of tax exemption. At first tax exemption was granted for ten years on all new dwellings of moderate cost, with no requirement as to housing standards or rent levels. This helped speculative builders but did not

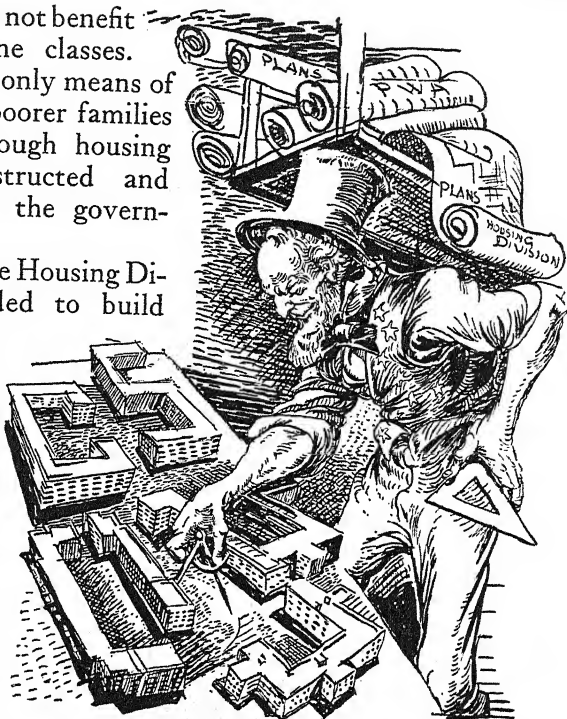
have any effect in lowering rents. Then in 1926 the New York State Housing Act was passed, to be administered by a State Board of Housing. Under the act a limited-dividend company may be formed to build houses for rent. Approved limited-dividend companies are exempt from state taxes, and municipalities may exempt the land and buildings from local taxes.

New York City has granted tax exemption for twenty years on buildings erected in accordance with the state law. Although there is no abatement on the land tax, tax limitation accounts for a saving of about \$1.50 a room per month. A much greater saving results because the limited-dividend company is not permitted to pay more than 5 per cent for mortgage money nor more than 6 per cent on the money put in by the stockholders. (In ordinary commercial practice 9 per cent is the usual charge for financing.) Furthermore, the State Board of Housing supervises the enterprise from its very beginning, in order to secure economy in construction, arrangement, and administration of the building. Yet the average rental in New York City projects built under this act is \$11.30 per room, a figure far beyond the reach of most American families. Housing of similar standard, built under ordinary commercial practice, would rent for about \$17 a room. While it looks in the right direction, limitation of dividends and tax exemption is evidently only a first step toward solving the housing problem. The solution will not be reached until good modern housing can be rented by low-income families for not over \$6 a room.

In 1932 Congress recognized the worth of the New York State Housing Act by authorizing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make loans to private housing corporations regulated in this manner. One project was constructed. Fourteen states were induced to pass regulatory housing acts, patterned more or less after that of New York. In 1933 the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration adopted the same policy and seven limited-dividend projects were constructed. Money was lent only for projects that would be able to pay back the entire investment, i.e., projects must be *self-liquidating*. It soon appeared that these

projects would not benefit the low-income classes. Evidently the only means of reaching the poorer families would be through housing publicly constructed and subsidized by the government.

Therefore the Housing Division proceeded to build fifty low-cost housing projects, owned and managed by the federal government. These projects, scattered all over the United States, are regarded as demonstrations of



proper housing for low-income families. They are now being turned over as rapidly as possible to local authorities.

In 1936 Congress authorized the Public Works Administration to make outright gifts of money — capital grants — to housing projects being constructed by state and local housing authorities. Capital grants were not to exceed 45 per cent of the cost of the project. The remaining 55 per cent of the cost could be lent by the Public Works Administration, but must be repaid within 60 years. A capital grant of this proportion would, except in the very largest cities, bring rentals within reach of the poorest third of the people.

*The United States Housing Act of 1937.* This law, signed September 1, 1937, is also known as the Wagner Housing Act. It established the United States Housing Authority. Through this agency the federal government, under a revision of the act (1938), guarantees loans made by banks

and other financial institutions to cities, counties, or states, if these local governments wish to put up houses or apartments which will rent at a figure suited to the incomes of the poor. For the building of homes the federal government guarantees the loan up to 90 per cent, the money to be paid back with interest over a period of 60 years. Capital grants may be made up to 25 per cent of the cost. Such a grant is termed a *capital subsidy*.

The local housing authority gets the money to pay back the federal loan from the rent it receives. But if the rent is low enough for the poorer families, the housing authority may not be able to earn expenses. The Housing Act therefore provides that the federal government shall make a direct gift sufficient to balance the loss. Such a gift is called a *deficit subsidy*.

How great the effect of this legislation will be no one can predict. It depends in part upon how extensively cities, counties, and states decide to go into the housing business with the aid offered by the federal government. It also depends upon how much money Congress will in future authorize the United States Housing Authority to lend. The act as passed in 1937 provided for the lending of 500 million dollars during a three-year period. This sum might result in the building of living quarters for three fourths of a million people. It is quite possible that the idea of publicly supported housing for the poor will grow in popularity. If so, the program may be enlarged.

It is significant that the contest over this legislation was not partisan. It was supported by many conservatives as well as liberals, and by Republicans as well as by Democrats. The strongest support came from the cities, where the slum problem is most acute. The chief opposition came from rural sections because of the belief that the cities would receive the chief benefit.

*Does Public Housing Compete with Private Enterprise?* Almost everyone who has studied the housing question agrees that government subsidy in one form or another is necessary if low-income families are to have decent homes. But a good many people are afraid that housing which is subsidized by

government will hurt private enterprise. There seems to be little ground for this belief, provided that no families are admitted to such houses who can afford suitable shelter offered by private landlords. Langdon W. Post, former chairman of the New York City Housing Authority, said:

It is our contention that government low-rent housing in no way offers competition to the so-called medium rental housing field. As a point in evidence we offer our experience at First Houses. Here we have 122 families, comprising 361 persons. In no case is the total family income in excess of \$1200, and the average family income per week is \$23.40. Allowing 25 per cent of the total income for rent, we find that these families could not afford to spend more than \$300 per annum for rent. Private enterprise can only offer squalor at this figure. To safeguard ourselves against applicants who were not entitled to low-rental housing, we subjected all prospective tenants to a most rigid investigation as to economic status, etc. On the basis of our own experience and on the basis of other housing authorities both here and abroad, it can be stated quite definitely that low-rental housing does not find itself in competition, directly or otherwise, with private enterprise.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. The class secretary should write to your Agricultural Extension Service for a list of publications; to the Office of Publications, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. for Bulletin 47, List of Publications; to the Superintendent of Documents for Price List 72, *Publications of Interest to Suburbanites and Home-Builders*; and to the Department of Agriculture for a list of farmers' bulletins. Use these in making a collection of pamphlets on housing and homemaking for your classroom library. Government bulletins are the best source of help for persons wishing to improve their homes at small expense.
2. Make a detailed plan for improving your own room. Include diagrams, color samples, a list of the needed supplies, and an estimate of the cost of the materials to be bought.
3. Make a careful study of what you and your family could do, at a cost within the family's means, to improve your home as a background for living. Discriminate between changes that would really add to the healthfulness, comfort, convenience, and beauty of the home, and those that you would like because they are fashionable, customary, or well-advertised. Draw up

- careful and detailed plans. Can you persuade your family to help you carry them out?
4. How could your homeroom at school be improved in appearance and convenience? What could your class do to make it a better setting for their activities?
  5. Look critically at other places in your school, such as the corridors, washrooms, locker rooms, and lunchrooms. Are they clean, attractive, and well-arranged? Do the students take responsibility for keeping them in good condition? Can you suggest changes that could and should be made? To whom should the suggestions be given?
  6. Find out what is being done in your state and in your community in the field of low-cost housing. Write directly to your state housing authority if there is one, or else to your secretary of state.
  7. Visit a low-cost housing project. If this is not practicable, obtain photographs of such projects. You can probably borrow photographs of good and bad housing and perhaps models from your nearest housing authority or housing association.
  8. Appoint a committee to study housing conditions in your community. Have any housing surveys been made there? Are there any spot maps showing delinquency rates, disease, and death rates, rentals, etc., in various districts of the community? Information about the housing situation can probably be obtained from your Community Chest, Red Cross chapter, Chamber of Commerce, health department, visiting nurse association, police department, and building inspectors, as well as from the public library. Compile the information gathered, type it, arrange it in book form with cover, title page, and index, and add it to the classroom or school library.
  9. Find out the type and location of housing available in your community at the various rentals. Add this, preferably in the form of a chart, to the class book.
  10. Is there a housing problem in your community? In what districts? What sections of the population does it affect?
  11. Sketch the floor plan of a house or apartment that would satisfy the minimum requirements of health and decency for a family of five. Where would guests sleep? Where would the children play? Where could the older boy or girl entertain friends?
  12. Make a study of rural and village housing. See Housing Division Bulletin No. 1, *Slums and Blighted Areas*, pp. 96-98,

and titles given on p. 123 of this same bulletin; also Volume VII of the *Reports* of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership.

13. Make a study of industrial housing. See *Housing America* by the Editors of *Fortune*; Muntz, *Urban Sociology*, pp. 148-53; and Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin 263, 1920, *Housing by Employers in the United States*.
14. Make a study of Negro Housing. Consult Volume VI of the *Reports* of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership.
15. Write a report on the housing program of some country in which you are interested.
16. Interpret the drawing on p. 365.

#### WORD STUDY

amortize	hidden subsidy	overcrowding
capital subsidy	limited-dividend corporation	rent subsidy
crowding	mortgage	

#### QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Discuss the functions of a home for the average American family.
2. Is it better for the average wage earner to rent or to own his own dwelling? Discuss fully.
3. What sort of dwelling can be obtained in your community for a rent of \$20 a month? On what income can a family afford to pay more?
4. Does your community have a surplus of dwellings for the upper income group? Evidence. Is there a shortage of dwellings for the low and middle income group in your community? Give your evidence and your explanation.
5. Why is private enterprise so slow in providing dwellings for the low income group?
6. Slum areas as a rule do not return to the city anywhere near enough taxes to pay their share in the cost of municipal services. What do you think should be done about this "hidden subsidy"?
7. Does it seem to you that a city can afford to exempt dwellings from taxation for such a period as is necessary to pay off their mortgages? Why, or why not?
8. "A slum is a social liability to a community." Discuss.

9. Do you consider the minimum standards for housing, as given on p. 357-8, to be reasonably satisfactory? Are they extravagant?
10. Do you consider that nearness to places of employment should be added to the minimum standards for housing given on p. 357-8? Why or why not? Would you make any other additions?
11. In what ways does the existing situation in housing render satisfactory family life difficult?
12. Do you believe there is any close connection between housing and mental health? Explain.
13. Describe a typical farm tenant home in your state. A typical farm owner's home.
14. How does tax exemption contribute to the solution of the housing problem?
15. How did the government housing program in England appear to be responsible for the boom in private building?
16. Do you think the statement by Mr. Langdon Post, quoted on p. 375, is sound? What people would probably not accept it?

#### READINGS

- Abbott, Edith, *The Tenements of Chicago, 1908-1935*  
 American Academy of Political and Social Science, *Annals*, Vol. 190, March, 1937. *Current Developments in Housing*  
 Annual Proceedings of the National Conference on Housing, *Housing Problems in America*. National Housing Association, New York
- Bauer, Catherine, *Modern Housing*  
 Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., Farmers' Bulletins No. 1513, *Convenient Kitchens*. Farmers' Bulletins No. 927, *Farm Home Conveniences*. No. 1738, *Farm House Plans*. No. 1749, *Modernizing Farm Houses*  
 Send for a complete list of farmers' bulletins.
- Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., *Care and Repair of the House. Furniture: Its Selection and Use. How to Own Your Home. How to Judge a House. Safety for the Household. You Can Make It. You Can Make It for Camp and Cottage*
- Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Housing Division, Bulletin 1, *Slums and Blighted Areas of the United States*. (This important bulletin takes up housing conditions in fifteen large cities, and lists state and local reports on housing.)

- Bulletin 2, *Urban Housing: The Story of the P.W.A. Housing Division, 1933-1936*. Bulletin 3, *Homes for Workers*  
Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D. C., Technical  
Bulletin 4, *Principles of Planning Small Houses* (Valuable)  
Editors of *Fortune Magazine*, *Housing America* (Easy reading)  
Ford, James, *Slums and Housing*, 2 vols. (Scholarly)  
Halbert, Blanche, ed., *The Better Homes Manual*  
Kingsley, Sidney, *Dead End* (Drama; how slums breed street gangs and crime)  
Muntz, Earl E., *Urban Sociology*, Part II, Housing  
New York City Housing Authority, 10 E. 40th St., New York City, free pamphlets include: *The Failure of Housing Regulation. Housing or Else. What Price Subsidy? Wages, Slums, and Housing*  
President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, *Reports* (Eleven invaluable volumes published in 1931-32)  
Riis, Jacob A., *How the Other Half Lives*  
White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, Vol. III, *The Home and the Child*  
Wright, Henry, *Rehousing Urban America*

# Chapter 19

## COMMUNITY PLANNING

*We have leisure — and we spend it in subways. We have invented a machine for speedy and easy movement, and it crawls at snail's pace through streets designed for buggies. We have come to know the increased value, the health-giving power of sunlight, air, open country, and we live packed in tenements or grimy rabbit hutches. At the same time our desires for a freer physical and spiritual life have increased.*

CLARENCE S. STEIN

DURING recent years our people have taken a new interest in community planning. They are trying to arrange the physical features of each community in such a way as to increase the welfare of all the people who live and work there or travel in and out of it.

*Community Planning Is Not Un-American.* George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were strong advocates of community planning. They employed the French engineer, Major L'Enfant, to design the national capital. Under their direction regulations were passed restricting the height of the buildings in the capital and specifying that they should be of brick or stone. Later, under pressure from real estate speculators, these ordinances ceased to be enforced. The notion spread that it was un-American and unconstitutional to interfere with the rights of private property. The result was that our cities grew up in a very disorderly fashion, with little thought for the health, convenience, safety, and happiness of their inhabitants as a whole.

During the last quarter of a century the necessity for community planning has become plain, and zoning regulations have been supported by the highest courts. In the famous

Los Angeles decision the Supreme Court upheld the right of that city to oust a brickyard from a residential district without compensation, although it had been in existence for many years. A greater interference with private property could hardly be imagined. Judging from this and other decisions, the United States Supreme Court seems willing to uphold community plans that have been developed locally and have clearly grown out of a local situation.

*Why Have a Community Plan?* It is sometimes thought that community planning is a substitute for the want of planning. This is not true. There has always been planning, by piecemeal, mainly by real estate developers in their private interests. But intelligent long-range planning for the good of the entire community has been rare.

A community plan is only a means to an end, and that end is *a physical structure that will improve the quality of human life in the community*. The community should be so arranged that it will be economically efficient, safe, healthful, agreeable — a good place to live and work and play. In so far as it is not a good place for all of its citizens, rich and poor, young and old, white and colored, it is a failure. The failure could have been avoided by far-sighted planning, and even now can be corrected.

Community planning in the United States has been undertaken chiefly by cities. It is needed in communities of whatever size. The fundamental principles apply equally well to the village and to the metropolis. However, the harm done from the lack of community planning most quickly becomes apparent when we study the growth and blighting of the large city.

*Rings of City Growth.* The modern city is highly centralized. In the business districts at its heart, often referred to as "downtown," banks, hotels, department stores, wholesalers, and light industries compete for advantageous location. Similar or complementary businesses tend to cluster together, so within the center are streets given over to the shopping district, financial district, the suit-and-cloak trade, wholesaling, steamship companies, and other types of business. Well-paid officials of these enterprises demand resi-



dences within walking distance; hence apartment hotels and expensive apartment buildings are to be found in the center.

Next to the downtown business district is a deteriorating zone. Once, when the city was smaller, this was a zone of middle-class homes. Business and industry intruded; the old residents moved to the suburbs, their places being taken

by the poor, chiefly immigrants and Negroes. The dwellings in this zone are not adapted for their present use. Some are one- and two-family houses. Cut up into dark, inconvenient apartments, they are overcrowded and out of repair. Others are badly designed tenements, cheaply constructed for the poor, and lacking almost every essential of decent housing. This housing, because it is so inadequate or so deteriorated as to endanger the health, safety, or morals of its inhabitants, may be described as a *slum*. Congestion and the absence of open spaces are the marks of this whole area.

Beyond the deteriorating zone is an active residential area. Its inner portion, near the slums, is occupied by workingmen's homes. Here live factory workers, store clerks, and office workers. They are thrifty and law-abiding. Many are second-generation immigrants. Their homes are neat and respectable. Beyond lies a more expensive district, occupied by modern apartment houses, residential hotels, and single-family houses. This district is likely to have numerous parks and playgrounds. Within it are subcenters resembling on a small scale the downtown business district, with department stores, branch banks, big cinema theaters, and industries. Still farther out are heavy industries which, seeking cheaper land, have moved here from the center. Their workers have followed, and monotonous, ugly houses crowded on small lots have been built for them.

On the outermost rim, apart from the industrial districts, are also high-class suburbs for the well-to-do. Here are elaborate single houses set in spacious landscaped grounds.

*Blighted Areas.* Deteriorating, or blighted, areas are found in every community. They are largest in the largest cities. They tend to expand, with ever greater loss to the property owners, and to the city in diminished taxes. They are of four main kinds.

One kind of blighted area is found near the center of a city. It is blighted chiefly because it is too congested and lacks open spaces. It is occupied by old and frequently overcrowded houses. The owners do not replace or improve these old dwellings because they expect to sell the land for business uses. They anticipate the continued growth of the

city, with a steady rise in the value of the land. But of late cities have been growing at the edges and not in the center. Moreover, industry at the center of the city has been expanding vertically instead of horizontally; it has been sucked up from many lofts into a few skyscrapers, so that instead of covering more ground it is covering less. Hence, the blighted residential district surrounding the central core has commenced to expand inward toward the center. There is no reason to suppose that this land will ever be more valuable than it is today. As a matter of fact every great city has, in the past decade, seen a shrinkage in the assessed value of property in the zone surrounding the center. Tax revenues from these areas have fallen off to an alarming extent.

A second type of blighted area is the business district that has deteriorated from a high-class to a second-class business use. For instance, lower Fifth Avenue in New York has been blighted as a high-class shopping district by the intrusion of light industry. Such change of use often affects land of high value in the center of cities. It is the result of changing demands and customs and of the shifting of population.

A third kind of blighted area is the deteriorated residential district that has not yet become a slum. It includes many suburban areas. Some have depreciated because of an improper mixture of uses. The scattering of stores, filling stations, and business places may have spoiled these neighborhoods, or they may have been spoiled for single-family houses by the erection of apartment buildings. Often these suburbs were blighted from the start because speculative builders filled them with long monotonous rows of ugly, inefficient houses. We can see street after street of these ill-planned dwellings on the outskirts of every city. They are often crowded on narrow lots without adequate sun or air or play space, too near to the noisy street, and separated from the adjoining houses by a narrow and useless side yard.

The fourth type of blighted area is the premature subdivision. There is hardly a city in the United States which is not burdened with them. They are created when land that should have been left in farms or woods is cut up into

house lots for which there is no demand. Frequently these subdivisions are provided with streets, water mains, sewers, and lights at enormous expense to the city. If the lots do not sell, the city will rarely be able to collect any taxes on the area. Hundreds of American cities have thus been brought to the verge of bankruptcy.

The continual spreading of these blighted areas has alarmed every thoughtful citizen. Unless the blighting can be checked property values will suffer more and more. The only hope of preventing further blighting appears to be through careful city planning. That is the reason why some 1800 American cities have adopted zoning and planning ordinances.

*The Choice Before the City.* The growth of population has already slowed up and in the future will probably cease. Cities will no longer be called upon to accommodate year by year additional throngs of people. While some cities will continue to grow slowly, others may gradually lose population. At any rate, very few, if any, cities will continue to grow both at the center and on the edges. Each city will likely have to choose between outward growth or the rehabilitation of the center.

For a long time the larger cities have been losing population at the center. Because of the congestion there and the unhealthful, disagreeable living conditions, those families who could move, have moved into the suburbs. The lower east side of New York lost more than half its population between 1910 and 1930. In twenty-four wards of Philadelphia between 1920 and 1930 the population decreased. Seventeen square miles in the heart of Detroit lost over one fourth of its inhabitants between 1925 and 1931. Loss of population is one reason for the decline in urban land values and the resulting decrease in tax revenues.

Could the blighted interior of the city be made over into a good place to live? Or should the suburban drift be allowed to continue? That is a fundamental question for each city to decide.

What would be best, in the long run, for the nation? Does city or suburb, when properly planned, offer the most desir-

able surroundings for the average family? These are questions that are not easy to answer. Perhaps we can form an intelligent opinion by studying the best achievements of the community planners.

#### THE PROMISE OF GARDEN HOMES

The easiest way to lessen the evils of urbanization is to decentralize both industry and housing. The gradual spreading out of industry and people to the outskirts of the great city has been going on for several decades. The movement of people into the suburbs was first made possible by rapid transit. It was further encouraged by the use of automobiles and the building of wide highways. Industrial decentralization began when the use of trucks made it practicable for industry to be separated from the docks and freight yards.

Most of the decentralization that has taken place has been haphazard. New suburbs have sprung up on speculative subdivisions without regard to beauty, permanence, or the most suitable land uses. Frequently blighted at the very beginning because of the absence of intelligent community planning, some of these suburban developments are rapidly becoming slums. Yet if decentralization were controlled and directed, it might provide ideal home communities. Demonstrations of what is possible have already been made.

*The Rise of the Garden City Idea.* About forty years ago an obscure Englishman, Ebenezer Howard, visioned a new type of city which, he predicted, would overcome the disadvantages of city life. His idea was to establish a *garden city*, combining the advantages of the open country with those of the town. As it has proved thoroughly practical, the plan will repay our study.

The garden city should be a complete unit, possessing all the utilities of an ordinary city, and containing industries to employ its inhabitants. To prevent speculation and to insure proper use, the land, Howard believed, should be held in trust or owned by the entire community. Lots would be leased for a long term, with restrictions to prevent all forms of overcrowding and to promote such construction,

arrangement, and use of the buildings as would make for the total welfare of the community. The rent from the lots would be used to pay interest on the capital invested in the community site, to pay off money borrowed to develop the community, and to construct and maintain the municipal works and services. The ultimate size of the city would be fixed; therefore the city could be laid out from the beginning in such a way as comfortably to accommodate all its future inhabitants. Howard thought that the ideal community should number about 30,000 people, a size conducive to good government and to the support of large stores, theaters, and other desirable features of city life. Later he decided that 100,000 people would not be too many.

The garden city is carefully laid out to procure the maximum comfort and convenience of all the inhabitants. Stores are grouped in shopping centers. Public buildings are grouped in a civic center. Ample parks and playgrounds are provided. Each dwelling has abundant lawn and garden space. Industries, warehouses, and farms are located in the outer ring of land. To eliminate unnecessary transportation and travel through the center, a belt-line railway and highway are provided in the outer ring.

Howard expressed the essential features of his plan in these words:

A garden city is a town planned for industry and healthful living; of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life, but not larger; surrounded by a permanent belt of rural land; the whole of the land being in public ownership or held in trust for the community.

*Garden Cities in England.* Howard's proposals were greeted in England with widespread interest and enthusiasm. Philanthropists and statesmen formed the Garden City Association. After several months spent investigating sites, it was decided in 1903 to build the first garden city at Letchworth, thirty-four miles from London. Its growth has been rapid, and fully demonstrates the soundness of the garden city idea. The land is owned by a corporation in the interests of the entire community; thus any increase in value

due to city growth (unearned increment) will be used for the benefit of the people in general.

To encourage new industries, the corporation has erected cheap workshops and a factory divided into separate units, which are rented to manufacturers. Factory sites are all on the railroad on the outskirts of the town, but not too far from the residential area for the workers to go home for their midday meal. Some of the houses have been built by private enterprise, some by the corporation, and some by the government. To guard against the loss of value which results when cheap houses are built close to expensive ones, houses of similar value are grouped together on streets set apart for them.

Letchworth is the first great modern experiment in building a planned city. Its success led to the founding of similar ventures in various parts of the world. Several complete garden cities have been established in England. Many garden suburbs and villages have also been founded there. Whereas the garden city is a self-contained unit, the garden suburb is a satellite community located within easy reach of a large urban center where most of its people are employed. The garden village is a residential community usually created to accommodate the employees of a particular enterprise. A number of far-sighted American employers have built garden villages close to their factories.

*Garden Cities in the United States.* The garden city idea has made rather slow progress in the United States. The foremost reason is that Americans are inclined to be extremely individualistic. They want to have their own property and use it for any purpose they choose; they are reluctant to subordinate individual gain to the welfare of the community. There are signs, however, that this characteristic attitude is now changing. At any rate, city planning and zoning ordinances are being adopted almost everywhere.

There are no complete garden cities in this country, but there are several notable garden suburbs. The best-known is Radburn, New Jersey, thirty-five minutes by train from New York. Begun in 1928 by the City Housing Corporation, a limited-dividend company, it is a striking example of what

intelligent community planning can accomplish. It is the first town ever built in which the place of the automobile is fully recognized and provided for.

To reduce automobile danger, noise, and dirt to a minimum, Radburn is laid out in large superblocks of thirty to fifty acres each and a mile or more in circumference. Within each superblock is a large open park with a system of footways leading into it from each house. The houses are grouped on short blind lanes, also known as dead-end streets or cul-de-sacs. Each house has two fronts, a motor entrance facing the lane, and a garden entrance leading to the park. The cul-de-sacs connect directly with the wide traffic avenues. The parks of the various superblocks are to be joined together by an underpass for pedestrians wherever they are crossed by a traffic street. In this way pedestrians will not have to cross a traffic street in going from any part of the community to another part, and children may walk from their front door to school without any risk from automobiles.

The ultimate size of Radburn is expected to be between thirty and forty thousand people. It will consist of several neighborhoods, each neighborhood being large enough to have at its center a modern school and community building, with athletic fields, swimming pool, and other recreational features. Each school and community building will stand in the middle of the continuous park which so ingeniously connects all the houses of a neighborhood.

Radburn is now occupied chiefly by commuters, but it is hoped that industries will come. A large tract of land on the railroad at the edge of the community has been set aside for industrial use. This area is carefully restricted so as to maintain ample light, air, and pleasant surroundings for all industrial plants. Radburn differs from English garden cities in that no permanent agricultural belt surrounds the town. This feature could not be provided in a community within a few miles of New York City.

The houses at Radburn do not remain the property of the City Housing Corporation but are deeded by it under suitable restrictions to individual purchasers. The architectural beauty of the town will be preserved by the control which the

Corporation reserves over the erection of all business, community, and public buildings. The parks and common open spaces are to belong to the Radburn Association, a non-profit corporation, which has the power to maintain the necessary community services and recreation facilities, and to collect from each resident his share in their cost. All residents belong to the Radburn Association and help determine its policies and activities. Among other projects it maintains a library, adult study classes, a forum, playground instructors, and a nursery. As the community grows, each neighborhood will have its own association as well.

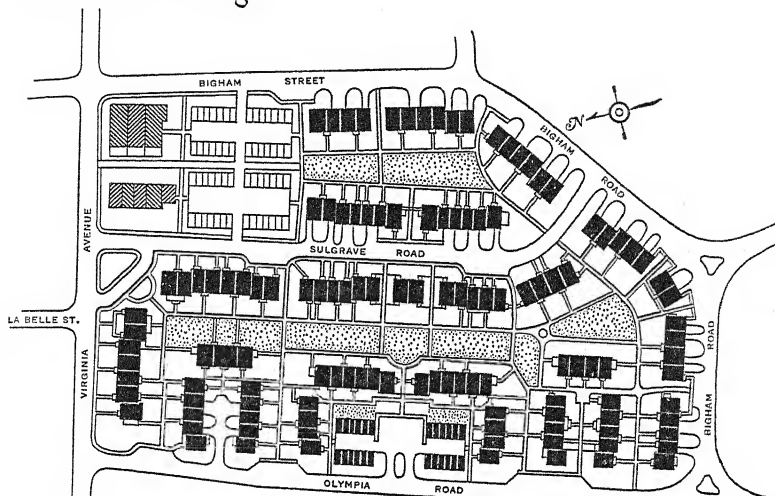
A second important garden suburb is Mariemont, Ohio, on the border of Cincinnati. Other garden suburbs include Sunnyside Gardens in Long Island City, developed by the City Housing Corporation, and the three greenbelt towns built by the Resettlement Administration, Greenbelt, Maryland, Greenhills, Ohio, and Greendale, Wisconsin. These model communities have attracted great interest. Perhaps they are the forerunners of an American garden city movement.

*Chatham Village, Pittsburgh.* Some of the advantages of the garden suburb can be obtained even within a city. This is demonstrated in several recent housing projects designed by leading city planners. One of these is Chatham Village in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

In 1930 the Buhl Foundation decided to invest some of its funds in a housing development in Pittsburgh. As it was important to secure an income from the funds so invested it was determined that the project should be a business proposition and not in any sense a work of charity. At the same time, it was hoped that the housing would not be too expensive for those of moderate income.

Forty-five acres of land were purchased two miles from the heart of the city. The land is on a hillside, which provided an interesting problem in architecture. Several different house plans were used to give variety. To reduce the cost of construction and also to save space for a park, the houses were built in groups of two to eight under one roof, insulated from each other by soundproof walls. Each has its own garden and lawn. The houses face away from the

## Chatham Village



*From Rehousing Urban America, by Henry Wright  
Courtesy Columbia University Press*

Chatham Village, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, exemplifies good planning. The houses are grouped, with two to eight units under one roof, separated by soundproof walls. The houses face away from the street. Parking bays are provided. Garages are grouped.

street on spacious parks in the interior of the blocks. Some of them are reached by motor from short dead-end streets, while others are reached from a winding road designed to discourage through traffic. Parking bays are provided for many of the houses. Garages are grouped, thus saving much valuable space. All poles and overhead wires have been eliminated. Rentals average about eleven dollars a room, without subsidy of any sort.

This project illustrates some of the best ideas of modern city planning. The plan is being widely studied and will probably influence other large-scale housing developments.

## MAKING THE MASTER PLAN

In an attempt to stop further blighting, most of the larger cities and many smaller ones have adopted zoning ordinances.

By zoning we mean the division of the community into zones, within each of which only certain kinds of buildings and certain uses of land and buildings are permitted. It is intended to protect property values by preventing a mixture of uses, such as factories in a residential section or apartment buildings in a section of small homes. Zoning rarely works well unless it is part of a long-term city plan. After a few years' experience with zoning, the community generally discovers that a master plan for the city is necessary.

We shall postpone further discussion of zoning until we have considered the making of a master plan which the zoning ordinances can help to carry out.

*Who Makes the Master Plan?* When a master plan is to be made a city planning commission is usually set up with general responsibility for seeing that the plan is prepared and carried out. The commission may be appointed or elected. Sometimes the planning agency is unofficial and is chosen by an organization such as the Chamber of Commerce. Experts are employed to help in drawing up the plan. If the plan is official, hearings will be held, and finally the citizens will vote to accept or reject it. The planning commission keeps the plan up to date, and informs public utility companies, business concerns, and private citizens of the principal features of the plan so that they may act in harmony with it.

*How the Plan Is Made.* Before a master plan can be prepared, it is necessary to make a thorough study of the community. A map of all the existing streets, railway lines, public utilities, parks, and waterways must be drawn. There must also be a "present-use" map, showing all the existing buildings, their conditions, and their uses. Then the population trend has to be studied in order to find out whether the community is growing or declining, to find out what sections are changing, and what future expansions will be required. Businessmen are asked about their needs for transportation. The school board is consulted, as are all other officials who may be able to guide the planning board in any part of its work. Months or even years of work may be needed to achieve a complete and satisfactory plan.

*Some Aims in Planning.* For a well-devised plan there must be definite and reasonable objectives. Some of the more essential aims are discussed below.

1. To improve the means of circulation. The streets of a city are the arteries of its life. If they are adequate for present and prospective use, they permit a free flow of traffic. If they are inadequate, they will bring about serious and costly congestion. A system of wide, well-arranged thoroughfares is essential. There should be belt streets affording direct travel between one section and another without passage through the central business district. Nothing preventable should be allowed to interfere with the choice of the best routes for the main arteries of travel. Through traffic should be diverted around rather than through the community. In residential areas curved and broken streets are desirable because they discourage through traffic. The cul-de-sac or blind street is finding favor in residential areas because it affords greater privacy and pedestrian safety.

2. To improve the location of industries. In the well-planned city suitable and well-located areas are set aside for heavy industry, light industry, produce markets, warehouses, and other types of business. Wholesale markets and industrial establishments are encouraged to find sites away from the center of the city. To make this possible careful thought must be given to the location of railway terminals, docks, and other transportation facilities. Industrial areas should be kept free from residences. Scattering of industries is to be avoided, since it increases the amount of haulage necessary, thus adding to the cost of maintaining streets and doing business.

3. To insure adequate recreational space. When a community neglects to obtain land for parks and playgrounds it is storing up trouble for the future. The time has come in numerous cities when it is necessary to buy costly buildings and tear them down in order to clear a few small spaces for recreation. Moreover, the money cost is only part of the story. The greatest toll is the public health and happiness that have been needlessly sacrificed. Here, as in other phases

of our social life, laissez faire has wrought incalculable harm.

It is now generally agreed that not less than ten per cent and preferably fifteen per cent of the area of a community should be reserved for parks and playgrounds. Children's playgrounds should be within easy walking distance of every home, for it has been found that children make little use of a playground more than one quarter of a mile away. Small parks should also be found in every neighborhood, where people can have quick access to trees, grass, and open space. Large parks within or very close to the city limits are also most desirable. Many cities have acquired great country reservations a few miles from the city limits for hikers, fishermen, picnickers, and campers. These cannot, of course, take the place of parks within the city.

What could be the most valuable recreational space in a city is the waterfront. As a rule American cities have allowed the waterfront to be largely wasted. Often it is occupied by unnecessary docks, coal yards, dumps, and shacks. The cities have begun to realize their mistake. Some of them are buying and reclaiming the land along the water for recreational use.

The redesigning of city blocks is another way that space can be found for recreation. In new construction it is becoming customary for the city to specify that not over one fourth, or in congested areas one half, of the lot shall be covered by the building. When an entire block is laid out at one time the proper placing of the buildings will insure a sizeable inner court that should be made into a park rather than wasted in tiny backyards. City planners are also advocating a change in the size of the block. It is thought that as many as ten ordinary blocks could be advantageously combined to form a superblock. Entrance to the superblock would be on dead-end streets. As there would be no traffic through the superblock, much space could be saved that otherwise would be needed for streets. The space saved would provide several acres of park at the center. This idea has been carried out and proved practicable on several large-scale slum clearance projects.

4. To plan sites for public buildings. In the past public buildings have often been wrongly located. Frequently they have been placed in the very heart of the city; business structures have grown up around them, destroying their aesthetic value. Seldom have they been assembled in a group, although this would add greatly to their efficiency. In modern city plans public buildings are, so far as possible, grouped in a center at some distance from the business and industrial sections. A larger area of cheaper land is thus available. A well-selected site provides an ample park for a setting and allows for expansion of the buildings. Cleveland is developing an imposing civic center on the lake front. Springfield, Massachusetts, San Francisco, and Denver possess beautiful civic centers. The new civic center of East Orange, New Jersey, shows what can be done by a smaller community.

Churches, clubs, lodge buildings, libraries, and other structures of a public or semi-public nature can frequently be grouped together to the advantage of the community. Such grouping will be encouraged by a good master plan.

5. To regulate the use of private land in harmony with the general plan of the city. In any community from 25 to 40 per cent of the total area is occupied by streets, parks, and other public places. The wise planning of these public lands will influence private owners. Many of them will voluntarily conform to the city plan, doing whatever they can to hasten the perfection of their community. Others, through ignorance or selfishness, will not wish to comply with the plan if it conflicts with their private interests. Little can be done, as a rule, to compel an owner to change the use of his property from the use he made of it before the city plan was adopted. Future changes of use may, however, be controlled by zoning regulations, or, in the case of outlying lands, by subdivision control.

*Zoning.* Zoning is the method adopted for regulating the use of privately owned land. It is a necessary part of every master plan.

The master plan lays down the broad general outline for the city through the arrangement of streets, parks, open

spaces, and transportation routes. But traffic can be controlled and guided, and public improvements made therefor, only when industrial and commercial districts are located with some degree of permanence. Accordingly, one of the primary objects of zoning is to stabilize the best existing conditions and protect them against haphazard change.

A large city may have the following zones: (1) single family, (2) multiple family, (3) local business, (4) general business, (5) light industrial, and (6) heavy industrial. A small community may need only two or three of these. Within each zone, the new buildings must all be for the same use, must be not over a certain height and size, and must cover not over a certain percentage of the lot. In a single-family zone only single-family houses may be built, while in an industrial zone no houses may be built. The distance which a building must be set back from the street is also usually regulated. In old cities famous for unusual architecture, the zoning ordinance may prevent the erection of buildings not in harmony with the existing style. This is an example of the effort to stabilize the best existing conditions.

Strict zoning is the best way to prevent blighted areas, since it avoids the improper mixture of uses. In an unzoned community many a citizen has put a lifetime's savings into a home only to find that his home is spoiled because a garage or a secondhand store has been built next door, or because an apartment building or some other large structure has shut off his light and air. The main street of many a charming village has been blighted by the erection of stores, filling stations, and cheap stands, which should have been restricted to a small area instead of being scattered. Had this been done, the money value of all the homes along the street would have been enhanced.

Zoning saves money to the taxpayers by making it possible to provide public utilities that are adequate to each particular district and will not soon have to be altered. An industrial district requires heavier pavements and wider streets than a residential district. But the residential district requires larger sewerage and water mains and more expensive street lighting than an industrial district. It is

greatly to the advantage of the taxpayers if all these differences in requirement can be taken into account when public utilities are built. In an unzoned community large sums of money are wasted because unexpected demands are made upon the public utilities. For example, lightly paved streets intended for passenger cars are ruined by heavy trucking, or a district netted by costly water and sewer mains is converted into an industrial area which needs only a small proportion of them, or apartment houses and business buildings go up where streets are too narrow to serve them.

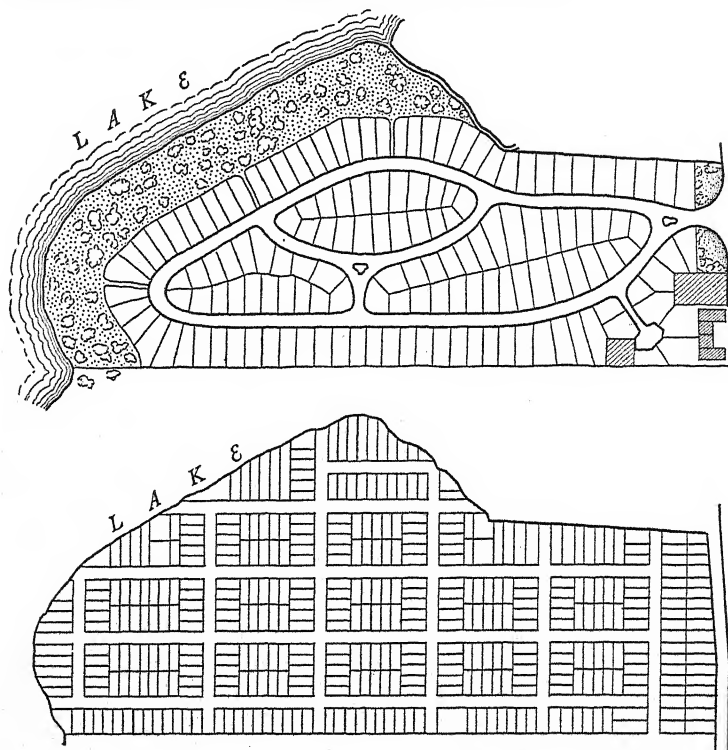
Proper zoning can insure that buildings will have light and air, also that they will not be so crowded that fire will spread easily from one to another. It can make sure that buildings on corners will not be so close to the street as to block the vision of motorists. It can prohibit the building of dwellings on land that is subject to flood, or so located that it cannot be economically drained. Zoning may also restrict the amount of store space to actual needs, thus protecting the investment of merchants and tending to reduce the expense of retailing goods.

Zoning can, of course, accomplish most when it is applied to undeveloped areas, particularly to new subdivisions.

*Subdivision Control.* Heavy losses have resulted to every city from the haphazard way in which subdivisions are commonly laid out. Sometimes low swampy areas are partly developed, and then the city has to drain and sewer them at exorbitant cost. Often the street plan of the subdivision is quite unrelated to other streets in the vicinity, creating difficult traffic problems. Still worse, large tracts are subdivided, and even provided with streets, sewers, water mains, etc., at the city's expense, only to prove unsalable. These mistakes are frequently made by ambitious real estate men, eager for high speculative profits.

There has been a popular belief that all land is potential building land. Our cities have grown so rapidly in the past that many property owners on the outskirts have made fortunes by subdividing their land. Today we know that population growth is slowing up. In the future only the best located and most desirable land ought to be laid out for

## Good and Bad Designs for a Subdivision



Courtesy, Federal Housing Administration

The lower map shows how one developer had intended to divide his property for the erection of homes. Above is the layout of the same land as suggested by the Federal Housing Administration.

dwelling. The remainder should be kept in farms, forests, or parks. To discourage unnecessary subdivisions some communities require the subdivider to pay for constructing streets and other public utilities on his development.

In the last thirty years great improvements have been made in the laws relating to city planning, and subdivision control has been much strengthened. However, legislation does not always result in better planning. In many places, for example, the law requires that the streets be laid out in the old-fashioned gridiron pattern. This pattern is frowned

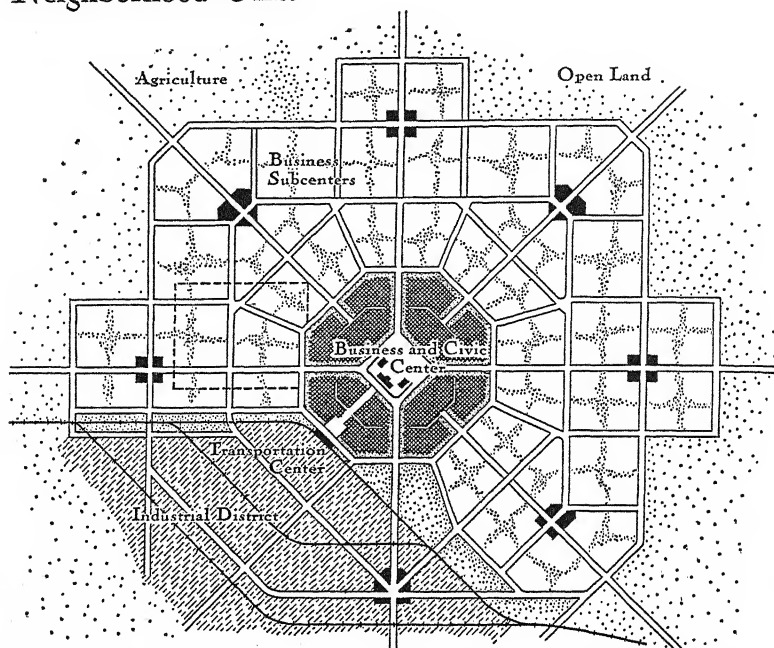
upon by modern street planners, since it results in small blocks, bordered by streams of through traffic, with consequent danger, dirt, and noise. Besides, a subdivision laid out in this way requires the maximum amount of paved streets, water mains, and sewer mains; these utilities can be provided at much less expense in a well-designed superblock. Instead of legislation that tells in detail how a subdivision must be laid out, it would seem better for the law to require merely that the plan of the subdivision be approved by the city planning board. Then each subdivision could be developed as best fits its topography, and in the light of the most recent knowledge of good civic design. The city planning board ought to do more than give rubber-stamp approval to a subdivider's plans. If the plan is studied by an expert, he can probably show the subdivider how to improve it.

As it is to the subdivider's own interest to create an attractive and convenient layout, he may be glad to accept the suggestions of an expert planner. He will be required, in any case, to set aside a certain proportion of the land for playgrounds, parks, and other public uses, and to lay out the streets in conformity with the city plan. It appears, then, that good subdivision control, like good zoning, is impossible unless there is a good master plan for the entire city.

*Regional Planning.* An adequate plan for a city cannot stop at political boundaries. In planning its principal thoroughfares, bridges, waterfront development, parkways, and larger recreational areas, the city must co-operate with neighboring communities. Its own zoning regulations afford little protection near its boundaries. For these reasons, city planning is fast changing into regional planning.

In some states each community has the right to regulate property in unincorporated territory within three to five miles of the city limits. In other states a county planning board is responsible for co-ordinating the planning activities of all the communities in the county. There are now over four hundred county planning boards in the United States. Frequently a group of cities join in creating a water system, a sewerage system, or a parkway system to serve the entire group. For example, Boston and the neighboring cities have

## Neighborhood Units



Courtesy Harvard University Press  
 From *Design for Residential Areas*, by Charles Adams  
 An ideal town pattern

set up the Metropolitan District Commission, to plan and operate their water and drainage systems and their parkways.

Nearly every state has a state planning board. A group of neighboring states may set up a joint planning board to study their common problems, such as flood control, inland waterways, and the protection of wild life. The oldest of these interstate planning groups is the New England Council, formed in 1925.

Regional planning agencies do not confine themselves to planning public works and other physical projects. As a rule they are also concerned with conserving natural resources, especially forests, wild life, pure water, and scenic beauty. Too, they can hardly fail to study population movements and trends.

Population movements are certain to continue, even though the total number of people in the nation will probably soon be stationary. There is a pronounced drift away from the smaller communities and into the larger ones. At the same time, as we have noted, the people of the large cities are spreading out at greater distances from the center. This suggests that most of the people in the United States will, before long, be living in metropolitan regions. How are they to be housed and in what sort of communities? In this population movement lie wonderful opportunities to create new communities and to reorganize old ones.

*The City of Tomorrow.* It is thought that the city of the future will be much less compact than the present-day city. It may occupy a great metropolitan district so carefully laid out and so well served by transportation facilities that its people can live close to their work in a semi-rural environment. Neighborhood life may be encouraged by carefully grouping the houses in neighborhoods of perhaps five thousand people, each with its own school, community center, and recreation grounds. Several neighborhoods separated from each other by parkways and perhaps by belts of farm land, might be carefully connected to form a regional city, with a university, art gallery, department stores, and other attractions.

There is no lack of land in and near our great cities. Even in New York City considerable land is now wasted. If all the land there that is now zoned for residences should be fully occupied, 12,000,000 people could be housed in buildings three stories high, leaving half the land for gardens and open spaces.<sup>1</sup> In the New York Region, which covers 5,528 square miles within fifty miles of New York City, there is space enough to give every family now in the region (including the residents of New York City) an acre of land, with plenty left for streets, parks, business, and industry. These computations prove that, if society chooses, any city can become a garden city.

<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. Ralph Walker, in an article in the *New York Times*, November 23, 1935.

## ACTIVITIES

1. Appoint a committee to find out what has been accomplished in the planning of your community. Find out what the zoning regulations are, and whether there is a master plan. How was the master plan made and how is it kept up to date?
2. Invite a city planning expert to address your class or to speak at a school assembly. Perhaps the chairman of your local planning board would address you.
3. List the beauty spots and eyesores in your community. Are the beauty spots safe for the future? What can be done about the eyesores?
4. Report to the class on the activities of your state planning board; your county planning board.
5. Is your state represented on an interstate planning agency such as the New England Council? What does this agency do? Obtain copies of its reports.
6. Make a curve graph showing the population growth of your community over a long period. Account for any pronounced fluctuations. Can you discern any recent tendency to level off? What is the maximum population anticipated by the planning board? Are any sections of the community gaining or losing faster than the others? How can you explain this?
7. Is your city more healthful and freer from accident than formerly? Obtain figures from the public library or board of health.
8. Describe the blighted areas of your community. How were they blighted? Is anything being done to rehabilitate them?
9. Give a lantern slide talk on neighborhood planning. You may make your own slides from cover glass bought at a photographer's supply store. Copy the diagrams you wish to use onto cellophane and insert between two cover glasses, holding them together with elastic bands. Excellent diagrams will be found in the Federal Housing Administration bulletin, *Planning Neighborhoods for Small Houses*. Or clip the diagrams from the bulletin and show them with an opaque projector (reflectoscope). Or make large diagrams which can be displayed as you talk.
10. Write a paper describing an English garden city or some American garden suburb. Illustrate it with original diagrams. The best papers might be typed and filed or bound in a book for the use of future classes.

11. Study the community planning aspects of several recent large-scale housing projects. Illustrated materials on government housing projects can be obtained from the United States Housing Authority in Washington. Save these materials for future classes.
12. Make a plan for developing a definite portion of your community, such as a civic center, the downtown area, or a subdivision. Or, if you live in a small community, make a plan for all of it.

#### WORD STUDY

blighted area	garden suburb	subdivision
cul-de-sac	group house	superblock
decentralization	rapid transit	unearned increment
garden city	satellite community	zoning

#### QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. What are the four types of blighted areas? How does each originate?
2. What is the choice that now confronts most cities?
3. Should decentralization be encouraged or should the cities try to combat it by clearing their slums?
4. What are the principal features of a complete garden city?
5. Distinguish between the garden city, garden suburb, and garden village.
6. What are the advantages of the superbloc?
7. Why are dead-end streets favored for residential areas?
8. Is Chatham Village successful as a low-cost housing project?
9. Does your community have adequate provision for recreation? If not, where should new recreational areas be located?
10. What are the advantages and disadvantages of grouping public buildings together in an artistic civic center?
11. Does your community have any distinctive architectural character?
12. How can planning reduce the danger of a city-wide fire?
13. What are the arguments for and against diverting through traffic from the main streets so that it will pass by a community?
14. Is all land near a city potential building land? Explain.
15. How can subdivisions be controlled?
16. Why does the city planning movement lead to regional planning?

17. What population changes and movements must be studied by city planners?
18. What has the city plan to do with: (a) the death rate? (b) the tax rate? (c) the growth of the city? (d) the value of real estate? (e) the personal comfort of the residents? (f) accident prevention?
19. Point out the desirable features of each of the community plans shown on pp. 391, 398, and 400. Do you find undesirable features?

#### READINGS

- Abercrombie, Patrick, *Town and Country Planning* (Readable, brief)
- Adams, Thomas, *Design of Residential Areas. Recent Advances in Town Planning*
- American Planning and Civic Association, *American Planning and Civic Annual* (Valuable short articles on planning progress in various parts of the country)
- Department of Agriculture, Farmers' Bulletin 1441, *Rural Planning — the Village*
- Department of Commerce, *A Primer of City Planning. A Zoning Primer*
- Duffus, R. L., *Mastering a Metropolis: Planning the Future of the New York Region*
- Federal Housing Administration, Technical Bulletin 5, *Planning Neighborhoods for Small Houses* and Circular 5, *Subdivision Development*
- Hegemann, Werner, *City Planning (and) Housing*, 2 Vol. (Scholarly, readable, stimulating)
- Hubbard, Theodora, and Hubbard, H. V., *Our Cities Today and Tomorrow*
- Moore, Charles, *Daniel H. Burnham* (Biography of a leader in the civic planning movement)
- Mumford, Lewis, *The Culture of Cities* (For the teacher)
- Muntz, Earl E., *Urban Sociology*, chap. x, Garden Cities
- National Conference on City Planning, *Planning Problems of Town, City, and Region* (Papers and discussions of annual meetings)
- Nolen, John, *New Towns for Old*
- President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, Reports, Vol. I, *Planning for Residential Districts*
- Resettlement Administration, *Greenbelt Towns*
- Wright, Frank L., *The Disappearing City*
- Wright, Henry, *Rehousing Urban America*

## Unit VIII

### *Can We Preserve Democracy?*

AMONG thoughtful people today there is an ever present fear — the fear that totalitarianism will spread over still wider areas and perhaps overthrow democracy altogether. This fear is deepest in the European democracies, but it is not absent here. More, perhaps, has been said about the danger of Communism, but it now looks as if Fascism were by far the more likely to spread.

How shall we defend our own democracy against the appearance of some strong “man on horseback” who will promise all things to all factions and sweep everything before him, as did Mussolini and Hitler?

The only safeguard is to make democracy succeed. A contented citizenry will not be tempted by the promises of a dictator.

In Chapter 20 we shall inquire what dictators have to offer. Why have certain European nations gladly exchanged democracy for the rule of a dictator?

In Chapter 21 we shall consider the party system in the United States, that device which arose without any authority from the Constitution. Chapter 22 is concerned with important experiments in improving the machinery of our government. Doubtless every reader will sooner or later vote on the adoption or discontinuance of these new methods.

In a democracy there is urgent need to safeguard the formation of public opinion. If it is truly to express the will of the people it must not be dominated by the propaganda of privileged groups. This problem is dealt with in Chapter 23.

Chapter 24 is occupied with the question, “War — Can We Avoid It?” Democracy may not survive another world war. In war democratic methods are set aside and people grow used to the loss of their civil liberties. The exhaustion following a war invites drastic remedies; a dictatorship may seem preferable to confusion and stagnation. Therefore, to preserve our democracy it behooves us to work with all diligence for peace.



## Chapter 20

### DO WE WANT TO PRESERVE DEMOCRACY?

*Two antagonistic ideas face each other today with regard to a state's relationship to its people. To a Mussolini the state is an altar on which the people should be willing to sacrifice themselves. To a democrat the state is an agency to liberate the people and give to each the largest possible chance. The contrast between those two ideas is deep and irreconcilable. They provide the irrepressible conflict in the world today.*

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

EVER since a group of men first developed a government there have been two opposing ideas of the relation between the state and its members. One view puts the state above the individual. The individual has no existence except as a member of the community, carrying out its will, living for its welfare, ready to die in its service. He may not use for his personal gratification the community resources of labor and material. He is not supposed to separate his identity or his personal profit from that of the nation. The community has a right to interfere in all of his affairs; he has no private life in which it is bound not to interfere. The state is more than the sum of its members. Its continuance must be assured at whatever cost to them. The state is a *totality* in which they are completely submerged. This view of the state is held by Fascists and Communists.

The other view puts the individual above the state. The state is for the individual, not the individual for the state. The government has no other purpose than to serve the people; they may alter its form, or if need be revolt against it, should it fail to carry out their wishes. Public and private life are quite distinct. The state may not interfere with the

individual's private life so long as he does no injury to others. The individual has numerous rights which the state may not restrict except to protect the rights of other individuals. This view came to be widely held after the Middle Ages. It took shape in the democratic form of government.

Today each of these ideas is struggling for supremacy. The area in which totalitarianism prevails is expanding. Various European nations have abandoned their democratic forms of government in order to adopt Fascism, and others may do so. Fascism appears to be gaining ground in Latin America. It has some followers in Great Britain, France, and the United States, long regarded as the strongholds of democracy. Will it eventually destroy our form of government?

"The struggle between two worlds," writes Mussolini, "can permit no compromise . . . . Either we or they! Either their ideas or ours! Either our state or theirs!"

What are the differences that divide these two worlds? And what could persuade a people to exchange democracy for a totalitarian system of government? Unless we can answer these questions, we shall not know whether democracy is worth the struggle to preserve it.

*A Glance at Political Structure.* Democracy is a system of representative self-government; that is, the people govern through representatives elected by majority vote. The representatives are responsible to the people and must account to them. The majority's right to govern is limited by the right of minorities to criticize and oppose the majority. There must always be at least one opposition party to point out mistakes of the party in power, and to give the people a real choice when they vote for their representatives. The head of a democratic government is either a president or a prime minister. Statutes are passed by a legislature, after prolonged public debate.

In a totalitarian state the people do not govern themselves. The head of the state is a dictator who has seized the reins of government and who can hold them so long as the armed forces of the state are loyal to him. He appoints the principal officials and they in turn appoint the less important officials. The officials are not responsible to the people but to the

man who appointed them. So-called elections may be held, but the voters have no choice of candidates, since only one political party is allowed. To belong to it is considered an honor and a privilege, a reward for devoted service to the leader of the party. Party members have great prestige. Their devotion to the leader is imitated not only by all who hope to become party members, but by all who wish to be in the fashion.

Opposition to the dictator is promptly and ruthlessly exterminated. At the same time every device of propaganda is used to build up his popularity. He wants to be considered the *leader* of the people, and speaks always as if he were their mouthpiece.

The structure of government is never so important as its spirit. We shall understand the two systems better if we contrast their ideas about liberty, education, and the law.

*Liberty — Blessing or Curse?* In the totalitarian state personal liberty is not valued and scarcely exists. To use the words of Mussolini, "The only freedom that can be seriously considered is the freedom of the state and of the individual *within the state*."

What did Mussolini mean by that strange phrase "freedom of the individual within the state"? It makes sense to Fascists or Communists but not to us. They might explain it as follows.

The individual is like a cell in the human body. The cell is free to do whatever it wants, but it cannot want anything not desired by the whole organism. Human beings are social cells free to do their part as members of the community. They are never free to act as if they were not part of the community. A community in which each individual has liberty would be like an organism whose every cell, instead of functioning in concert with the others, could walk off in any manner and direction that it liked.

Not only liberty but individuality itself disappears in a totalitarian state. Yet the person who believes in totalitarianism does not see or will not admit that anything valuable has been lost. What is the sense, he asks, of talking about individual liberty, since individuals are unable to



pursue any other course of action than that of the community to which they belong? John Smith consists of billions of cells. He could grant them any degree of liberty and it would not mean a thing. They are only parts of John Smith and must share his fate. The collectivist insists that for the masses of people there can never be any genuine freedom.

The democrat does not accept this view. He knows from experience that liberty and union can and do exist together. People may pursue individual interests without harm to the community if they will respect the interests of their fellows.

In a democracy, personal liberty is carefully safeguarded. The community may not infringe on the individual's right



of free speech, free assembly, and a free press, and his right of trial by jury. The government is his servant; he may criticize it in speech and in writing, and may take part in meetings of protest against it. If he is accused of breaking the law, he is entitled to a prompt and public trial by jury. If he belongs to a minority party, race, or group, he is entitled to protection should the majority try to interfere with his rights. He is free to belong to any religious body or none at all. Of course, he is not entitled to exercise his freedom in such a way as to prevent others from exercising theirs. As time goes on, the democracies find it necessary to restrict *economic* liberty more and more. At no point is it lawful

to interfere with individual rights for any reason except to protect other individual rights.

Only when the individual is free to think, study and discuss whatever he chooses, does individuality have a chance to develop. In a democracy individuality is held to be supremely important. It is the duty of the democratic state to provide opportunities for the masses — political, educational, and economic opportunities — which will nourish individuality. The first of these opportunities must be personal liberty.

It is true in the United States that civil rights (particularly free speech and free assembly) are sometimes violated. Labor organizers, members of unpopular political parties, and Negroes have repeatedly suffered from the invasion of their civil liberties. Meetings of share croppers of both races have been broken up and their leaders brutally flogged. Such occurrences are condemned by all who believe in democracy. They mock everything for which the founders of our country stood. They are unlawful, and can be prevented by the better enforcement of the law.

*Intellectual Freedom.* In a totalitarian state there is no intellectual freedom. Truth for truth's sake, science for science's sake, and art for art's sake, do not exist. Writers, scientists, and artists must be "politically conscious." Otherwise their work will not be recognized and they may not be permitted to continue with it. Many of the most distinguished scholars of Russia, Italy, and Germany are now in exile.

The intellectual in any of these countries has great difficulty in obtaining publications from abroad. Foreign newspapers and news magazines may be allowed only to foreigners and to citizens who are "politically safe," that is, whose loyalty is unquestioned. To listen to certain radio broadcasts from abroad is a punishable offense. At times it is dangerous to be seen with foreigners or even to receive letters from abroad.

Domestic newspapers are rigorously censored. If the editor of an Italian, German, or Russian newspaper should publish a chance word that could raise doubts of the perfect

wisdom of the government, he and the author would be sent to prison. The result of this censorship is a deadly uniformity of all the newspapers in the country. The same "facts" are taken from press releases and are accompanied by comments ordered for that day by the government bureaus which sent them out. News from abroad is played up or played down or omitted altogether at the direction of the government. This may be illustrated by daily secret orders issued to the Italian press by the Ministry of Propaganda. In the period May 1, 1936, to July 7, 1936, eighty-six orders were issued. Some of these forbade: mention of a new constitution that had been promulgated in the Soviet Union; mention of unemployment in Italian Africa; giving details of the successful strikes in France; estimation of how many soldier dead can be contained in a new military cemetery (for that might reveal discrepancies between the actual and the reported casualties in the African campaign).<sup>1</sup>

News of events within the country that might arouse criticism or dissatisfaction with the government is often suppressed. Thus the Russian people were kept in ignorance of the terrible famines that occurred over wide areas of the countryside in 1931-32. They were not informed of the true extent of the peasants' opposition to the collectivization of the land. News of train wrecks, mine accidents, and other disasters was for years excluded from the Russian press.

In a totalitarian country scientific research is not always free. The social scientist is particularly restricted. His findings must support the policies and doctrines of the dictator or he will be silenced and his work taken away from him. A true scientist, aiming after knowledge, projects his chain of reason and discovery into the unknown. He cannot know to what conclusions his research will lead. The dictator faces the scientist the other way about, assigns him his conclusion in advance, and tells him how to work backwards from it by inventing supporting evidence. Thus Hitler's notions of the superiority of the Aryan race have been bolstered up by

<sup>1</sup> These secret orders were published in a paper for Italians in Paris, the *Giustizia e Libertà*, and translated by Hamilton Fish Armstrong in his book *We or They?* p. 8, Macmillan.

the writings of pseudo-scientists. Outside of Germany science does not recognize the existence of the Aryan race.

*Totalitarian Education.* The task of the totalitarian state is to weld the millions of separate human minds into one. Independent thought must be abolished. Just as the cells of the human body must act, not as separate units but as infinitely small particles of the organism, so must the citizen identify himself wholly with the state. This is the meaning of the Italian emblem of Fascism—the bunch of thin, fragile rods bound together into the “fasces,” symbol of strength and power.

If the citizens are to be welded into one collective mind, it is not enough to supervise them and punish their misbehavior. They must be so conditioned that it is painful for them to think differently from their group. One so conditioned would feel insecure and lonely, even sinful, to be at odds with the community's opinions. To such a one the command of the state is as sacred as a religious taboo. To disobey it carries an automatic penalty, a sense of being unworthy.

Children born in a Fascist or Communist country are carefully brought up in this collective state of mind. They are not to be trained to think for themselves. They are to be completely loyal to and uncritical of their government.

Textbooks are carefully prepared. History is the subject that is most distorted. It can no longer be written with the aim of being an impartial description of events. It must glorify the nation and its present leadership. It must prove that those holding different ideas are traitors. German history books have been rewritten to show that all German misfortunes have resulted from non-Aryan (i.e. Jewish) influences. Defeat in the World War was due to the treason of the Jews; unemployment and suffering after the war was also the fault of the Jews. Similarly, history books in Soviet Russia are strangely distorted. The Old Bolsheviks, most of whom have lately been executed, are portrayed as traitors and spies; their heroic labors prior to the 1917 revolution and their services afterward are omitted. Russian children are taught that in no country in the world are the masses so

well-to-do as their own countrymen. The United States is described as a nation at the mercy of racketeers, with a vast number of unemployed who, homeless and hungry, wander up and down the land.

*Recreation.* In the totalitarian countries the playtime activities of the people are much more highly organized than is the case in France, Great Britain, or the United States. There is a genuine effort on a large scale to provide wholesome community recreations for everyone. Outings, summer camps, and inexpensive tours within the country are well supported. Public money is spent generously to promote physical fitness through sports and athletics. Party members are expected to give their time freely to organizing and leading recreational activities — hobby clubs, young people's clubs, excursions, and study groups. The underlying purpose of this effort is to knit the people more closely together, to make them more conscious of their membership in the community and more loyal to the ideas of the leader.

Perhaps nowhere in the world are children and young people so well organized as in Italy and Germany. Each age group is enrolled in national societies. Games, competitions, woodcraft, camps, parades, badges and uniforms, solemn oaths to swear — every childish interest is utilized. A deep collective feeling is aroused. Uniformity of ideals, loyalties, and thought is built up. Slowly the ties between child and family are cut, that nothing may interfere with perfect obedience to the state. Similar organizations for children are found in the Soviet Union, but as yet do not reach so large a proportion of the children.

Democratic countries are gradually doing more to meet the recreational needs of children and adults. But no attempt is made through recreation to produce uniformity of thought, or even to arouse loyalty to the government. Recreational leaders are not chosen, as in totalitarian states, for their "political consciousness." The young people's organizations such as Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Christian Associations, and the like are wholly free from government control. Their leaders, far from trying to build up strong

loyalty to the nation, are generally devoted to international brotherhood and world peace.

*The Attitude toward Labor.* Workers in totalitarian countries have few of the liberties normally given to workers in democratic countries. In Italy and Germany labor unions have been abolished. In Soviet Russia labor unions are fostered, but they are always dominated by party members and are rarely effective in protecting their members. To protest too loudly one's treatment by the government organization that employs him, is to invite the accusation of disloyalty. Workers may not go in a body to present a grievance to the manager of the enterprise employing them; their grievances must be handled by the party man in charge of their union. Since it may be risky for him to antagonize the manager of the enterprise, he is inclined to be soft-spoken. The labor union in Russia has weaknesses similar to those of the company union in the United States.

To strike in a totalitarian country is a criminal offense. Even to change jobs may be surrounded with difficulties. The personal preference and convenience of individual workers are not held so important as the need of the enterprise for a steady, experienced labor force. Movement from one job to another is therefore discouraged.

Workers with the proper totalitarian spirit will not wish to strike or demand anything for themselves that is not for the community interest. They will accept the goals common to the whole community, such as accomplishing a four-year plan for national self-sufficiency, a five-year plan to double industrial output, or the subduing and settling of Abyssinia, and will not grumble at the sacrifices involved. That most workers, especially the younger ones, are content to labor for the good of the state, as defined by the leader at its head, cannot be disputed. It is one of the amazing achievements of the totalitarian system. However, there are always some who dissent. Dissenters cannot be tolerated. They are promptly removed from the community, usually into concentration camps or labor colonies in isolated regions.

It is hardly necessary to point out how different is the democratic attitude toward labor. The right to strike is

denied only to firemen, policemen, seamen while on voyage, nurses, and others upon whose services human life and safety depend. Labor organizations are steadily winning greater power. Workers can leave one job and seek another whenever they wish. Moreover, real wages (measured in goods and services obtainable with money wages) are improving more rapidly in the leading democratic countries than where the totalitarian system prevails, in spite of constant propaganda to the contrary.

*The Contrasted Views on Law.* The ideal of all democratic peoples is to make law supreme. This means that those who wield governmental powers are not free to follow their own wills but must act upon accepted principles. According to this doctrine the head of the state rules under law and cannot make law. The law is made by the people themselves or their representatives. This doctrine is known as *the rule of law*.

In a totalitarian state the will of the dictator is supreme. He can suspend old laws and make new ones. The people are expected to obey without question. To be sure, his power to make law is always limited by his power to enforce it. It is to his interest to have the people accept any new statute cheerfully. Therefore he uses all the agencies of propaganda to persuade them that it is a good thing for the country. He claims that it carries out their collective will. Anyone who disputes this claim is promptly punished as an enemy of the state.

A dictator cannot flout the mores of his people. To do so would create a widespread sense of outrage. The people might even revolt against his rule. To take an extreme example, suppose a dictator issued an order making it legal for men to have two wives. In a country long used to monogamy, such an order would disgust and infuriate the people. Many would oppose it even at the risk of their lives. Unless the dictator could stamp out the opposition, he might be forced to flee the country. To overcome the opposition he would not hesitate to use all the force at his command. But could he count on the loyalty of his army? If the public were outraged by this order, would the soldiers not feel the

same way? Might they not turn against him instead of against the people? When the army ceases to obey, a dictator is lost.

A despot's subjects are not easily provoked to revolt. Before they will do so, they will endure great sufferings over a long period of time. Thus the dictator, in practice, has enormous power to make law as he sees fit.

In a democracy, the government has no such power. The passage of a measure that displeases the people may cause the government to lose the next election. In fact, the people may refuse to obey an unpopular statute, and juries will not convict them for so doing. Thus it is impossible for their representatives to make law that is contrary to their wishes.

There is yet another way in which the law in a totalitarian state differs from that in a democratic state. In a democracy the law is designed to protect individual rights. The government is hedged in at every step lest it infringe upon the liberties of the individual citizen. The citizen is free to seek the aid of the courts whenever he thinks the government is interfering with his traditional privileges. Thus the law is a means of holding the government strictly to its duty of *serving the people*.

In a totalitarian country the law is nothing but a means of regulating the people in *serving the state*. The people have no individual rights that the government is bound to respect. The courts will never protect a citizen against the government; on the contrary, the courts exist to help the government control the citizen.

In a democratic country no one can be punished unless there is a law already enacted to cover the crime. A person cannot be punished for an act which was not illegal at the time it was committed. One cannot even be arrested or held for questioning except as the law prescribes. One's house may not be searched for evidence unless a warrant has been obtained from the courts, and the courts are watchful lest a warrant be granted without good cause. In fact, the rights of the individual are so carefully protected that dangerous criminals, assisted by clever lawyers, sometimes avoid pun-

ishment altogether. But this fact does not disturb us so much as the fear that sometimes an innocent man may be convicted for a crime which he did not commit.

The situation is very different in a Fascist or Communist country. To begin with, the law is intended to protect the state, and little thought is given to the protection of the individuals involved. If a person does something which is thought to be opposed to the collective interest, he may be punished, even though there is no law that forbids his act.

#### THE STRENGTH OF THE TOTALITARIAN STATE

A person reared in a democratic country is quick to see in the totalitarian state features that he dislikes and perhaps abhors. He imagines that the people who dwell under dictators feel the same as he does, and that they are only waiting a chance to escape from their bondage. Prophecies that the Soviet government would soon be overthrown have appeared in our newspapers for years. Similarly, the downfall of Hitler and Mussolini has often been forecast.

Careful observers who have made themselves familiar with the situation in any of the totalitarian countries do not encourage us in these wish-fulfilling prophecies. They see little reason to expect that the dictators or their appointed successors will soon be overthrown. As a matter of fact, the masses of people seem to be satisfied with their leaders. As the older people die off, and younger ones, trained in perfect loyalty to the "party" take their places, the number of those who secretly oppose the government should grow less. Even today experienced non-Fascist observers find little evidence in Germany or Italy of opposition to the government.

What, then, does the totalitarian state have to offer? How does it win the willing support of its people?

*Speed and Efficiency in Time of Crisis.* The speed with which the totalitarian state may act is an advantage in an emergency, and particularly so in an international crisis. A dictator need not wait for the consent of a legislature, nor need he fear that the courts may declare his will unconsti-

tutional. His decrees are law. If he chooses he may cause a decree to go into effect the day it is issued. At the same time, his powerful propaganda agencies seek to convince the people of the wisdom of his decree, and to lead them to accept it as the true expression of their collective will.

In an emergency a democratic people may give autocratic powers to their government. This occurred during the World War. People cheerfully surrendered their customary right of criticizing the administration, since this would weaken it in waging war. In the United States the government was allowed to take over the railroads, to determine the prices of essential foods, to allot supplies of raw materials, and in other ways curtail the usual rights of private property. Unless a government has such powers, it can hardly carry on a war. Extraordinary powers were given to President Franklin D. Roosevelt to combat the panic that engulfed the country in 1933. Swift, decisive action seemed essential, and Congress did not hesitate to put huge sums in the President's hands to spend almost as he saw fit in dealing with the crisis. For the time being the people were glad to have a strong leader at the head of the government.

Except during an emergency a democratic government cannot embark on a new course of action without a long period of discussion. Bills must be framed and studied. Public hearings must be held, giving advocates and opponents of the measure a chance to be heard. Legislators keep their ears to the ground in order to discover how the people back home feel about the proposals that are to be voted upon. Months or years may go by before the bill is finally disposed of. Sometimes passage of a measure that is greatly needed is delayed because democratic processes are so slow. After it is passed and goes into effect, parts of it may be found clumsy and ineffective. A dictator could correct these with a stroke of his pen, but in a democracy the process of having the statute altered is so complicated that it may never be undertaken.

Believers in government by the people know that it can never move so rapidly and decisively as a dictatorial government. They consider that inefficiency is not too dear a

price to pay for freedom and the assurance that no despot can ever impose his will upon the people.

*Strong Foreign Policy.* The leader of a totalitarian state has a free hand in dealing with other nations. Whatever action he takes, no one at home will lift his voice in criticism. Every newspaper will endorse him. So far as any other nation can see, his people are with him to the last man. Even if they are not, he can quickly bring them into line by using his remarkable propaganda agencies. Therefore, when he makes a threat there is no doubt of his ability to do that which he threatens. For several years Hitler and Mussolini have been having things pretty much their own way when dealing with other countries. Great Britain and France, who would like to have checked them, found themselves unable to do so without going to war, and this they were unwilling to do.

Why is the spokesman of a democracy not a match for the leader of a totalitarian state? In the first place, the democratic spokesman practically never has his entire nation behind him. Usually many, if not most, of the people at home do not understand what he is seeking to do and are suspicious of him. Is he trying to draw the country into entangling alliances? Is he being too friendly with ancient enemies? Is he leading the country into war? He can seldom take a positive stand with the assurance that the people will uphold him.

Again, in a democracy the leaders of the government are in and out of power. A President may have a well-defined foreign policy, and in four years he is supplanted by another man with a very different idea about our foreign affairs. Democratic nations seldom pursue a consistent foreign policy for a long period of years.

In yet another way a dictator has the advantage in foreign affairs over the spokesman of a democracy. His people are taught that war is inevitable and necessary and that there is no greater glory than to die in battle. From early childhood every boy is trained to be a soldier. Unwillingness to fight is held in utter contempt. Over the gateway of the German youth headquarters are these words, "You were born to die for your country."

In a democracy the people are not only peace-loving but pacifistic. They hate war and insist that it be avoided at all costs. A democratic nation will not take part in a "preventive war," such as a war to prevent a dictator from tearing up the treaties he has signed, or to prevent him from seizing some helpless country. The dictator understands this very well, and therefore pays little attention to the protests of the democratic nations. He is sure that their protests will not be followed by any warlike action.

It should now be clear why Great Britain and France have allowed Germany to rearm, to repartition Czechoslovakia, and to annex Austria, and Italy to conquer Ethiopia and overthrow the democratic government of Spain, and why Japan was allowed to overrun China at will. Each of these acts was a violation of international law or of treaties; and each seemed to draw the world nearer the brink of a general war, which the democratic countries are extremely anxious to prevent. Great Britain and France protested the actions of Germany and Italy, and the United States protested the actions of Japan, but these protests were not strongly supported by public opinion at home. Furthermore, it was certain that none of the democratic nations would fight to compel Germany, Italy, or Japan to desist. Accordingly the protests had little practical effect.

*Power in Economic Affairs.* In a totalitarian state the dictator has no less power over economic affairs — the country's banks, business, and industry — than he has over other community interests. Economic individualism is no more encouraged than any other kind of individualism, which is not at all. All economic activity is strictly regulated or else taken over by the government.

In Soviet Russia the banks, factories, mines, railroads, farms, and other enterprises are publicly owned. Private ownership of the means of production is, with minor exceptions, forbidden. The individual may own a house and an automobile for his own use, but he may not own a business requiring any hired labor. Each farming village owns and operates the village land collectively, the members sharing in the product according to the number of days each has

worked. Scattered over the country a few individual farmers and craftsmen and traders can still be found, the last remnants of individual enterprise.

In Germany and in Italy the bare principle of private enterprise has been retained. But the businessman has very little freedom. The state fixes prices, wages, and profits, and prevents strikes and lockouts. The large banks and insurance companies are so closely supervised that their directors are more like state employees than agents of private interests. In Germany the government is now a majority stockholder in most of the banks, and thus has the deciding voice in their management. In both countries a sharp discipline is maintained over "profiteers" and "unsocial employers." The use of farm land and forest land is strictly regulated. Large farms have been broken up; the right to own, sell, or borrow money on farm land is severely restricted; the growth and sale of crops is dictated. Most of the public utilities — railroads, telephones, power plants and transmission lines, water systems, etc. — are publicly owned. In Germany the mines are publicly controlled. There is nothing in the Fascist system of government, nor in Fascist ideas, to prevent the state from taking over any branch of business or industry. In economic affairs, as in all other affairs, the Fascist leader can do whatever he thinks will promote the national welfare as he interprets it.

Economic individualism — freedom to appropriate the natural and labor resources of the community for private profit, and without government control — is sometimes thought to be an essential part of democracy. Yet it is now being checked in every democratic country. Business and industry are more strictly regulated every year. In the democratic Scandinavian countries, control over private enterprise is far advanced.

The United States was slow to attempt the control of private enterprise. So long as a virgin continent awaited development, private enterprise was given a free hand. With the disappearance of the frontier and with the rise of giant corporations, a new policy began to take shape. The people demanded that the power of big business be curbed. We

have been a long time in discovering how to do this, but progress is being made. For the past several years our representatives have been chiefly concerned with this very problem, and many important statutes have been passed. The highest courts have decided that the new statutes are, for the most part, in keeping with our basic law, the Constitution. If not, the people can change the basic law until it expresses their desires, for a democracy is obliged to give effect to the public will. There is no reason why we should have to sacrifice our democracy in order to achieve as much control over economic affairs as the people think needful.

*The Sense of National Glory and Unity.* Man is a social being. He is rarely satisfied for long to be alone. He loves to be a member of a group, to be accepted by it, to share its activities and help carry out its purposes. He readily identifies himself with the group, feels at one with it, and is proud of its achievements. The sense of group solidarity and unity is highly prized. It often leads to ill-treatment of outsiders, especially to any stranger who seeks admission to the group. Witness the scorn that narrow-minded people express when they use the words "Wop," "Hunky," "Chink," "Nigger." In Nazi Germany Jews are denied all the privileges of citizenship. They are treated as outsiders, even though they and their ancestors may have lived in Germany for centuries. The persecution of the Jews has been encouraged by Hitler in order to strengthen the sense of racial unity of the German people.

The sense of unity is one of the most important characteristics of the totalitarian state. All the people must be made to feel at one with the collective will. Each must be conscious of the collective purposes and devote himself to



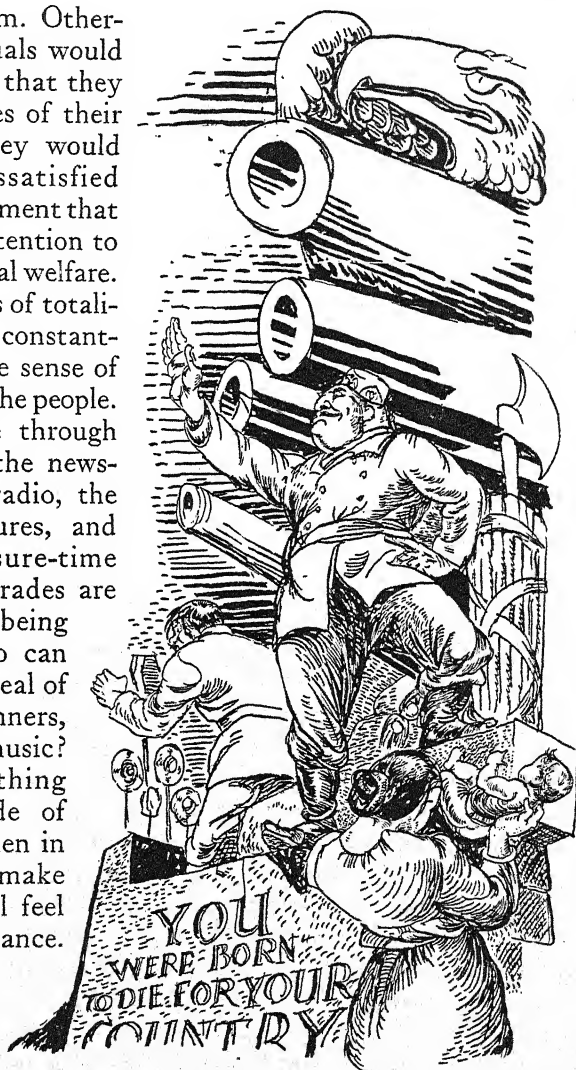
fulfilling them. Otherwise individuals would begin to feel that they have purposes of their own, and they would become dissatisfied with a government that pays little attention to their individual welfare.

The leaders of totalitarian states constantly nourish the sense of unity among the people. This is done through the schools, the newspapers, the radio, the moving pictures, and through leisure-time activities. Parades are continually being held, for who can resist the appeal of uniforms, banners, and martial music? There is nothing like a parade of well-drilled men in uniform to make the individual feel his insignificance.

Soldiers parade. Workmen parade. School

children parade. Girls and women parade. In the rhythm of marching feet, individuality tends to disappear. Everyone becomes a follower, instantly ready to obey the commands of the man at the top.

People feel their solidarity most keenly when they con-



front an enemy. That is why the leaders of totalitarian states exhort their people to make ready for war. The newspapers constantly whip up hatred against other countries. Mussolini boasts that Italy will recover the vast territories of the ancient Roman Empire. Hitler declares that the German people are to conquer most of Europe. Stalin, master of one sixth of the surface of the globe, disclaims desire for any more territory; the fear of German and Japanese attack is, however, so great that every ounce of his country's surplus has for years been going into preparations for defense. Russian newspapers are not only filled with denunciations of Germany and Japan but of internal enemies — "wreckers" and spies. By every device of propaganda the hatred of foreign and internal enemies is kept at fever heat. If it were not for this continuous campaign, could the hundred different nationality groups within the Soviet Union be kept together in a closely knit totalitarian state?

Travelers in Italy, Germany, and Soviet Russia are impressed by the spirit of the young men and young women. They are proud of their countries. They are ready to make any sacrifice that is asked of them, even the risks of war. They are conscious of being dedicated to the service of the nation, and each believes that his nation has a great destiny in store for it. The sense of dedication to a cause, of merging one's life in that of the group, brings happiness.

But it is not only a totalitarian state which can unite its people in a great cause. America was once so united. Her leaders were dedicated to the creation of a new form of government. They believed in it deeply, served it sacrificially, and roused the whole body of the citizenry to struggle for it. Our nation had a mission. There had been committed to it a social responsibility, failure in which would leave mankind the poorer. Our country was recognized as the scene of one of the great experiments of all time, where government of, by, and for the people was being tried out.

After a while America lost this unifying aim. People took for granted the heritage of liberty and self-government which had been transmitted to them by the founders of the Re-

public. They did not defend and uphold democratic principles with the ardor shown by our forefathers. Far too many today are apathetic and indifferent concerning teachings that would destroy democracy. Our people no longer feel that they have been trusted with a great mission. They are confused by economic troubles and political strife. Yet now, at a time when so few nations are left to represent democracy, could there be any higher aim for our country than to make democracy successful?

In a moving sermon, "How Much Do We Want Democracy?" Harry Emerson Fosdick asks for the rebirth of our patriotism.

It is a difficult task to make democracy succeed. Since when has any high task not been difficult? But I ask you, How do you like the alternatives? Look at Russia or Germany or Italy. How do you like the alternatives? . . . We know, whose roots are deep in this country's life, that the best and most satisfying elements in our personal, our family, our social experience, have been associated with the democratic spirit and ideal. And we know too, beyond a peradventure, that the democratic tradition belongs to this country, that, whatever other nations may do, our destiny lies there; that if that fails in our hands, then we have failed indeed; that our very reason for existence is to make democracy succeed. So history will judge us. So we should judge ourselves. I wish that today this insight and conviction might become central in the thought of every American, that our country might once more be seen as having spiritual aim and meaning.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. List ways in which a democratic type of government is superior to a totalitarian type.
2. List some of the weaknesses of democratic government.
3. Read aloud the first six amendments to the Constitution. Why was it considered necessary to include these?
4. "If a President of the United States," writes a well-known Washington correspondent, "had half the responsibilities and privileges attaching to the office of British Prime Minister, the cry of dictatorship would echo in every corner of the land." Report on the responsibilities and privileges of the British Prime Minister.

5. Report on the work of the American Civil Liberties Union, 31 Union Square, New York City.
6. Compare Fascism with Communism. Note that there are more points of similarity than of difference. Is there anything we can learn from either system?
7. Why are Fascists and Communists such bitter enemies? A good reader will find an interesting answer on pp. 100-104 of *The Fascist*, by E. B. Ashton. An easier discussion will be found on pp. 36-39 of *We or They?* by H. F. Armstrong.
8. Write out a list of the fields of human activity in which you think there should be little or no legal control over the individual. Give reasons briefly for including each item. List the fields in which you think that additional legal control is needed. Explain.
9. On a map of the world indicate by color or shading those countries now under dictatorial rule.
10. Report on the Jewish persecution in Germany and Italy.
11. Report on the activities of youth organizations in one of the totalitarian states.
12. Report on labor camps in Germany and on the attitude toward the woman worker.
13. Investigate the plans of the War Department to mobilize the United States in the event of war, and why it is feared that war may cost us our civil liberties. See "What War Will Mean to America," by Gordon Carroll, in the *American Mercury*, July, 1938; also, *Industrial Mobilization Plan*, a pamphlet which may be had free from the National Council for the Prevention of War, 532 17th Street, Washington, D. C.
14. What characteristics of totalitarian and democratic governments are depicted on pp. 410 and 411?

## WORD STUDY

Aryan  
civil liberty  
collectivism

communism  
fascism  
means of production

rule of law  
state  
totalitarianism

## QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. How does a dictator take and keep the reins of government?
2. Why does a democracy require two or more political parties?
3. Why does a dictator permit but one party? How does the one-party system help him to remain in power?

4. Mussolini says that a democracy, in so far as it actually affords liberty, is nothing but "organized contrariness." How would his followers explain this?
5. What are said to be some of the worthwhile accomplishments of Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin?
6. Contrast totalitarian and democratic attitudes toward law.
7. Show that a dictator cannot do exactly as he pleases.
8. Why can a dictator pursue a strong foreign policy?
9. Discuss other totalitarian features that make for strength.
10. Why did economic individualism flourish particularly in the United States?
11. "Liberty must be won anew by each generation." Explain.
12. Why must the constitution of a democratic country be fairly easy to change?
13. Construct a recipe by which a democratic government may commit suicide.

#### READINGS

- Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, *We or They: Two Worlds in Conflict* (Highly recommended; not difficult)
- Ashton, E. B., *The Fascist: His State and His Mind* (An important and scholarly book; for superior readers)
- Beach, Walter G., *Social Aims in a Changing World*
- Browne, Stuart, "A Professor Quits the Communist Party." *Harper's Magazine*, July, 1937
- Coker, F. W., *Recent Political Thought*
- Finer, Herman, *Mussolini's Italy*
- Fischer, Louis, *Soviet Journey*
- Ford, G. S., ed., *Dictatorship in the Modern World*
- Foreign Policy Association, World Affairs Pamphlet Number 8, *Germany under Hitler*
- Lewis, Sinclair, *It Can't Happen Here* (Fiction)
- Parmelee, M., *Bolshevism, Fascism and the Liberal Democratic State*
- Smertenko, John J., "Hitlerism Comes to America." *Harper's Magazine*, Nov. 1933, and "The Radical's Betrayal." *Harper's Magazine*, July, 1935
- Statesman's Year Book* (Issued annually)
- Swing, Raymond G., *Forerunners of American Fascism*

# Chapter 21

## HOW OUR PARTY SYSTEM WORKS

*The true function of political parties is that of formulating and presenting the alternatives between which people are to choose.*

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL

### POLITICAL PARTIES IN A DEMOCRACY

PEOPLE in all countries where they have a voice in the government are divided on the public questions of the day. They may express their views by membership in a political party.

A political party is an organization of citizens who work together to promote common political ideas. They do this by propaganda, by nominating and electing candidates for office, and by obtaining legislation to carry out party policies. The contrast between the party system in a democracy and that in a totalitarian state is enormous.

In a totalitarian state there is only one party. Its purpose is to serve the dictator and make sure that his ideas prevail. Its members comprise but a small minority of the population. In a democracy a minority party cannot get control of the government.

Members of the party in the totalitarian state are carefully selected for their devotion to the party leader. They are kept in the party only so long as their loyalty to him is unswerving. In a democracy any adult may join or leave a party at will. People are free to change from one party to another. When they do not like the leader of their party they may work to oust him.

In a totalitarian state all political policies are laid down by the dictator, and the party members, although without a

voice in determining the policies, are expected to do everything possible to help carry them out. Political policies in a democracy are determined by the members of the majority party. The leader of the party is supposed to carry out the wishes of the rank and file.

The party in a totalitarian state teaches submission to authority. In a democratic state all parties but the one that happens to be in power are more or less opposed to the government. These opposition parties propose changes in public policies. They encourage the people to take an interest in public questions and to make up their minds about them. The individual is taught that his opinion counts.

#### THE PARTY SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES

The makers of our Constitution had no model to guide them. They were planning the first democratic government on a national scale that had ever existed. They could not foresee in every particular exactly how the new government would function. Apparently they did not anticipate the growth of political parties. At least no provision is made for them in the Constitution.

*The Origin of Our Two Major Parties.* Our first political parties were called into being early in Washington's administration. Alexander Hamilton's followers — champions of a strong federal government, exercising broad powers — came to be called *Federalists*. The followers of Thomas Jefferson were champions of states' rights. At first they were known as *Republicans*, but their political descendants took the name of *Democrats*. Until 1932 the Democratic party has always resisted the tendency to take power from the localities and the states and centralize it in Washington.

Our modern Republican party was formed in 1854. Until recently it has always stood for a strong federal government, but at present it is pleading the cause of states' rights. Possibly this reversal of policy is partly due to strategic reasons — the need of enlisting the support of many former Democrats in order that the Republicans may again return to power.

*Minor Parties.* The United States is considered a two-

party government. We very seldom have more than two parties with national influence. Talk of a third party movement is often heard and sometimes, as in 1912, a strong third party appears. But since the Civil War no third party has ever become strong enough to defeat either of the major parties. When a strong third party appears one of the major parties usually will adopt its demands. The third party is then no longer necessary and generally drops out of sight.

Third-party movements since the Civil War have been interested in some special proposal like prohibition, or else have given expression to a general dissatisfaction with the conservativeness of the old parties. Third parties have demanded many reforms which finally were put into effect by one or the other major parties. Among these are prohibition, the regulation of railroads, income and inheritance taxes, postal savings banks, popular election of senators, antitrust laws, and farm relief.

*The Party Platform.* Every four years at a national convention each party draws up a set of political principles known as its *platform*. The separate items in the platform are called *planks*. The party pledges itself to abide by and work for the principles set forth in its platform.

The larger the party the fewer are the principles upon which all the members can agree. In either of the great parties the writing of the platform is a most trying task. How can the opposing sectional and class interests of the party members be satisfied? How please the manufacturers, who demand high tariffs, and the farmers who want low tariffs? How favor the let-alone policy demanded by employers, while at the same time heeding the wants of organized labor? How please little businessmen who want vigorous enforcement of antitrust laws, without losing the support and the large contributions of big business? The platform must please all these diverse groups. Therefore many important planks are frequently written in vague terms. Often the platform contains contradictions. Issues on which public opinion is divided are, if possible, "straddled"; that is, the plank is so worded that it can be interpreted in opposite ways.

The platforms of the two great parties are often surprisingly alike except in their strategy. This depends on whether the party happens to be in or out of power. When out of power either party will find fault with those in power. It will promise, if elected, to reduce taxes or to "clean up" the government. The party in power ignores criticism and prophesies only calamity if its opponents are elected. Knowing the strategy one can explain most of the differences in the platforms of the two major parties.

A minor party is united by a strong feeling of common interest. Its members are eager to bring about certain specific reforms which the major parties have so far refused to promote. The minor party has little or no hope of electing men to office; its purpose is to educate the public to demand reforms from the major parties. Consequently the platform of a minor party is likely to be clearly phrased and definite in meaning. Often minor parties advance some visionary scheme of social reform and then soon disappear.

*Wings in the Parties.* In each major party there are different wings. The *conservative wing* consists of those who are satisfied with things as they are, who revere the past and wish to conserve it. They desire above all that government shall have order, stability, and safety.

The *reactionary* groups are those so extremely conservative that they fear and oppose all suggested reforms and changes. Their eyes are fixed on the past. They feel that the government should not waver from the teachings of its founders, no matter how greatly conditions may have changed. They proclaim loudly "what was good enough for my grandfather is good enough for me."

The *liberals* or *progressives* are those who seek reform. They are optimists, willing to experiment, and eager to have the government adjust itself to new conditions in society. They believe that governmental methods often need modification.

The *radicals* are those who want to get at the root of every difficulty quickly. They are impatient to perfect society and are willing to try drastic remedies. These people frequently represent the revolutionary type of mind, and do

not always consider carefully the possible results of their proposals.

Both major parties are largely composed of conservatives, with a considerable sprinkling of reactionaries. There is usually a small liberal wing as well. The leaders of the liberal wing are apt to be called radicals by those who oppose reform. Real radicals, however, are generally found in a minor party.

A conservative Democrat is more like a conservative Republican than either is like a liberal. In fact many of the liberals in either major party grow weary of its refusal to face vital issues and withdraw into minor parties or else become independent of all parties.

*The Functions of a Party.* The major political parties carry on their work in the same way. Their principal functions are as follows:

1. The party nominates candidates for office.
2. The party conducts campaigns. It distributes literature, arranges meetings at which the voters may become acquainted with the candidates, stirs up interest in public questions, and works actively to get out the voters on election day. Without the party to take charge of these matters, each candidate would have to conduct his own campaign. This would certainly increase the expense and confusion of elections.
3. The party educates the public. The platform, the campaign literature, the advertisements, and the speeches, all help to arouse interest in government. The citizen hears questions discussed from various angles. In presidential campaigns he is asked to take his mind from local affairs in order to consider the welfare of the country.
4. The party in power has another function. It fills all government jobs, except those provided for by civil service examination. As there are nearly two million government jobs not yet under civil service regulation, the party in power has here a tremendous source of strength.
5. The party in the large city has still another function. It maintains ward clubs. These are social organizations. They serve the common people by maintaining recreation

rooms which are open every night. In addition the ward club conducts free picnics and outings, and gives banquets and parties. Membership is open to any member of the party on payment of very small dues.

6. In cities, the party does various types of welfare work, especially for the poor and ignorant citizens who do not know to whom to turn when in trouble. The party leaders secure legal aid, charity, medical care, and other services for these people — services which are usually paid for by the city or by welfare agencies, but for which the party gets the credit. Thus it binds a large mass of citizens to it by bonds of gratitude.

#### HOW THE PARTY IS ORGANIZED

In the excitement of an election it may seem that the candidate who makes the best speeches will win. But the personal popularity of the candidate is not so important as it seems. Elections are more often won by strong party organization than by oratory.

*The Precinct Leader.* In every city precinct the party has an official known as the precinct leader or executive. He is often a minor city employee. In any case, he is a man who is popular among the people of his precinct. He represents his party in the precinct and is never too busy to do favors for the citizens.

His principal duty is to see that the candidate which his party heads want is nominated at the primary, and that the candidates who run without party backing are defeated. This is not hard to accomplish, for the simple reason that, as a rule, very few citizens take the trouble to vote at the primary. There are on the average 600 voters in a precinct in our large cities. Suppose 250 of them belong to his party. At the very most only 125 of them will vote. Therefore 63 voters will be enough to nominate his party's choice. Among his friends and relatives, together with members of his party who hold government jobs, and their friends and relatives, he can usually control 63 votes without any difficulty.

His next most important duty is to try to get every member of the party to go to the polls on election day. This is

accomplished by friendly pressure and by sending automobiles for those who wish transportation.

*The City Boss.* Precincts are grouped either into wards or into larger districts, such as aldermanic districts. The ward or the district also has its party leader or executive, who is responsible for the precinct leaders. The ward or district leader is usually a man of considerable influence in his district, who can make friends for his party. He frequently has a good job at the city hall and knows how to secure city aid for the various poor and bewildered citizens who turn to him with their difficulties.

The most influential of the ward or district executives becomes, by common consent, the city leader of his party. He is frequently spoken of as the "boss." On account of his political influence he is a very important man in his city, and without his support no one can become a candidate of his party. He is a fighter, a shrewd judge of men, and an expert in practical politics. He may prefer to remain obscure. He works hard to place as many party workers in jobs as he possibly can, for in this way he makes sure of their support.

Political bosses are found not only in cities but also in counties. The strongest boss in a state tries to run the state party organization. He may succeed in dominating all the other bosses in the state and forcing them to do favors for his friends. Sometimes a state boss in a rich industrial state has even tried to control the national party. But no one boss is likely to succeed in running the national or state organization of his party over a long period.

The strength of a boss depends on how much patronage he has to bestow — that is, how many favors he can do for his supporters. These favors include jobs, relief, lower taxes, influence with the judge or with the building inspector, contracts, and influence over legislators. Those to whom he has given or promised favors will vote for his candidates, and persuade their friends to do so. If his candidates are elected, they will show their gratitude by doing political favors to those whom the boss recommends. In fact, the favors that the boss has to give come chiefly from those whom he has placed in office. When his party has been out

of office a long time, and few of his friends occupy positions in the government, the boss has little patronage to bestow.

In a general election the bosses of the rival parties are pitted against each other. The boss whose party is in power usually has the advantage. All those for whom he has done favors will probably go to the polls and support his party. However, a boss has much less influence in a general election than in a primary election. In a general election the large body of independent voters may vote for either party.

The word "boss" has come to have a sinister meaning because many bosses use their influence to enrich themselves and their friends at the public's expense. Not all bosses are crooked. Sometimes the boss is an honest man who enjoys his position as party leader simply because of the prestige it brings. A few bosses have stood for clean politics and good government.

*The State and National Committees.* At the head of the party in each state is a committee. Formerly the members were appointed by a convention of party delegates from every community in the state. The state boss got the convention to choose for committeemen those he had selected. Now in most states the committee is elected at the primaries. This change gives the local bosses more power than formerly.

Besides state committees each party has a national committee made up of two members (a man and a woman) from each state. These members may be selected by the state committee, by the state delegates who attend the national presidential convention, or at the primaries. The last method seems to be the most democratic.

These officials receive no salaries for their party work. They raise money for campaign expenses, publish campaign literature, hold rallies, and direct the campaign. Some committee members work hard to advance their party's interests because of a sincere belief in its principles. Others enjoy the prestige that committee members have. Many hope to benefit personally by the success of their party.

Besides state and national committees there are also local and county committees. They conduct local campaigns and are responsible for getting out the voters on election day.

Local committeemen or members of their families get most if not all of the lucrative jobs at the polling places on election day, as well as other favors at the command of their local leader or boss.

The system of committees, together with the leaders or bosses, is known as the *machine* or the *organization*. Without the machine the party would not be able to function.

Since the support of the machine is in almost every case necessary for election, nearly all candidates try to do as it bids. In this way the machine is able to control legislation and appointments to public positions. A "straight" party man is one who follows strictly the dictates of his party machine. He does this because he hopes to be re-elected or appointed to office.

*Temptations of Party Leaders.* The party leaders have great power because practically everyone who runs for public office is obliged to seek their support. The leaders are beset with temptations to use their power for their own advantage. Many party bosses grow rich from the gifts they receive for doing favors.

Two groups of persons are forever pursuing the party bosses for favors. One group is composed of office seekers and job seekers, who may want anything from an appointment as judge or a nomination for governor, to a mere job as a street cleaner or a scrubwoman. Every party official is hounded by persons who want government work.

Members of the second group desire business favors. They want a contract to supply something to the government, or they want legislation that will promote their private businesses. They are willing to make a substantial gift to any boss who will use his influence to secure what they desire.

Many corporations seek franchises from the city council or the legislature. The franchise gives a corporation the exclusive right to build railroad lines, to set up a telephone line, to build a subway or an elevated railway, to run gas or water mains, or in some other way to make use of public property for private gain. Now the franchise frequently creates a monopoly, and as a result may lead to enormous profits. Sometimes the legislature restricts the amount of

profit to be earned, or limits the franchise to a definite period of years, or in some other way attempts to safeguard the public interest. The corporation seeking the franchise prefers not to have any such restrictions. It is very likely, therefore, to bargain with the boss of the majority party in the legislature for his help in securing a favorable franchise. All the boss has to do is to let the party members know how the machine wants them to vote. They obey him because they believe in supporting the machine. They usually do not know that their votes have been bought and paid for.



With great fortunes at stake, it is not surprising that many a party leader in the past has yielded to temptation. He has used his skill and knowledge of politics and his power to give or withhold public office, to keep the legislators in line. If the legislators were disobedient he could, when their terms expired, elect others who would obey him. His power was multiplied by campaign gifts from the corporations which he favored. Jay Gould, famous railroad builder, once said: "I wanted the legislatures of four states, and to obtain control of them I made the legislatures with my own money; I found this plan a cheaper one."

The period of greatest corruption in the United States came in the last third of the nineteenth century, while in-

dustries and public utilities were expanding most rapidly. The party machines were dominated by selfish, unscrupulous bosses; the public was either ignorant of their control or powerless to escape it. The legislators and other public officials were usually mere tools of the machine, ignorant of the harm being done, though some of them were as guilty as the bosses. Because of these evils the progressive movement sprang up at the turn of the present century. It aroused the people and initiated many reforms, amongst them the direct primary, popular election of senators, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall of elected officials. These will be described in the following chapter.

Such political corruption as we have noted arises from four conditions. They are:

*Neglect of Voting.* The electorate includes all persons eligible to vote. In the United States a considerable fraction of the electorate never votes. Amongst these people who do not exercise the voting privilege are many women.

More people vote in general elections than in the primaries, but unless it is a presidential year less than half of the electorate goes to the polls. In a presidential year, especially when national issues stir the country deeply, sixty per cent of the people may vote. The proportion of our people who vote is less than it was seventy-five or more years ago, and much less than it is today in Great Britain, France, and Canada. Is it possible that democratic privileges are more highly valued in the other democracies of the world?

The small proportion of ballots cast in the primaries is disheartening. The primary is far more important than the general election. If the men nominated by each party are honest and capable it does not matter much who wins the election. Moreover, in states dominated by a single party (as in the South), success in the primaries is equivalent to election. Yet frequently only one in ten of those eligible to vote goes to the primary. The result is that independent candidates have little chance to defeat machine candidates. When the election arrives, the voter has no choice except between the candidates of the two machines.

*Exaggerated Party Loyalty.* Many of those who vote do not consider the merits of the candidates, but blindly follow their party. They always vote Republican, or always vote Democratic. It has often been said that in a presidential year a man would vote for a yellow dog if his name appeared on the ticket of his party. The bosses encourage this kind of loyalty. They claim that anyone who "scratches" or "bolts" the ticket is a traitor. Knowing that most of the party members will vote a straight ticket (i.e., vote only for candidates of their own party), the bosses try to have at the top of the list a candidate of good reputation. This is known as "perfuming the ticket." Farther down the list, for the less important offices, they may place candidates who have no merit except the desire to obey the boss. These will be voted for almost automatically.

It is plain that blind party loyalty, especially the voting of a straight ticket, is a great help to corrupt party leaders.

*Division of Responsibility.* Our government operates by a complicated system of checks and balances. The founders of our republic were afraid to give too much authority to any one branch of the government. Accordingly, our national government has three branches, each of which is independent of the others. These are the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches, or the President, Congress, and the Supreme Court.

A similar system of checks and balances operates in state and in city government. The executive, legislative, and judicial branches are strictly separate. In cities the responsibility may be divided among state, county, and city officials as well as independent agencies, such as a sanitary district or a park district. In one great city there are three separate police forces which operate on the main thoroughfare.

Independent commissions have multiplied in national, state, city, and rural government until there is a tremendous degree of overlapping of authority and division of responsibility. In such cases one official will wait for the other one to do the work, and as a result it may not be done. When extravagance occurs or negligence is discovered, the blame cannot be placed on any one official if several are responsible.

When it is easy to shift responsibility, fraud and corruption can easily arise.

*Lack of Good Candidates.* England has a very happy tradition which encourages men of good education and family to seek office. Because of this, the English government in recent times has not only escaped serious corruption, but has been known as one of the most progressive governments in the world.

In the United States few men of good social position are willing to run for political office. Political offices are largely filled, therefore, with "self-made" men, who have risen from the ranks of the common people. Some are men of fine character, sincerely desirous of promoting the best interests of the public. But more of them are strongly motivated by the drive for personal security; their early poverty has filled them with the determination to feather their own nests by any means that offers. They do not hesitate to use public office to advance their private interests.

Because politics has so often been in the hands of unscrupulous men, the very word "politician" has a bad flavor. "Politics," say the cynical, "has become the trade of managing the state in the interests of the men in possession and their friends." In consequence of the widespread contempt for politicians, men jealous of their good name frequently hesitate to take office. The scarcity of good candidates only makes the situation worse.

Correctly defined, politics is the science and art of government, and a politician is one who understands this science and art. We need genuine politicians — as many as we can get. Politics ought to attract from all walks of life those who desire to serve their fellows. There is no calling in which they can do more for the public welfare.

*Conclusion.* In a democracy men may have the best government they are willing to work for. They do not have to tolerate greedy bosses and self-seeking officials. Time after time when corruption in some locality has grown so bad as to arouse the citizens, they have organized to defeat the machine and elect honest officials. But to "turn out the rascals" is not enough. Unless the citizens remain vigilant,

corruption will soon reappear. In American cities distinguished by their good government there is generally a strong nonpartisan citizens' association. Such an association promotes honesty and efficiency in government chiefly in three ways: (1) by interesting every citizen in voting, especially in the primaries; (2) by drawing those of the best qualifications into office; (3) by improving the mechanisms by which government contracts are let, supplies bought, and appointments made, so as to reduce the opportunities for corruption. In the next chapter we shall examine ways to improve the mechanisms of government.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. Obtain copies of the platforms of the two leading parties, of the Socialist Party, and of any minor party that interests you. Insert these in your notebook. Compare them as to (a) strategy, (b) evasiveness, (c) progressive ideas, (d) hope of being realized in whole or in part. Try to be absolutely fair and unprejudiced.
2. From a historical account, or from the official platform in Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*, make a list of the planks of the Populist Party and of the Prohibition Party in 1888. Find out which of the planks of these radical parties have since been realized through constitutional amendment, statute, or practice.
3. Report on how Tammany once operated. See Chapter V, *The Boss and the Machine*, by Samuel P. Orth; *Boss Tweed*, by Dennis T. Lynch, or other references.
4. Report on the boss as a friend of the common man. See *The Great Game of Politics*, by Frank Kent, pp. 28-32; also *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, pp. 617-19.
5. Report on a mayor's opportunities for money-making, pp. 174-175 of *American City Government*, by Austin F. MacDonald.
6. Make a list of outworn ideas that hamper city government. See pp. 143-63 of *American City Government*, by MacDonald.
7. Visit a ward club in the evening. Talk with the precinct leader or some committee member about the club's activities. Ask what is done for people in trouble who come seeking help.
8. Organize a mock legislative body in the classroom. Introduce and pass bills.

9. Organize a group and elect your officers with the same election machinery your community uses. Register the voters, and hold a primary election and a general election.
10. Make a visit to your city hall and report how the city council conducts business.

## WORD STUDY

conservative	party	progressive
electorate	politics	radical
franchise	precinct leader	reactionary
machine	primary	

## QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. How do most people choose their political party?
2. What is an independent voter? Is it more desirable for intelligent voters to withdraw from or to work through a party?
3. Should we pay attention to the platforms of minor parties, even when radical? Why?
4. Is it a waste of time to belong to a third party? Reasons?
5. What is the strategy of the party in power? Out of power?
6. Why do party machines not favor the extension of the civil service system to all government jobs?
7. What business favors are sought from the party boss?
8. Why is it so difficult for an independent candidate to secure nomination where there is no primary election? Where there is a primary?
9. What are "election stickers?" Why do "stickers" campaigns so seldom succeed?
10. If the machine is to be defeated, this must be accomplished at the primary. Why? Outline a campaign by which this may be done.
11. Why do political job holders vote a straight ticket?
12. What is meant by "perfuming the ticket?"
13. Why did the founders of our government distrust democracy?
14. How did they show this distrust?
15. Explain how responsibility is divided under our present political institutions.
16. In your state how are the members of the local Republican and Democratic committees chosen? Delegates to the various party conventions?

17. Are party bosses necessarily dishonest? Explain.
18. Are political machines necessarily corrupt? Explain.
19. What fact helps to explain the fine government enjoyed in England?
20. Were you a party boss, what sort of person would you endorse for nomination to an important office like mayor or governor? Would this sort of person be likely to attract a large number of voters?

READINGS

- Adams, Henry, *Democracy: An American Novel* (Laid bare the spoils system and helped bring civil service reform)
- Buchholz, Heinrich E., *Of What Use Are Common People?* (Animated study of politics.) U. S. (A lively book on political actualities)
- Churchill, Winston, *Coniston. Mr. Crewe's Career* (Novels depicting political corruption)
- Cottler, Joseph, *Champions of Democracy* (Readable)
- Kent, Frank R., *The Great Game of Politics. Political Behavior* (These interesting books show the strength of political machines)
- MacDonald, Austin F., *American City Government*, pp. 338-48, *The Boss*
- Munro, William B., *Personality in Politics*, pp. 42-78, *The Boss*
- Orth, Samuel P., *The Boss and the Machine*
- Shepherd, William G., *The Boys' Own Book of Politics*
- Steffens, Lincoln, *Autobiography* (The life story of a reporter who revealed the corruption in American city government)
- Whitlock, Brand, *Big Matt* (An interesting novel of the temptations and problems of a governor)
- Zink, Harold, *City Bosses in the United States*

# Chapter 22

## EXPERIMENTS IN DEMOCRACY

*Democracy is not just one of several schemes of government. It is the ultimate in government, the mean to which all extremes are transformed when their excesses are removed and their deficiencies are supplied. It is the best and most complex form of government, as the human body is the highest and most complex form of organism.*

ARTHUR E. MORGAN

*The Demand for Better Government.* All over the United States there is a growing demand for better government. Much of the outcry is for cheaper government, that taxes may be reduced. At the same time many citizens are eager that the government undertake new functions, such as providing low-cost housing, and that many other government services, such as provision of public parks, higher education, and public health work, be extended. Some citizens, on the other hand, are reluctant to have the government assume new obligations, because they say there is so much inefficiency and even downright corruption in the administration of the functions it already has.

Our government has entered many fields of service which were formerly not considered to be the business of government, and which were probably not contemplated by those who wrote our national and state constitutions. Much of our governmental system is today inadequate for the work it is trying to do. Fortunately, many citizens are aware of this and are actively trying to improve the system. Hence in every part of the United States, and in every unit of government — town, county, state, and national — we see experiments being tried out. Enough has already been ac-

complished to prove that our government is a growing institution, gradually adjusting itself to new conditions.

Particularly since the beginning of the present century our government has been changing in two directions. One of these is reform in its structure and administration. This may be seen in such improvements as the merit system, centralized purchasing, the unification of conflicting and overlapping departments, and the one-house legislature. The other path of reform is the improvement of elections and the more direct control of public officials.

#### REFORMS OF GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE AND ADMINISTRATION

*The Merit System.* The adoption of the merit system and its development in recent years have perhaps done more than any other piece of legislation to purify politics. Whenever a party came into power it used to make a clean sweep of government jobs, discharging all who belonged to the opposite party and employing its own party members in their places. Public business, therefore, was often in the hands of inexperienced persons who would lose their positions when their party was defeated. To correct this system of "spoils," Congress, in 1883, passed a law establishing the Civil Service Commission. This commission holds examinations for persons desiring the minor government jobs, and appoints them on the basis of merit. Once appointed they cannot be discharged for political reasons. Since 1900 civil service has been greatly extended. At present this commission controls two thirds of the 800,000 jobs in the national government.

The merit system has made rather slow headway against the opposition of the professional politician. Although New York adopted the plan in 1883, only fourteen other states have followed, five of them very recently. Four hundred and fifty cities have the merit system, as have about 1200 of our 3070 counties. About thirty per cent of our 3,500,000 public employees have been appointed under a merit system. Unfortunately many of the laws providing for the merit

system were carelessly written and do not eliminate political influence.

When all public employees are selected by merit and none secures office as a favor, the greatest temptation of the politician will have disappeared. It will then be very difficult for the political boss to control nominations, for there will be few job holders who are under obligation to him. The army of job holders who now go to the elections and regularly vote as their party machine desires, will be free to vote as they choose.

Civil service reform is undoubtedly one of the most important ways of reducing political corruption, since it so greatly reduces the number of favors within the control of the political boss. A boss without favors to bestow would soon cease to be a boss.

*Centralized Purchasing.* Another way to reduce corruption and to make government more efficient and less extravagant is to safeguard the purchase of government supplies. Formerly a great deal of the taxpayers' money was squandered. Officials bought supplies of their friends. They rarely had expert knowledge of the goods they were to buy. This haphazard procedure led to terrible waste, even when it stopped short of dishonesty. New York City in the days of the Tweed Ring paid \$4.50 each for common wooden chairs and \$500,000 for a small office safe. The same corruption prevailed in many large cities and to some extent in nearly all units of government.

The federal government has become a very efficient buyer. Its supplies are purchased in enormous quantities, after advertising for competitive bids. The goods must meet specifications prepared by the Bureau of Standards, otherwise they will be rejected.

Most of the state governments now have a commission or a purchasing agent to buy all their supplies. By pooling the orders of every department and institution, drawing up specifications, advertising for bids, and testing the goods when delivered, great savings are effected.

Towns, cities, and counties have lagged behind in this matter. One argument for the adoption of the city and

county manager plan is that a manager can be responsible for all purchasing. A number of cities have hired trained purchasing agents. Whenever responsibility for a task is placed on a single individual, the voters can easily decide whether he is doing it as it should be done. The temptation to graft is thereby diminished.

*Safeguarding Contracts for Public Works.* At one time in New York City contracts were let to build a city hall for \$2,500,000. In less than three years more than \$8,000,000 had been spent on the structure. Corruption in the building of public works has been a commonplace throughout our history. When the contractor receives his costs plus ten per cent, he may seek to pad the costs in every imaginable way. When a contract is let to the lowest bidder he may make an unwarranted profit by skimping on the quality of the materials and workmanship. Sometimes the bidders get together beforehand and agree that all the bids shall allow a large margin of profit. The successful bidder can then split his profit with the others, and still have more profit left than if the bidding had been honest.

The Public Works Administration is noted for having given unusual attention to the safeguarding of contracts. The careful drawing of specifications, the wide advertising for bids, the repeated rigid inspection of each project by different government engineers, has minimized the opportunity for fraud. Were the same methods applied by every unit of government in contracting for public works, one of the richest sources of political favoritism would be cut off.

*Reorganization of State Government.* One of the most decisive trends in our political system is the reorganization of state governments. Of late years state governments have been subjected to widespread criticism; they are said to be wasteful, inefficient, and often corrupt. Among their chief defects are: (1) duplication of service in which several departments do a similar work; (2) lack of centralized authority; (3) difficulty of placing responsibility for mismanagement; (4) retention of the spoils system which places men in office not on their merits but in return for political favor; (5) too many independent bureaus and commissions.

In some states from twelve to eighteen positions are filled by public election. It is believed that we would have a more responsible state government if more of the state officials were appointed by the governor. Several states have recently adopted new constitutions giving the governor power to appoint officials to many of the positions formerly filled by election. This centralizes the responsibility and authority in the hands of the governor. He will be blamed if there is mismanagement.

During the past fifty years, with the rapid development of industry and social welfare institutions, state regulation became necessary. It was the policy to create commissions, boards, bureaus, and divisions for every new interest that the state took up. As a result there were created scores of independent state agencies with overlapping duties and conflicting interests. One state institution was often directed by a half dozen or more agencies. About twenty years ago a movement began to reduce the number of state agencies. In 1924 the State of New York had 169 state bureaus and commissions; today it has twenty. A few years ago Indiana and Illinois each had more than one hundred separate state agencies, and now each has less than a dozen. Pennsylvania has reduced its number of state departments from 134 to less than twenty. Since 1915 about one half of the states have made changes in their constitutions, providing for a more centralized government and for a consolidation of the state bureaus and departments. So great are the advantages of the new plan that after having adopted it no state has returned to the old system.

*The Unicameral (One-House) Legislature.* The successful reorganization of the executive branch of so many of the state governments has aroused interest in the reform of the legislative branch. The serviceability of the two-house legislature is being questioned.

The two-house legislature is copied after the British Parliament. When our first state constitutions were written, each of the thirteen states provided for a two-house legislature, except Georgia and Pennsylvania, which for a time used the one-house system. The extravagance, inefficiency, and bick-

ering of legislative sessions, with the disgraceful lobbying (and often corruption) behind the scenes, have caused many citizens to question whether the two-house legislature is adapted to our conditions. It is claimed that no difference really exists between the two houses, and that there is a great waste of time and money at every session. One house may refuse to vote for a worthy measure passed by the other house simply because the latter did not act favorably on some bill passed by the former. Each house attempts to shift responsibility to the other, and the public cannot easily tell who is to blame when good measures are killed or bad ones enacted.

The advantages claimed for a unicameral legislature are: (1) a small membership of carefully selected persons; (2) the house is simply organized and easy to understand; (3) there is a great saving of money by having a smaller salary roll, by the elimination of numberless clerks, attendants, and secretaries, and by the reduction of printing; (4) there is strict responsibility for policies and for law enactment; (5) there are fewer committees and less bickering and delay in legislation. Incidentally, not one of our twenty-five largest cities has a two-house lawmaking body, and there is no fundamental difference between city and state government.

The one-house legislature has its critics. Some argue that the very efficiency of the unicameral legislature is a defect. A bill can be introduced, studied by a committee, reported back to the house, and enacted in a fraction of the time usually required by a two-house legislature. This may encourage hasty passage of bills that, if argued over for a period by two houses, would either not pass, or would pass only after numerous changes. It is also argued that since a one-house legislature has fewer members than a two-house legislature it cannot so easily represent all districts and all classes of people. Part of the opposition is purely selfish, fearing the loss of a large number of desirable jobs.

For more than twenty years the unicameral legislature has been discussed, and occasionally has come before the people of some of the states for a vote. Today there is a growing feeling that a one-house legislature would give us

better state government. In 1934 the people of Nebraska passed a constitutional amendment to provide for it. The legislature in this state is now composed of forty-three members, elected on a nonpartisan ballot for a term of two years. No more than \$37,500 can be spent for salaries, which is divided equally among the members. The legislature meets every two years. One of the most important changes in law-making is that no bill can contain more than one subject. Committees are few in number; and the citizen can easily understand what is going on in the legislature. Only 581 bills were introduced in the first session of the legislature, and less than half (226) were passed, most of which were amendments to existing laws. A study of the present financial condition of Nebraska, of its system of taxation, and of its freedom from heavy bonded indebtedness, suggests that the unicameral legislature is another important step in making state government more efficient and serviceable.

Doubtless the experiment of Nebraska will be carefully watched by officials in other states. In 1937 twenty-one state legislatures considered bills to investigate the unicameral legislature or to amend their constitution to provide for one. The movement has gathered sufficient force to command the careful attention of students of government and of the country in general, and if the plan works well where it is tried it is likely that many state legislatures will become unicameral.

*Reform in City Government.* It has been said that the most corrupt and inefficient government in the United States is city government. This may be because our cities have grown so rapidly.

Three types of city government are in use in the United States today. The oldest is the mayor-council type. The mayor and the council are elected by the people, usually for a term of from two to four years. Each of the councilmen represents a district of the city and is independent of the other members. Under this type of government it is very difficult to place responsibility, and for this reason corruption is likely to creep in.

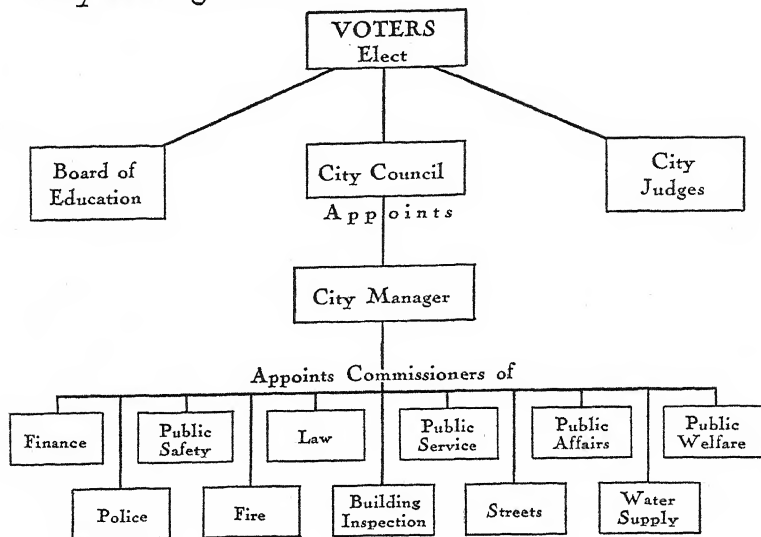
The mayor-council type of government became so ineffi-

cient, cumbersome, and corrupt that about thirty years ago a new kind of city government was introduced. It is known as the commission type. Three, five, or more commissioners are elected at large in the city, together with a mayor. They constitute the lawmakers for the city, and each is responsible for a certain department of the city, such as police and street, fire and public improvements, finance, or sewerage and the water system. About four hundred cities now have this form of government. It is an improvement over the mayor-council type in that the governing body is smaller, dissatisfied citizens can easily locate the official who is responsible, "graft" is more easily detected, and each commissioner represents the city at large and not one district. But there are some shortcomings in this type of government. The commissioner may be elected not for his ability but because he is well liked. It is felt that authority is too much scattered among the commissioners and that there is too little power given the mayor.

As the defects of the commission plan of government were realized, it was replaced in many cities by the city-manager plan. A council, usually consisting of three or seven members, is elected from the city at large. One of these council members may be called the mayor, but his duties are practically limited to acting as the presiding officer or chairman of the council. The council determines the general policies of the city, decides what shall or shall not be done, and passes such ordinances as are required. It also appoints a city manager, who need not be a resident of the city but who should be a highly trained expert in city administration. The city manager is responsible for the smooth running of every department of the city administration. He is, therefore, usually allowed to name the head of each of the departments, and he naturally tries to secure an expert for each position, since he is solely responsible for the way each of the departments carries out its work. He may be discharged at the pleasure of the council. It is to his interest to get the best possible service for the taxpayers' dollars.

The advantages claimed for the city-manager plan are as follows: (1) responsibility is centralized; (2) the spoils sys-

## City Manager Plan



tem can be eliminated; (3) it insures more capable executives; (4) it is easy to understand and corruption can be readily detected; (5) a manager can be selected without regard to politics. These advantages do not automatically follow. When the citizens are indifferent a political machine may choose both council and manager, and dominate the government just as under the mayor-council system. If the city-manager plan is to work, the manager must be carefully selected solely on his merits. Furthermore, he should have the backing of a strong, nonpartisan citizens' association determined on getting honest, efficient government.

The city-manager plan nearly always works better than the old method of city government. It works especially well in cities which have proportional representation (to be explained later), for in this way a superior type of council member may usually be obtained, with less risk of machine control of the council.

Most of the cities with a city manager are small, the exceptions being Cincinnati, Rochester, Yonkers, Kansas City, Norfolk, Dayton, and Fort Worth. In large cities the

professional politicians generally succeed in blocking the adoption of the plan. They do not wish business methods to be applied to running a city's business. However, the trend everywhere is toward the simplification of municipal government and the centralization of responsibility. Where the old mayor-council plan has been retained, the mayor has generally been given greater powers, such as the sole right to appoint and remove department heads, and greater authority in framing the budget, approving contracts, and vetoing acts of the city council. These desirable changes come about only through the insistence of citizens' organizations. Where the voters take little interest in the affairs of their city they cannot, of course, expect to enjoy good government.

*Home Rule for Cities.* One of the most troublesome political questions is the relationship between the city and the state. A single city may have more people than all the rest of the state. Yet its representatives are outvoted in the state legislature by rural representatives who have little understanding of the city's problems. The great cities commonly find much difficulty in getting permission from the state legislature to change their government in any way.

Twenty states, mostly in the West, have granted a measure of home rule to their cities. Under home rule the city, within certain limits, is free to manage its own affairs without seeking permission from the state legislature.

*Municipal Research Bureaus.* In most of the large cities there is now a municipal research bureau. It is supported by private contributions and its purpose is to develop sound methods for administering the city. These research agencies are nonpartisan. The results of their studies are made public, that the citizens may know exactly where the city government may be improved. The rapid spread of the budget system and of modern accounting methods is due to the efforts of research bureaus. They have also worked for more scientific assessment methods, for better methods in selecting public employees, and for centralized purchasing. Gradually the administration of cities is becoming more efficient.

*The Unification of Rural Government.* Our rural government was designed at a time when the stagecoach was the

fastest means of transportation. There were very few large towns, and cities were few and far between. It was necessary to divide the state into small units if local self-government was to be successful. Therefore the states were divided into counties, and the counties were further divided into towns in New England, and into townships, school districts, road districts, and various other small districts in other parts of the country. In some states today there are as many as twelve or fifteen different overlapping units of government.

Some students of government believe that below the state there should be only one other division of government. It is claimed that in this way a great deal of expensive overlapping could be eliminated, and more efficient service obtained at a much lower cost.

Today, because taxes are so burdensome, experiments in this direction are going on in many parts of our country. One of the most radical of these experiments has recently been established in North Carolina. A number of the services formerly administered by the separate counties have been taken over by the state. It has already been demonstrated that these services can be administered considerably cheaper by the state than by the counties. Taxes have been reduced by millions of dollars a year. Many states have taken over such county services as the care of the insane, the feeble-minded, the orphans, and the poor, and the building of roads and bridges, all of which can be performed far more efficiently by the state than by counties. Education, once wholly in the hands of local school districts, is increasingly directed by state authorities. The patrolling of highways and the policing of rural areas is coming to be a state responsibility.

In a few states some services performed by townships and other small districts have been taken over by certain counties and a county manager employed to administer them. This makes a strong, unified county government. The county-manager plan works very much in the same way as does the city-manager plan. The county manager has no jurisdiction over the courts or over the conduct of elections,

and for the schools he usually acts only as a purchasing agent. Durham County, North Carolina, San Mateo and Sacramento counties, California, and Albermarle and Henrico counties, Virginia, have the county-manager type of government.

Another proposal for the betterment of rural government is the consolidation of counties. Several states have a hundred or more counties, some with only a few hundred inhabitants. A county official may cover several counties more quickly today than he could have covered a portion of one county fifty years ago. County consolidation would result in great economies and in more efficient service, but little headway has been made so far, chiefly because of local sentiment and community pride. No town wishes to give up the county seat of government, which would be necessary in case several counties were united. In a few cases counties have been consolidated, as was the case in James and Hamilton counties in Tennessee, and Campbell, Fulton, and Milton counties in Georgia. In some cases where the people are not willing to have their county consolidated with another, they are willing to join with neighboring counties in some project, such as the maintenance of a tuberculosis sanatorium, an almshouse, or, as in California, in the establishment of junior colleges.

#### ELECTORAL REFORMS

*Regulation of Campaign Funds.* Money is needed to conduct an effective political campaign. Other things being equal, the candidate with the largest campaign fund will win. This fact has led to great extravagance on the part of many candidates who are themselves rich men. It has tended to discourage the man of ordinary means from running for office, especially for any of the higher offices. Worst of all, it has led candidates to appeal to rich men for contributions, thus placing themselves under obligation to do political favors in return.

The amount of money spent during political campaigns is amazing. In New York City, Tammany has spent a mil-

lion to elect a mayor. In Chicago or Philadelphia, each party may spend half a million to elect a mayor. Two million dollars have been spent by one party to elect a governor in New York State. In Maryland, it usually costs a hundred thousand dollars to make a successful campaign for governor. A candidate for the United States Senate a few years ago spent \$195,000 to be elected, and later two Senators were expelled from the United States Senate for spending so much money in their campaigns. In 1936 our two major political parties used more than \$20,000,000 in the campaign to elect a President.

These enormous sums are contributed in part by the candidates themselves and their friends, and in part by party friends and businessmen. In some cities and states, government employees are expected to contribute a percentage of their salaries.

Minor parties rarely succeed in raising more than a few thousands of dollars. The obvious reason is that since they have little or no chance to get into power, they will have no favors to distribute.

For many years Congress has been struggling to check campaign extravagance. It is a difficult thing to control. To spend more than \$25,000 on a senatorial campaign or more than \$5,000 on a campaign for representative is now illegal.

Various states have limited the amount of money that a candidate for state or local office may spend. Such laws are easily evaded because the friends of the candidate may spend as much as they wish.

It has been proposed that no one in public office be allowed to make any contribution to a campaign or even to solicit funds. Were this to become law the political party in power—which has always had a tremendous advantage in every campaign due to the pressure it can exert on government employees—would be less likely to continue uninterruptedly in office. For obvious reasons no party while in power would favor such a measure.

Another very different method of reducing campaign extravagance offers promise. Oregon and North Dakota pub-

lish pamphlets at public expense in which each candidate is allotted one page. This enables even a man of modest means and without party backing to present his qualifications to the voters. In particular, it benefits the man who runs independently of any party. It is truly democratic and deserves to be widely adopted.

*More Direct Control by the Voters.* Among the many changes intended to make democracy work better, none are more important than those that give the voters direct control over nominations, over legislation, and over elected officials. The principal devices of this sort are the direct primary, direct legislation, and the recall.

*The Direct Primary.* In the old days local candidates were nominated in little meetings held by the party boss of the district. State and national candidates were chosen at conventions dominated by state bosses. No one not supported by the party organization had any chance of being nominated. Democracy was thus defeated at the very outset of a campaign.

Today more than forty states have direct primaries for local, county, and state offices, and also for members of Congress. Furthermore, the party committee members who are to determine policies and guide the party are also selected in the primary. Any citizen may run for any office, provided a certain number of voters (based on the number who voted at the last general election) have signed a petition to place his name on the ballot. Nominations are made by plurality vote.

The direct primary has not purified politics as much as the sponsors hoped. This is due to the failure of the average voter to take an interest in the primary campaign. Only a small proportion of the registered voters ever take the trouble to vote in the primaries. The result is that the party boss is usually able to get his candidates nominated, although it is more trouble than under the old system. (See page 435.) However, under the direct primary system the people can control the nominations whenever they are sufficiently aroused to go to the polls.

*Direct Legislation.* The invention of devices giving the

people direct control over legislation was a remarkable victory for the democratic principle. The devices consist of the *initiative* and the *referendum*. They are used by most cities and by nearly half the states.

Upon petition of a given percentage of the voters (from seven to thirteen per cent in the various states), any bill may be submitted to the people at an election. If a majority votes for the bill it then becomes a law. Not only may city charters and ordinances and state laws be initiated in this way but changes in the state constitution as well. This is the *initiative*. It is not commonly used, but in case a legislative body refuses to pass measures favored by the people, it is of great value. Nebraska voters used the initiative in 1934 when they created a one-house legislature.

The *referendum* is the second type of direct legislation. All state constitutions provide that constitutional amendments shall be placed before the people for acceptance or rejection. But under the referendum a new law passed by the state legislature or city council must be submitted to the people if a given percentage of the voters so petition. The measure enacted by the legislative body does not become effective if a majority of the people votes against it. Sometimes a legislature, being unwilling to accept responsibility for a proposed law, submits it to the people for their decision.

The initiative and referendum are ineffective if too many signatures are required on the petition. When the signatures of more than ten per cent of the voters are necessary, the cost of getting the measure before the people may be prohibitive.

There are two objections to the initiative and the referendum. First, they add to the length of the ballot, which is already overlong, and second, the voters often lack knowledge of the measures to be voted upon. Some states publish pamphlets to inform the voters of the arguments for and against each question submitted to them. But the average voter is not a student and he can hardly be expected to pass upon the merits of a complicated measure.

*The recall.* This is another device that has given the people more control over the government by permitting them to

remove an official before his term expires. Whenever a certain number of voters (varying from 10 to 25 per cent) are dissatisfied with an officer, they may sign a petition requiring him to stand for a new election. Unless he resigns, he has to run against an opponent at this election. If his record has been bad, he is likely to be defeated, and if so, he cannot serve any more of his term.

The recall was introduced in the United States in 1903, when Los Angeles wrote it into the city charter. In 1909 it was used for the first time in the successful recall of the mayor of that city. Today the recall is provided for state officers in twelve states and for city officials in more than a thousand municipalities. Only occasionally is a state official recalled. California has perhaps used this device the most, having recalled some one hundred fifty city officials since the measure was adopted.

*Shall We Abolish the Electoral College?* The onward march of democracy has already given us the direct election of senators. (Before 1913 they were chosen by the state legislatures.) The next step will probably be the direct election of the President. This requires amending the Constitution so as to abolish the electoral college.

When our Constitution was adopted it was believed that, since travel was slow and difficult, and since few people would ever see a presidential candidate, the voters should choose electors whom they would probably know personally and whom they could trust to elect a President. Today, thanks to the radio and to all our modern miracles of transportation and communication, the people know the presidential candidates far better than they know the electors. The electoral college no longer has any value. If it were abolished we could not have a "minority President"—one who receives less than a majority of the popular vote yet wins a majority of the electoral vote. Harrison, who defeated Cleveland in 1888, was a minority President; so was Woodrow Wilson in 1912. Wilson received only 42 per cent of the entire vote of the country yet won 82 per cent of the electoral vote. It seems certain that the direct election of the President will shortly be obtained.

*The Need to Simplify the Voters' Task.* It is not enough to improve the mechanisms by which the will of the people can be made effective. The most perfect system of voting will not give us government by the people unless all the people vote.

In presidential campaigns only about 60 per cent of those eligible to vote go to the polls. In other elections the figure sometimes drops to 10 or 15 per cent. This situation must be alarming to all who love democracy.

An elaborate study of nonvoting in a Chicago municipal election showed that in only a fourth of the cases investigated was nonvoting due to pure inertia and indifference. Among women, especially those of foreign birth, the disbelief in voting kept many from the polls. The other principal causes of nonvoting seem to be: (1) the inconvenience of registering as a voter, (2) inconvenient and unreasonable election procedure, (3) inability to understand the issues of the election, and (4) the lack of interesting issues.

A number of states have introduced a system of permanent registration. This provides that after having once registered, a voter may vote in all subsequent elections unless he has moved, failed to vote, or changed his party, in which event he must reregister. In other states the voter is obliged to register for every election, an inconvenient, time-consuming process that invites neglect.

In European countries elections are generally held on Sunday. This permits many to reach the polls who on weekdays could not do so. In the United States little thought has been given to the convenience of the voter; often the voter has to spend several hours registering, going to the polls, and standing in line before he is permitted to mark his ballot.

Nothing, probably, would do more to simplify the voter's task and induce him to go to the polls than the shortening of the ballot. Already some progress has been made. In cities with one of the newer types of government the municipal ballot is shorter than it used to be. Yet in some places the ballot still contains from two hundred to five hundred names of candidates seeking as many as seventy offices. The voter can take little interest in a long list of candidates con-

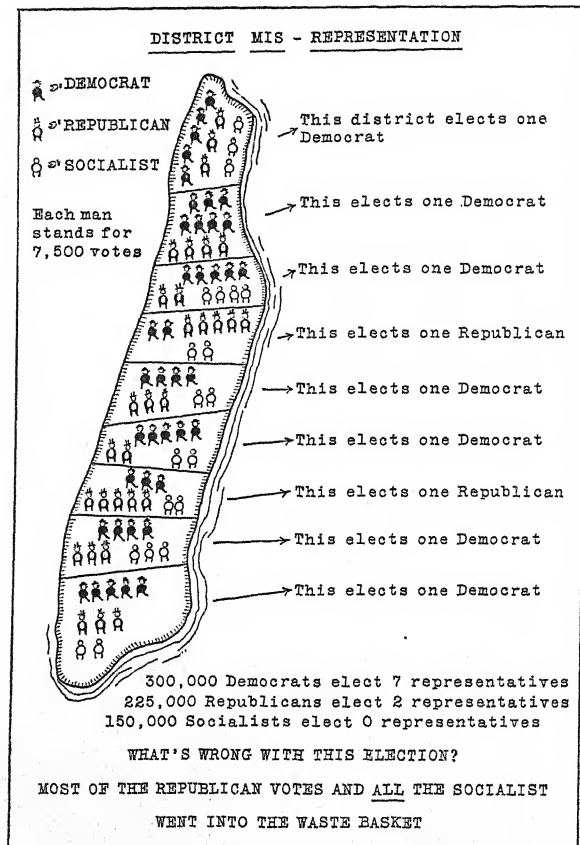
cerning most of whom he knows nothing. Nor under these conditions can he hope to vote intelligently.

Students of government have long declared that only *policy-making* officials should be elected; that is, chief executives such as the President, governors, mayors, and county boards of commissioners, and legislators, including city council members. All other officials should, it is said, be appointed, unless chosen under a merit system. The voter is naturally interested in the choice of policy-making officials. These officials are much in the public eye; they command public attention. For them the average man can vote with considerable intelligence. But he cannot hope to inform himself on the merits of candidates for scores of minor offices. Besides, he does not know how to judge the qualifications of judges, clerks of courts, superintendents of schools, auditors, surveyors, welfare officers, and others whose duties are purely administrative or technical. There is good reason to believe that more citizens would go to the polls if they were asked to vote only for a short list of officials whose positions are important and conspicuous.

The short ballot centralizes responsibility in a few elected officials, who are held solely accountable for the conduct of the government. If they do not exercise care in appointing their subordinates, they will have to answer to the voters.

Were there fewer elections, the voter's task would be less

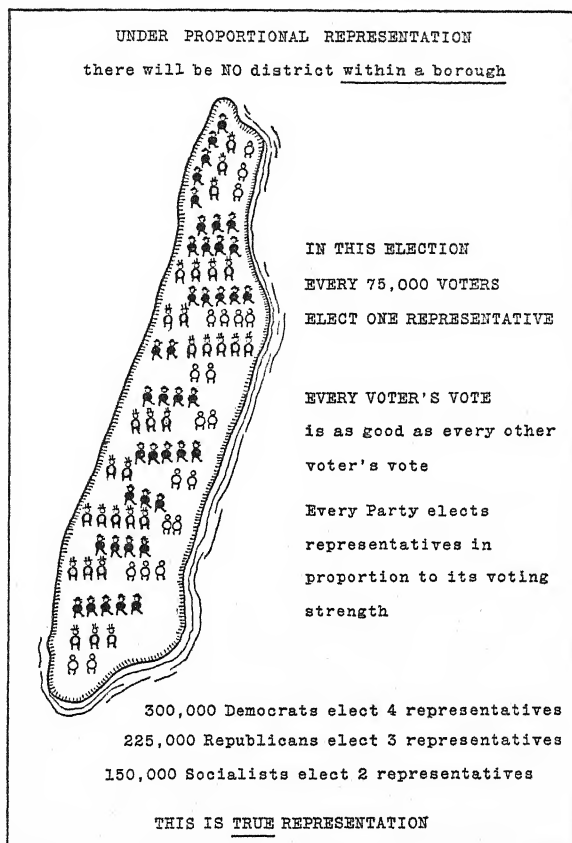




This cartoon and the one on p. 465 were circulated by the Women's City Club of New York during the 1936 campaign for proportional representation.

arduous. Moreover, part of the heavy cost of holding elections would be saved. With the adoption of the short ballot it is practicable to vote for national, state, county, and local officials in a single balloting.

There is a tendency to lengthen the term of elective office. Should this continue, fewer elections would be necessary. It is often proposed that governors, mayors, Congressmen, and members of city and state legislatures should be elected for four to six years. The right of recall would safeguard the



The facts brought out in these two cartoons helped persuade New York City voters to adopt proportional representation.

longer term. Longer terms ought to produce more capable officials. The officeholder would have time to master his duties; he could concentrate on them instead of having to think about his approaching campaign for renomination and re-election.

*Proportional Representation.* An election plan which has proved highly successful in creating more interest in voting is known as proportional representation. This is a method for giving representation to the minorities and independent

voters who do not wish to follow party lines. It can be applied only in electing a council, committee, board, or legislative body. It results in giving all parties their proportionate share of the total number of representatives or board members. No primary is held; candidates are placed on the ballot by petition of a certain number of voters.

To make clear the difference between an election under the ordinary system of representation and one under proportional representation, suppose that an election is being held for members of the state legislature. Let us assume that there are two parties in the state, party A including about 60 per cent of the total number of voters and party B including 40 per cent. If this proportion holds true for every district entitled to a representative, then party A will poll a majority and elect its candidates in each of the districts. Party B, having a majority in no district, has no representation in the new legislature. In practice no party is likely to have a majority in every district, so that party B in our example would probably be able to elect a few candidates. However, this number would be far less than 40 per cent of all candidates elected. Obviously the voters of party B feel that their votes are wasted, while those of party A think it hardly necessary to go to the polls at all, since their party is sure to win.

Proportional representation would work as follows: Each candidate would run in the state at large, not from a district, and the votes cast would count for the parties as well as for individual candidates. Each party is entitled to elect a number of candidates in proportion to the total number of votes cast for the party; party A would fill 60 per cent of the total vacancies; party B would fill 40 per cent. Every voter would be convinced that his vote counted, and would be likely to make a greater effort to vote than he does at the present time.

In the Philadelphia election of 1927, the Vare machine received about 60 per cent of the votes and elected 100 per cent of the city council. Under a plan for proportional representation proposed for Philadelphia, any 25,000 voters in the whole city could elect one councilman. In 1927 the Vare

machine would then have elected only ten councilmen, while the independent Republicans would have elected six.

One of the chief arguments against this new method of voting is that the counting of the ballots is much more complicated than in ordinary voting. It may take several days to complete the count, and therefore the election is somewhat more expensive. But the primary election is eliminated, and the expense and confusion thus saved tend to offset the more complicated election. If a voting machine for this type of voting should be perfected, the counting would be automatic.

Another argument against proportional representation is that citizens may be encouraged to vote as racial and religious groups. This kind of voting happens under any system; there is doubt that it has actually increased in the cities that have introduced proportional representation. In any case, by reducing the number of council members to be elected, it is possible to prevent any one racial group in a city from securing a representative.

Where the system is new, there may be a considerable number of invalid ballots. This difficulty is overcome as soon as the voters become acquainted with the new method of voting. If voting machines are introduced, invalid ballots will be largely prevented.

When any community is considering the adoption of proportional representation, the strongest opposition comes from the professional politicians. They know that under proportional representation their power to nominate and elect whom they please is seriously impaired. Despite the efforts of the machine politicians of both parties, New York City adopted proportional representation in 1936. Under the old system 60 per cent of the votes cast often elected 95 per cent of the Board of Aldermen. The New York Supreme Court in upholding the new system said that the plan "is an attempt to make representative government a reality." A number of other cities in the United States have used the plan for some years, and to date only one of them has abandoned it. It is also used in some Canadian cities and provinces, in Australia, South Africa, and in several European countries. In most places where it has been given a

fair trial it has proved of genuine service to democracy. The great Swiss publicist, Ernest Naville, summarized the purpose of proportional representation when he said: "In a democratic government the right of *decision* belongs to the majority, but the right of *representation* belongs to all."



*Conclusion.* The institutions of democracy are not fixed but growing. This is well. Otherwise we must despair of having our government catch up with our rapidly changing ways of living. Industrially and economically we travel much faster than we do politically. We are quite ready to introduce new inventions into our homes, offices, and factories, and to change any commercial practice, especially if it means more profit, but we are slow to adopt inventions in the field of government.

In these days when the rise of dictators threatens the survival of democratic government abroad, and when there are numerous interests which would like to see our own democracy fail, we cannot afford to ignore any serious proposal for making our government more truly responsive to the people's will. So far as the government obeys the wishes of the majority (while giving consideration and protection to minorities), it deserves and will have the loyalty of all who believe in government for the many and not for the few.

## ACTIVITIES

1. Summarize the chapter.
2. Draw up a constitution for your club, with provisions for initiative, referendum, and recall. See the *Model Home Rule Charter* of the National Municipal League, 309 E. 34th Street, New York City.
3. Write, but do not send, a letter to your representative in the state legislature or in Congress requesting him to vote for or against a pending bill.
4. Outline a city-manager type of government for your high school. How does it differ from your present student government?
5. Find out the extent to which the merit system has replaced the spoils system in your city, county, and state.
6. Does your state have the direct primary, the recall, the initiative, the referendum, regulation of campaign funds, cities and counties under the manager plan, and proportional representation in any places?
7. Report the story of how the citizens of Cincinnati organized to get city-manager government, or choose another city. See "When Citizens Unite," in the *Survey Graphic* for October, 1931.
8. Report how Galveston and other cities adopted the commission form of government. See pp. 214-20 in Macdonald's *American City Government*.
9. Report how Dayton and other cities adopted the city-manager plan. See pp. 237-40 of Macdonald's *American City Government*.
10. Read the *Survey Graphic* for July, 1937, pp. 383-86, to learn how New York City obtained proportional representation.

11. Secure sample ballots from your county and city and suggest any changes that might improve them.
12. Read and summarize pp. 82-105 and 332-38 of Thayer's *Theodore Roosevelt*. If possible, read the entire book.
13. Find out how many counties there are in your state; also their size and population. Which are rural, which urban, and which a combination of rural and urban areas? Should they be reduced in number?
14. Read and summarize pp. 388-402 in Macdonald's *American City Government*, on the mechanics of reform. Note especially the part played by the newspaper.

## WORD STUDY

centralized purchasing	proportional representation
city manager	recall
direct primary	referendum
initiative	research bureau
merit system	short ballot
	unicameral

## QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Why is it safer to allow key positions to be filled by appointment than to allow minor positions to be so filled?
2. Should the merit system be extended to include all public employees except those elected?
3. Civil service examinations may or may not be used under the city-manager plan. Can you indicate a reason why they are less important than under the mayor-council government?
4. What changes in government purchasing and contracts are most likely to reduce corruption?
5. Mention some of the defects of state government. How might they be overcome?
6. What are the arguments for a one-house legislature? Why are not more legislatures unicameral?
7. Do you think a state might be run by a board of managers chosen by the legislature? Possible advantages?
8. What are the advantages and disadvantages of having the state take over the services performed by counties?
9. What vested interests might oppose the adoption of a city- or county-manager plan?

10. Why do some say that the city-manager system is undemocratic?
11. Resolved: That our county (or city) should adopt the county- (or city-) manager plan.
12. What changes, if any, are being made in rural government in your state?
13. What are the advantages of the direct primary? Do you use it in the election of student body officers in your school?
14. Does your town or city have the initiative and referendum? Why have these been so slowly adopted?
15. Direct legislation as by the referendum and the initiative is not representative government. Explain.
16. Can you think of any reason why the electoral college should not be abolished?
17. What advantages would accrue from a longer term of office?
18. What safeguards should be adopted if terms are made longer?
19. Are judges appointed or elected in your state? Which method do you believe will secure the better judges?
20. Is the short ballot more or less democratic than the long ballot?
21. Why do members of minor parties and independents often feel that it is useless for them to vote? How can their votes be made to count?
22. Resolved: That our county (or city) should adopt proportional representation.

#### READINGS

- American Academy of Political and Social Science, *Annals*, September, 1933, "The Crisis in Democracy"; January, 1938, "Our State Legislatures" and September, 1938, "Better City Government"
- Beard, Charles A., *American Government and Politics. A Century of Progress*
- Carpenter, William, and Stafford, Paul T., *State and Local Government in the United States*
- Griffith, Ernest S., *Current Municipal Problems*
- Joad, C. E. M., *Liberty Today*
- Johnson, Alvin W., *The Unicameral Legislature*
- Lien, A. J., and Fainsod, Merle, *The American People and Their Government*
- Macdonald, Austin F., *American City Government*
- National Civil Service Reform League, 8 W. 40th St., New York City. Send for list of pamphlets on civil service

National Municipal League, 261 Broadway, New York City.  
Send for list of pamphlets on municipal and county government

Reed, Thomas H., *Municipal Government in the United States*

Ross, Edward A., *Civic Sociology. Social Control. The Social Trend*

Senning, John P., *One-House Legislature*

*Survey Graphic*. October, 1931, special number on city government

Taft, Charles P., Jr., *City Management, The Cincinnati Experiment* (A narrative of the way citizens of a boss-ridden city got good government)

Williamson, Thames R., *Readings in American Democracy*, pp. 471-515

# Chapter 23

## PUBLIC OPINION IN A DEMOCRACY

*Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. Consequently he who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed.*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

### WHAT IS PUBLIC OPINION?

REFORM of the structure and administration of government and of the electoral system is not enough. A democratic government rests upon public opinion. If public opinion is confused and divided, the government will not serve the people but some well-organized minority that knows what it wants.

*The Two Kinds of Public Opinion.* Public opinion is that which is generally thought, or the prevailing view on any matter of general interest. It is not passive; it demands action or resistance to action. There is public opinion to protect and conserve institutions and public opinion in favor of a change.

Public opinion that upholds the traditional customs and mores may be classified as *static*. It binds the individual to the folkways of the group. It also serves as a check on the ruler. Whatever his power, he cannot afford to defy the prevailing view.

Public opinion that departs from custom and tradition is *dynamic*. It develops when new situations arise, through discussion of what ought to be done. It takes shape in five stages:

1. The group faces a crisis because of new inventions or discoveries, new ideas, or a new turn of events. The people are discontented.

2. There is general expression of this discontent, and a belief that a remedy can be found in group action.

3. There is a long period of discussion and controversy. Leaders propose solutions. Individuals take sides, favoring what seems to be for their own advantage.

4. The majority reach the same conclusion. That is, a *consensus of opinion* is reached. It will be expressed in the rulings of officials, in legislation, or in the decision of judges.

5. The minority will either acquiesce or be compelled to conform. If there has been free discussion, the minority usually soon accepts what the majority has decided.

Public opinion has never been so dynamic as it is today, for economic changes have created tensions in practically every institution. Old ways no longer work. People are dissatisfied; they are urging new kinds of group action. There is much discussion of what are felt to be the problems of society. Contradictory explanations of these problems are heard and contradictory solutions offered. On many issues no consensus has yet been reached.

*How Does Public Opinion Function in Government?* Under an autocratic government public opinion acts chiefly as a brake to prevent the ruler from departing too far from the customs of the group. The freedom of speech necessary for dynamic public opinion is lacking. Nevertheless, the ruler is often forced to move in the general direction in which the people want their government to travel. Mussolini started out on his Fascist career as a mortal foe of Socialism and Communism. Tidal waves of public opinion have swept him toward an ever increasing government participation in business.

In democratic countries public opinion plays a much larger part than elsewhere. It operates directly through the instruments of representative government. Only those who promise to carry out the will of the voters can be elected. Every official in a conspicuous position takes his political life in his hands every day. There is always an organized opposition to watch, to check, and to suggest alternative policies. The opposition may persuade the public that the party in power ought to be turned out. The government can only retain office so long as it has the support of the voters.

Directly or indirectly public opinion in a democracy shapes the procedure of all agencies of government. It is as all-pervading and penetrating as atmospheric pressure. Suggestions, requests, and threats pour in upon the officials from all kinds and conditions of men. No branch of government, not even the judiciary, is, over a long period of time, able to disregard public opinion. In fact, over a long period of time few officials wish to do so. They are themselves members of the public and tend to acquiesce in whatever the public decides.

*The Role of the Leader.* Does the leader make public opinion or do the people whom he leads? Whose will does he carry out—his or theirs? Do the people follow their leader, or does he walk the path they have chosen? These questions are important to the sociologist and equally so to the politician and the statesman.

No group of people can arrive at a consensus of opinion without a leader. While they are in the process of deciding what is to be done, a few members of the group make proposals. Some proposals may seem too wide a departure from tradition, too impracticable, or both, and will receive no consideration. From among those that remain, the group will make a selection. What actually happens is that a majority of the group line up behind one of the individuals who have proposed a course of action. His idea becomes the group decision and he becomes their leader for the purpose of carrying it out. If the idea works, he will be still more popular, and his future proposals will quickly win a following provided they promise to meet a common need felt by the group. However, if his ideas do not work, he will lose popularity. Other proposals will be made, and the people may line up behind another leader. *The leader's function is merely to express and carry out the common will.*

Now people do not choose a leader just because his suggestions are wiser than those made by others. The prestige of the individual making the proposal is a very important factor. When a high school class is planning a good time, the ideas of the class president or the best athlete or some other member who is greatly admired will carry more weight

than those of anyone else. One who already occupies a position of leadership in the group usually has the most prestige; his followers are easily persuaded to accept his will as their own. For this reason a ruler, whether a dictator or a president, is normally able to exert considerable influence on public opinion. Yet his prestige will not suffice should he try to lead the people in the direction opposite to that which they want to travel. If he tries to do this, they will no longer regard him as their leader.

*What Happens in the Absence of a Common Will?* Sometimes when a group of people are trying to find a way out of a difficulty, they do not succeed in arriving at a consensus of opinion. Possibly they divide into factions, each with a leader advocating a different course of action. Perhaps the majority of the group is indifferent or has no clear ideas about what ought to be done. In such situations a minority that is vitally concerned and knows what it wants will take action. If the minority has prestige, and especially if its spokesman is well liked, the majority will probably fall into line. When Mussolini seized the government of Italy he had but 70,000 followers. Yet the country had been so unsettled, so overwhelmed by social and economic problems with which the people did not know how to deal, that they gladly accepted a bold leader who promised to straighten out everything. Those who did not acquiesce were quickly silenced by force. As freedom of discussion no longer exists, and there is but a single party — a minority of great prestige, chosen for their perfect loyalty to Il Duce — no opposition can make itself heard. It is claimed that there no longer is any considerable opposition. If this is the case, Mussolini has helped a common will to emerge, has succeeded in giving it expression, and thus is entitled to call himself "The Leader." A dictator is one who forces his will upon a nation, whereas a leader carries out the public will.

In times of crisis our Presidents have exercised great power. They have cut short the discussion of issues that rocked the country and taken action before the majority had reached an agreement. Lincoln proclaimed the freedom of the slaves during a dark hour in the Civil War, to improve

the prospects for Union victory. It is doubtful that a majority of the voters, even in the North, would have voted for this step. Yet because Lincoln said it was necessary for winning the war, his judgment was accepted. It became the common will.

In the dark years of the depression, President Franklin D. Roosevelt gave the strong leadership for which the people were eager. So grave was the crisis and so divided was the opinion of the country, that almost any decisive course of action that promised to bring greater economic justice and security would have been welcomed. Proposals made by the President for lessening the crisis quickly won a large following. His leadership helped to crystallize public opinion so that a common will could emerge.

*The Defects of Public Opinion.* Public opinion is an aggregate of individual opinions. Therefore it has all the weaknesses that characterize individual thought.

1. *Public opinion is likely to be irrational.* What is the mental equipment of the average man? It consists of a vast number of opinions of a very precise kind upon subjects of great variety and difficulty. For the most part these opinions have been accepted on the authority of his parents, teachers, and associates. Many of them have no rational basis, and could have none because they are concerned with problems that science has not solved. The opinions of which he is most positive are apt to deal with subjects of which he knows little. They are colored by his hopes, wishes, and fears. Public opinion, being only a sum of individual opinions, is likely to be emotional and not rational.

2. *Public opinion is highly suggestible.* Suggestion takes place when the individual accepts without critical understanding or adequate evidence what those about him think and feel. Suggestions are received without any mental effort. They cause us to hold the same opinions as do those around us. We have a strong tendency to believe anything we are told by a person having prestige — a respected parent, teacher, clergyman, speaker, or writer. We are therefore suggestible at all times.

The individual is never more suggestible than when he is

a member of a crowd. (In the sociological meaning of the word, a gathering is not a crowd unless it is united by an intense, uniform emotion.) Any group, under the influence of danger, excitement, or propaganda, may convert itself into a crowd. The members of the crowd abandon themselves to suggestion. The response of each individual strengthens the response of his neighbors, until a strong uniform emotion has control of the group. A throng watching a football game is an example of a harmless crowd. Sometimes a crowd is guilty of a terrible outrage against society, such as lynching or witch burning. The crowd is highly credulous and uncritical. It refuses to listen to any opposition. The most reckless person in the group may become its leader. The crowd has almost no moral scruples; it reduces its members to their lowest common denominator.

The political spellbinder knows how to play upon the emotions of his audience until he produces in them a state of crowd-mindedness. He needs no arguments and no appeals to reason. Rather, he depends on catchwords and slogans. He easily wins applause by speaking feelingly of mother love, the grand old party, the faith of the fathers, the Constitution, liberty, and equality. He can stir up national animosities, racial and class hatreds, until the crowd seethes with anger.

Sometimes, under the stress of war and the influence of propaganda, a whole nation becomes a crowd. It is then ready to believe the wildest stories of the wrongdoing of the enemy. During the excitement of a presidential campaign the public may divide into two great crowds, each hurling epithets at the other. "An election," says an English writer, "is a competition in lying accusations and impossible promises."

3. *Public opinion is based on stereotypes.* Ask a group of Americans to describe a typical Englishman. Will they not say that he lacks a sense of humor, that he is too dignified, has affected manners and speech, and wears spats and a monocle? Where did they get such an inaccurate picture? From the comic strips? Photoplays? Vaudeville? Popular jokes? Very likely their notions of an Englishman were

derived from all these sources. A generalized picture of this kind, arising from inaccurate observation or knowledge, and common to the members of a group, is known as a *stereotype*. (See pp. 27-28.)

Stereotypes are important because they represent fixed opinions and prejudices. People become so used to thinking of Englishmen, for instance, according to a standardized pattern that when they meet



a real Englishman they are likely to find in him only the characteristics they have been led to expect. If they meet one who cannot be made to fit the preconceived pattern, they decide that he is not typical or not an Englishman.

In reporting something we have witnessed, we describe a stereotype built out of previous occurrences rather than what actually took place. In telling about a street brawl we make it conform to our idea of what a street brawl is like. A reporter attends a radical meeting and describes the "bobbed and long-haired" audience, even though scarcely anyone present was really of that type. A frightened citizen describes an attempted holdup, picturing his assailant according to his idea of what holdup men are like.

A great deal of our thinking on public questions is based on stereotypes. The less we know upon a given subject the more we fall back on stereotyped ways of thought. How little most of us really know about the Japanese, the Russians, the Chinese, the Fascists — their traits, typical ways of thinking, their leaders, their policies. Yet we have fervent opinions about them to which we expect the actions of our government to conform.

Increased knowledge is the only solvent for stereotypes. An American who has traveled in England escapes from his old stereotypes about the English. Those who understand the basic principles of Fascism and Communism will be less ready to pin these labels onto every new effort to make democracy more successful.

4. *Public opinion is easily exploited.* Because public opinion is irrational, it is not easily or quickly reached by an appeal to intelligence. A calm, scientific presentation of some issue fails to attract much attention. An emotional appeal that reinforces popular stereotypes is more likely to be immediately successful. If the appeal is made by someone having prestige, one of "the best people" or a leading citizen, it will win wide acceptance.

Propagandists are experts in dealing with crowd psychology. They know how to arouse a powerful emotional response to the message they wish to convey. They study the group to be reached, becoming familiar with its stereotypes. Obviously they must adapt their appeal to the audience. They can take advantage of the ignorance of the public — that is, they can exploit it — for the benefit of the advertisers or the political parties who employ them.

It is because the average person knows so little about public affairs that public opinion in these fields is so easily exploited. Especially on economic questions, such as taxation and the tariff, the ordinary citizen may be misled by false guides. If democratic government is really to express the common will, public opinion must be better informed and better safeguarded from those who would manipulate it for their own selfish purposes. Upon the quality of public opinion depends the success of democratic government.

## ESSENTIALS FOR SOUND PUBLIC OPINION

*Adequate Diffusion of Information.* The better one's information upon a given subject the less easily is he misled by appeals to his emotion. It is not the doctor's wife and daughters who buy expensive cosmetics advertised to remove blemishes and produce a lovely complexion overnight. They know better. It is not the voter versed in economics who is taken in by the extravagant promises of fanciful old-age pension schemes. Nor does the voter who knows something of the history of the Constitution and its various amendments respond to claims that further amendment will destroy the foundation of our government. The first essential for sound public opinion is the widest possible diffusion of the facts.

Let us consider briefly the various agencies for diffusing information.

*The Newspaper.* The principal source of information on current happenings and current problems is the newspaper. In totalitarian countries the newspaper is a propaganda tool of the government, and only one point of view is ever allowed, but in a democracy the newspapers may represent all shades of opinion.

A modern newspaper requires a tremendous investment. A great metropolitan newspaper may change hands at from ten to fifteen million dollars. The day is gone when a Horace Greeley could establish a *Tribune* for \$1,000, or a James Gordon Bennett, a *Herald* for \$500. The cost of running a modern newspaper is so large as to encourage the consolidation of competing plants. Year by year the consolidation of newspapers goes on. At the same time the growth of newspaper chains continues. The purpose of consolidation and centralized control is lower costs and higher profits, but what will be the social consequences? Four million American families read a Hearst paper every day, papers almost identical, save for local items, from front to back. Nearly half of all the newspapers printed in the United States are produced by chains. Practically all the independent newspapers obtain most of their news and their features from the big



syndicates. Will the millions of readers who are daily fed the same news, the same editorials, the same trivial features, develop a chain-store mind?

A modern newspaper is a big business. The bulk of its income is derived from advertisers. Since it ought to make a profit, the business department is more important than the editorial department. The business manager is in command. Editorials likely to offend big advertisers may not be printed. Local news items hostile to the interests of big advertisers may not appear, or may appear in garbled form. Since labor organizations do not advertise and employers do, industrial disputes are likely to be treated one-sidedly. Some papers, it should be said, close their columns to advertisers attempting to dictate editorial policy.

Pressure from advertisers is not the chief reason that newspapers so generally favor the businessman. Newspaper owners are themselves businessmen. They have labor troubles of their own, and it is natural for them to sympathize with other employers involved in strikes. In all matters of public policy they reflect the point of view of the social and economic class to which they belong.

However, the principal influence in shaping a newspaper's policy is not the bias of the advertisers or the owners of the paper. It is the need to please the widest possible public. "The Press," says Walter Lippmann, "is bound to respect the point of view of the buying public. The newspaper can flout an advertiser, it can attack a powerful banking or traction interest, but if it alienates the buying public it loses the one indispensable asset to its existence."

A newspaper which takes a decided stand on controversial issues runs the risk of displeasing many of its readers. To avoid giving offense, the average newspaper straddles the issue and tries to be all things to all people. It must also be very tender to local prejudices. For instance, on the Pacific coast an editor must be anti-Japanese, and in the South, anti-Wall Street. The newspaper does not create these prejudices but merely intensifies them.

Newspapers are compelled to give the public what it wants. They speak the language of the crowd. They play

upon existing stereotypes. They appeal to the curiosities, wishes, and emotions of the average man and woman. They are a cafeteria with something for everybody. If there are more sensational journals than high-quality newspapers, it is because the average reader prefers the former. In the long run the improvement of journalism depends upon the public demand.

*The Motion Picture.* Pictures impress us far more deeply and lastingly than words. For that reason, the movies seem likely to have a more profound influence on human behavior than the printing press. "For," says George Bernard Shaw, "the number of people who read is small, the number of those who can read to any purpose is still smaller, and the number of those who are too tired after a hard day's work to read at all is enormous. But all except the blind and deaf can see and hear."

In the space of ten days the picture theaters entertain as many people as there are in the entire population. And ninety-five per cent of all the pictures made in this country are produced in Hollywood. With this large attendance how can the movie help but standardize the American people?

The average picture costs some \$200,000, while a few pictures cost well over a million. To make a profit they must be made to attract everybody everywhere. But in catering to the half-educated masses, they tend to hold back the development of public taste.

The moving picture producer keeps to the middle of the road on controversial questions. He avoids giving offense to sizable minorities, especially those having prestige. He takes care not to disturb sectional prejudices. In fact, he conforms as far as possible to existing stereotypes common to the entire nation. This is one reason why educated people are apt to find the average moving picture tiresome. It is so like all the others they have ever seen.

Moving pictures constantly reinforce certain childish patterns of thought. One of these is the belief that the successful ending of a romance will solve the dilemmas of the hero and heroine. Not many of the real problems that confront married people are suggested or dealt with. Another

notion is that catching the criminal will solve the crime problem. A picture like *Dead End*, that gives some insight into the causes of crime, is extremely rare. Again, the movies perpetuate the belief that the good life is the acquisitive life. The great majority of photoplays emphasize luxury, evening dress, elaborate homes, costly entertainment. Seldom does a picture tell the story of people of moderate or little means. Again, motion pictures continually portray war and the preparation for war as thrilling and heroic. A picture like *All Quiet on the Western Front* or *The Broken Lullaby* is offset by hundreds like *Annapolis Farewell* and *West Point of the Air*, in which war is made to seem glamorous.

Finally, the moving pictures continually portray certain races, nationalities, or unpopular minorities as comical, dull-witted, furtive, treacherous, or otherwise inferior to native Americans. Labor organizers are usually shown as unkempt and greedy. Radicals are depicted as ignorant and brutal, or else unbalanced. Negroes are almost invariably made to appear so shiftless and stupid as to be funny; a Negro of the professional class or a Negro businessman is rarely, if ever, portrayed. Thus the motion picture, while giving people enjoyment, strengthens existing stereotypes and does not help correct them.

Occasionally the commercial photoplay is an agency for developing social insight, for helping people to understand themselves and the world in which they live. Sometimes it gives us an illuminating view of other nations and of the relationship between peoples and races. If there were more pictures like *The Good Earth*, *Grass*, *White Shadows in the South Seas*, *The Life of Pasteur*, *The Informer*, and *The Life of Émile Zola*, we might become more socially and politically intelligent.

The influence of American movies is felt around the world. Almost nine tenths of all photoplays are made here. It is too bad that most of them give such a distorted view of American life. They are probably the most important agency in creating a world-wide public opinion about America.

*The Radio.* Another influence in shaping our thoughts is the radio. In 1920 a receiving set was a great rarity; today there are 36,000,000 sets. About three fourths of the people

have radios in their homes. The total radio audience is about as large as the total number of newspaper readers. However, the ordinary person gives more time to his radio than to his newspaper. Officials of the National Broadcasting Company estimate that the average family uses the radio about two and one-third hours a day. The average reader is thought to spend but ten minutes a day on his newspaper.

We have already seen great changes due to the radio. The political campaign, for example, has been transformed. Formerly a speaker could talk to an audience of not more than ten thousand people. Today the politician can be heard in every corner of the land. Thus the political influence of a magnetic voice has been multiplied enormously.

Many who would not take the trouble to go to a campaign rally or to a lecture on some public issue will listen to a brief political talk over the radio. Besides, the radio brings the very best speakers into every village and hamlet. Unquestionably it has increased popular information and popular interest in politics.

It is believed that ninety per cent of all listeners tune in to fifty of the larger stations. To maintain their popularity these stations avoid controversial subjects. They generally refuse their facilities to radical or unorthodox speakers. For this reason labor organizations, religious cults, and reform groups seek to erect stations of their own. Unfortunately, the number of radio channels is so limited, and the cost of a station so large, that these minority groups can seldom acquire their own broadcasting facilities. When they succeed in doing so, their broadcasting license as a rule permits them to have only a low-powered station, its activity limited to a fraction of the day. This seeming discrimination is justified on the ground that such a group has a small audience at best and is not entitled to the privileges of stations with vast audiences. Minority opinions that may be important are thus prevented from reaching a wide public and perhaps building a larger following.

*Other Agencies for Shaping Public Opinion.* Besides the newspaper, the motion picture, and the radio, brief mention should be made of other agencies that create or express

public opinion. The school is perhaps the mightiest of all. It perpetuates the judgments of our forefathers — the social and political decisions of past generations — what we have referred to as *static* public opinion. To a small but increasing extent, it is taking part in the discussion of current issues, and is thereby helping to create *dynamic* public opinion.

Schooling of the traditional type is not a sufficient protection for a democracy. The German people were formerly noted for the thoroughness of their schools, and for having a high proportion of high school and university graduates in the population. They were not, however, able to resist the glamorous promises and the remarkably skillful propaganda of Adolf Hitler.

The influence of the churches on public opinion is not easy to calculate. If social and political questions are not discussed in the Sunday school and from the pulpit, the church merely helps perpetuate the existing arrangements, the *status quo*. Today many clergymen believe that religion should be a constructive social force, bearing fruit not only in the individual life but in more just laws and in new institutions for serving the masses of people. They try to show how Christian principles can be applied in situations involving social and economic conflict. On some issues, notably the temperance question, the churches have had a powerful influence on public opinion.

The public forum movement has lately been growing rapidly in the United States. It is one of the best devices we have for interesting and informing the citizens about current issues. As a solvent for stereotypes it has remarkable advantages, inasmuch as it presents two or three contrasted points of view at each session. Radio forums, particularly the *Town Meeting of the Air*, are gaining in popularity.

Books, pamphlets, magazines, exhibits, posters, and the stage play all have a part in determining what we shall think. Because of its length, a book is more likely to give a well-rounded presentation of a topic than any other agency. When the 40 per cent of the population now not reached by public libraries are able to obtain books, public opinion should be better informed. Pamphlets, once the most power-

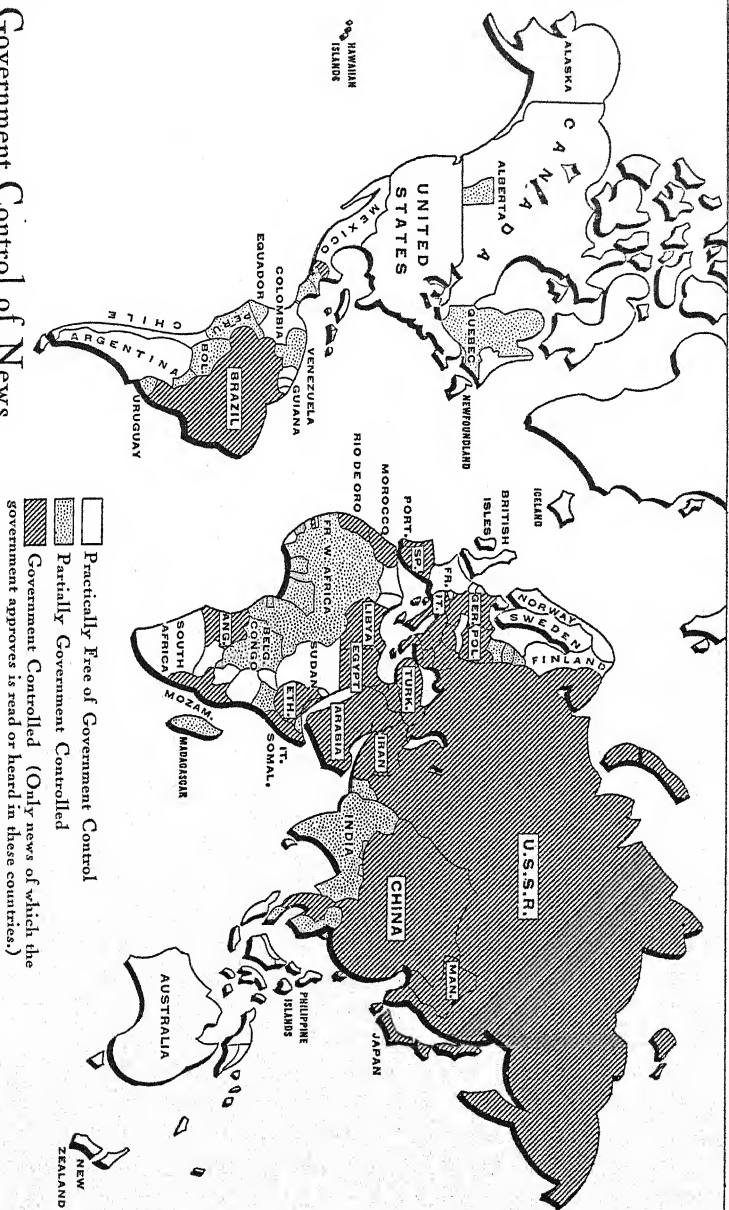
ful of all opinion-forming agencies, no longer have a large body of readers. The cost of distributing them is so great and they must sell for so little, that they are not profitable to publishers. Exhibits are often very effective. Government exhibits at the Century of Progress Exposition attracted thousands, giving them a clearer idea of the services that the government performs. The usefulness of posters is well known. Posters were used on a huge scale during the World War, to persuade people to subscribe to Liberty Loans, give to the Red Cross, and conserve food. The power of the poster depends on a dramatic picture and a compelling phrase. The stage play has been declining in influence since the advent of the moving picture. It reaches a small public, and only occasionally deals with a controversial subject. However, it is less stereotyped, and often vastly more provocative than the photoplay. The Federal Theater has been experimenting with plays that have a social message. Its most notable production to date is probably *One Third of a Nation*, a vivid dramatization of the housing problem.

Upon the use of all these opinion-making agencies, not merely for emotional appeals and the perpetuation of inaccurate stereotypes, but for the diffusion of accurate information, depends the quality of public opinion.

*Equal Access to the Agencies of Communication.* In a totalitarian state there is no access to the agencies of communication — radio, newspaper, theater, etc. — to those who disagree with the government. No criticism of government policies is allowed. Furthermore, the impartial presentation of the news is continually hampered. On many happenings, foreign and domestic, the public is informed incompletely or not at all. Under these conditions the people have little chance to develop new public opinions. Their influence in public affairs is limited to passive resistance.

In our country the citizens take pride that the channels of communication are always open. In one fashion or another, minority groups can, as a rule, make themselves heard. Reform organizations seldom meet any actual interference. The formation of new public opinions goes on incessantly because people are free to exchange their views.

Courtesy, *New York Times*



If news reporting is not always accurate and is sometimes dishonest, on the whole we have little cause of complaint. So long as we have a multiplicity of news sources we are assured that mistakes in reporting and attempts to suppress or distort the news will generally be discovered. When a happening is covered by a dozen different news agencies, little of importance is likely to be missed. Should the strikers not be satisfied by the way in which the big newspapers interpret a strike, they can always get their side of the story into labor journals and the small independent weeklies. Those who will take the trouble, can generally get all the facts about any question in which they are interested.

Yet Americans ought not to be complacent. There is by no means *equal* access to the agencies of communication. The services of these agencies as molders of public opinion are sold to the highest bidder. Minority parties and reform organizations usually have little money for buying radio time or space in the newspapers. Rarely can they afford to operate their own newspapers and broadcasting stations. Impoverished groups like the share croppers and the migratory farm workers have, by reason of their poverty, no access whatever to the agencies that might make their plight known and arouse public opinion in their behalf.

The tendency to centralized control over newspapers, radio broadcasting, and the motion picture industry is dangerous in a democracy. Obviously it gives vast power to the men who direct these financial giants. The greater the degree of consolidation, the better their opportunity to report and interpret the news as suits their private interest. Another and possibly graver evil may result from too great centralization. The bigger the public that is to be pleased, the more traditional and noncontroversial must the output be. When a newspaper caters to the largest possible market, it becomes a tabloid. Avoiding anything that might annoy or bore the average reader, it purveys scandal, crime, gossip, trivialities, and sensational international news that might lead to war. When a broadcasting company has ten million regular listeners, it gives little time to features that attract only the more intelligent or the more progressive people; its

programs must be agreeable and unobjectionable to all sorts and conditions of people. "Professor Quiz" must never ask a question that is important to society.

It is increasingly believed that a limit ought to be set on the further consolidation of important agencies of communication. Centralized control is opposed to the public welfare, whether that control is exercised by financial interests or by a totalitarian government.

*Freedom of Discussion.* There are many who are afraid of freedom of speech, press, and assembly. They do not trust the people to reject the false but attractive ideas that may be offered to them. Or they believe that certain things should never be discussed or questioned because they are sacred. So thought the members of the Ohio school board that in 1828 made the following answer to a request to use the schoolhouse for a discussion of the new steam railroads:

You are welcome to use the schoolhouse to debate all proper questions; but such things as railroads . . . are impossibilities and rank infidelity. There is nothing in the Word of God about them. If God had designed that His intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful speed of fifteen miles an hour by steam, He would have foretold it through His holy prophets. It is a device of Satan to lead immortal souls down to Hell.

This illustrates the folly of interfering with the presentation of new ideas. No matter how wicked or absurd an idea sounds today, perhaps in a few years it will have proved itself correct. Men were once imprisoned for expressing such beliefs as that the earth moves around the sun and that the earth is a sphere. Had these beliefs been false, what possible harm could have resulted from talking about them? If they were false, the more they were discussed the sooner they would have been discarded. Since they were true, the most cruel and extreme measures of repression could not keep them hidden. Men need not fear the false; it will eventually be found out if all sides of the issue are allowed in the open. It is also useless to try to crush the truth. It is certain to gain adherents after a while, regardless of all attempts to suppress it.

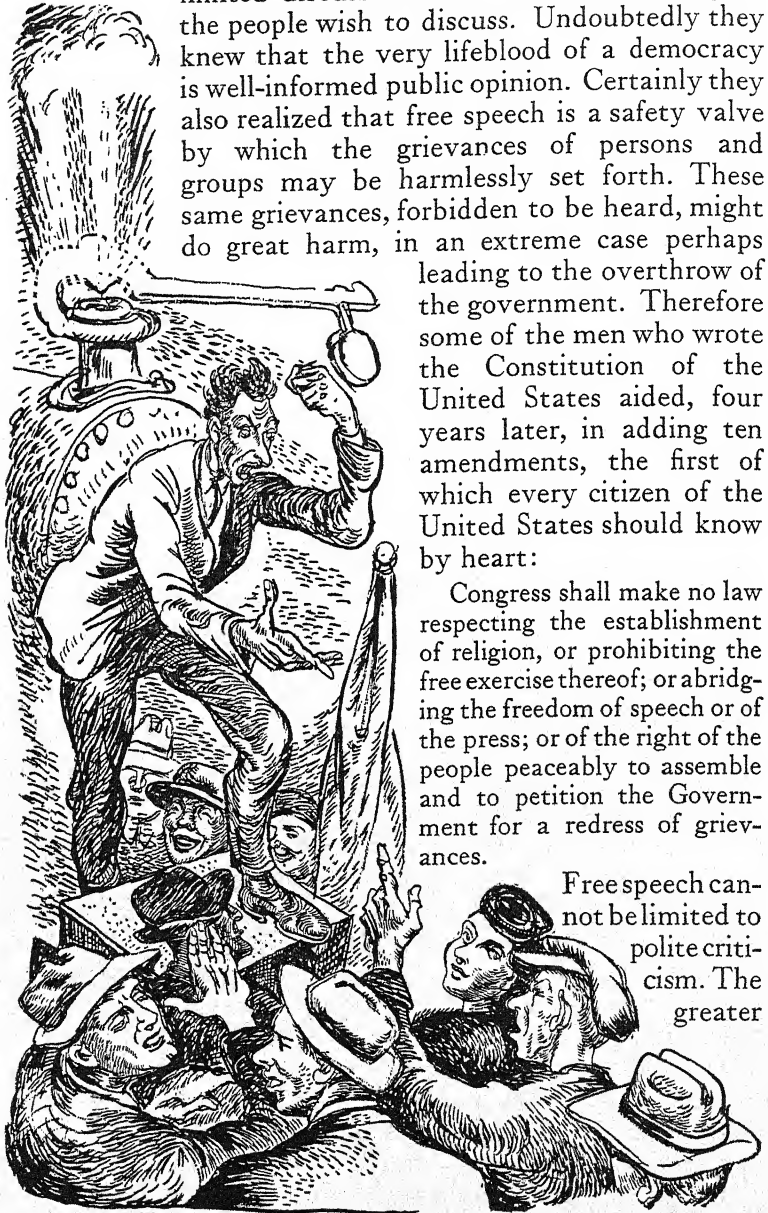
The founders of our country saw clearly the value of un-

limited discussion of all matters that any of the people wish to discuss. Undoubtedly they knew that the very lifeblood of a democracy is well-informed public opinion. Certainly they also realized that free speech is a safety valve by which the grievances of persons and groups may be harmlessly set forth. These same grievances, forbidden to be heard, might do great harm, in an extreme case perhaps

leading to the overthrow of the government. Therefore some of the men who wrote the Constitution of the United States aided, four years later, in adding ten amendments, the first of which every citizen of the United States should know by heart:

Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Free speech cannot be limited to polite criticism. The greater



the grievance, the more likely men are to get excited about it, and the more necessary it is that they be heard. The only limit that need be placed on free speech is this: that it shall not *directly* give rise to an unlawful act. Thus there can be unlimited discussion of the idea that battleships should be abolished, but no speaker has the right to say, "Come, let us dynamite the battleship in the harbor, because we cannot wait for the powers to agree to disarm." Such a direct proposal of violence is not within the meaning of free speech.

During the World War freedom of speech, press, and assembly was suspended. Individuals were arrested and newspapers were suppressed for demanding that these rights be restored, for advocating a referendum on war, for arguing in favor of heavy taxation rather than bond issues to support the war, and for criticizing the government. This was unconstitutional, but it was thought necessary at a time when complete unity was important. After the war there was no longer any excuse for the denial of fundamental rights. Nevertheless, the Department of Justice embarked on a campaign of repression against radicals. Illegal search and seizure, imprisonment without bail, and trumped-up evidence were applied. So outrageous was this persecution that Charles Evans Hughes declared: "We may well wonder, in view of the precedents now established, whether constitutional government as heretofore maintained in this republic could survive another great war even if victoriously waged."

At first thought it may seem strange that public opinion did not demand the restoration of civil rights. How could a liberty-loving people stand by while hundreds of citizens were being arrested and imprisoned because of their political beliefs? The truth is that many were indifferent, and many approved the persecution of radicals. The love of liberty no longer burned so brightly as in the days when our civil rights were being won.

*Civil liberties are not necessary to protect majorities, for their ideas already prevail.* It is minorities who are likely to be persecuted for their beliefs and who therefore need protection. Freedom of speech is a meaningless term unless it means freedom to advocate unpopular ideas.

*Learning to Recognize Propaganda.* We live in an age of incessant propaganda. Whereas the scientist is trying to discover truth and fact, the propagandist is trying to "put something across." The scientist strives for an open mind; the propagandist strives to convert, to secure assent, to prove a case. The propagandist does not want careful scrutiny and criticism; he desires instant acceptance of the idea he has to sell.

Propaganda that concerns us most is that which alters public opinion on matters of large social consequence. A great deal of propaganda is designed to persuade people to think or act in a way desired by some selfish interest, to the detriment of the majority. Such was the propaganda in years past against the formation of labor unions, against the passage of income tax laws, and against the regulation of the stock exchange.

What can we do to arm ourselves against propaganda that is contrary to the public interest? Nobody seems to be sure.

To suppress propaganda would be to violate the freedom of speech, press, and assembly, without which democracy cannot exist. Besides, we are all propagandists. Are we not all guilty at times of trying to force our opinions and wishes upon others?

Some say that the only way to fight propaganda is with counter-propaganda. The majority of people, it is claimed, do not think at all about general problems unless there is an urgent appeal to their interests or to their feelings. Let the party in power defend itself from unfair criticisms by propaganda. Let the temperance societies fight the propaganda of the liquor industry with propaganda on the evil caused by strong drink.

Others believe that we must erect stronger safeguards against the deception that is so often a part of propaganda. Newspapers and magazines are already required to disclose their ownership. Should the law require that the source of each news item also be disclosed? Sometimes 50 per cent of the news items in a paper have come from publicity agents and other interested sources; such items are less likely to be trustworthy than those prepared by reporters with no axe

to grind. If we knew their source, we would read these items somewhat skeptically. Propaganda is less dangerous when we know that it is propaganda.

In the long run probably the best defense against propaganda is education. We are gullible only in fields in which we are ignorant. Education can arm us against propaganda by giving us the facts. Again, we can be taught how to recognize propaganda. What are the signs that distinguish an honest from a dishonest version of the facts? A rational argument from one that would short-circuit the reason by arousing emotion? A speaker seeking to enlighten from one who seeks to obscure? The importance of this kind of education is evident. Will it come in time to save democracy?

#### THE PROBLEM OF THE PRESSURE GROUP

Closely connected with the propaganda problem is that of the pressure group. A pressure group may be defined as an organization united to advocate some particular public policy. It may be an *interest group*, like the American Legion or the American Federation of Labor, or an *idea group*, like the National Civil Service Reform League or the National Council for the Prevention of War. Everyone has heard of the Anti-Saloon League and the powerful influence which it exerted on state and national legislation. It is only one of countless similar organizations seeking to influence legislation and opinion.

At least five hundred pressure groups have permanent headquarters in Washington, where they watch over the special interests of their members. They work principally through (1) direct pressure on legislators in committee hearings and personal interviews, and (2) propaganda to arouse the people back home, who are urged to write letters, telegrams, and memorials to their representatives demanding that they vote in a particular way.

Writing of the lobbyist for the American Farm Bureau Federation, Frank Kent says:

The power he has is an enormous one, and the pressure he can bring upon Senators and Representatives from the "folks back

home . . ." is almost irresistible. When the word goes out from Washington, the farmers from the 7,500 local organizations respond as a man, and thousands upon thousands of telegrams from constituents who count — men of substance and standing — pour into Washington. There are not many statesmen who can stand up against such pressure.

The pressure which any of these groups is able to exert depends largely on the efficiency of its propaganda. All seek to win public approval for their policies. They issue bulletins to their members and to the newspapers. They advertise, broadcast, and organize mass meetings. Most of these groups also take an active part in politics. They demand planks in party platforms, exact pledges from candidates, and support candidates of either party who agree to further their interests.

Formerly these organizations were referred to as the "invisible government." Said William Allen White:

The Constitution has been supplanted, and we have two kinds of government — our political government, which is supposed to be in the hands of a majority of the people; and a group of organized minorities, sometimes working together, sometimes at each other's throats, making a vast, uncontrolled, but tremendously powerful, invisible government — the government of minorities.

Today these groups are far from invisible. They have become a part of our political system. They rose in answer to a genuine need, that of representation for all kinds of minorities. There is no way that they can be abolished so long as we remain a democracy. Some consider them a healthy addition to the machinery of government.

"In the evolution of the legislative functions of our government," said a recent speaker before the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, "there has developed a recognized third house, not the third house of fraud and bribery, but the third house that states its desires openly and fairly. This third house is composed of organizations such as the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Education Association, the National Manufacturers' Association, the American Bankers' Association, the labor groups, and the agricultural groups. These bodies openly and intelligently further the interests of those whom they represent."

It is important that the activities of pressure groups be clearly understood. If government for the people is to survive, it may be necessary to regulate those organizations that seek benefits for some at the expense of all.

At present the only way of curbing pressure groups is to organize other groups to fight them. The group with the largest treasury or the most skillful propagandists is likely to win. Is there any way that America's pressure resources can be mobilized behind the causes which have the greatest social value?

#### ACTIVITIES

1. List a variety of idea groups. Of interest groups.
2. Write a paper on the aims, activity, and history of an idea group which you believe deserves wider support.
3. Report the history of efforts in behalf of some accomplished reform, such as the campaign for equal suffrage, a shorter working day, abolition of slavery, compensation for industrial accidents, or the right of laborers to organize. Indicate the discouragements encountered by early leaders. Several members of the class might select different reform movements on which to report.
4. Prepare a report on the activities of some powerful interest group. Information about the propaganda methods of the utilities will be found in Chapter XVI, *Current Problems of Public Policy*, edited by Charles A. Beard. Or see W. B. Munro, *The Invisible Government*.
5. Make a study of crowd behavior, gathering notes for a paper or report.
6. Review the most recent report of the American Civil Liberties Union. (This is free. Address, 31 Union Square West, New York City.)
7. Do we have a reasonable degree of freedom on the air? Investigate by studying recent articles and pamphlets and report your conclusions.
8. How free should our schools be? See pamphlet of this title published by American Book Company; also books by Bessie L. Pierce and by Howard K. Beale listed below.
9. Listen to the *Town Meeting of the Air*.
10. Stereotype Test. Have each member of the class describe his idea of a typical labor organizer in ten words. Appoint a

committee to tabulate the replies, grouping equivalent adjectives together and noting the number of votes for each trait. Is there any agreement among the group?

11. Make a careful study of the reports of the *Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Inc.*, 132 Morningside Drive, New York City. Try to obtain a subscription for your classroom. It costs \$2.00 for 12 monthly issues.
12. Examine the map on p. 489.

#### WORD STUDY

consensus	passive resistance
crowd	pressure group
dynamic	<i>status quo</i>
exploit	suggestion

#### QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Distinguish between static and dynamic public opinion.
2. How does a dynamic public opinion come into being? How is a leader chosen?
3. Distinguish between a leader and a dictator.
4. Show that a strong leader helps to crystallize public opinion.
5. Under what conditions may a people be willing to change a more or less democratic government for a dictatorship?
6. Suppose you were a motion picture director. What type of individual would you select to act as kidnapper of a small child? As a fashionable gambler who cheats at cards? As a spy seeking American military secrets? As a radical orator?
7. Why is public opinion easily exploited by selfish interests?
8. Is education a sufficient safeguard for a democracy? Explain.
9. "Bad newspapers drive good ones out of circulation." Explain.
10. What effect has the tendency toward chain newspapers on the free play of public opinion?
11. Why does *The Nation* or the *New Republic* find it difficult to get advertisements?
12. What are the faults of the average run of moving pictures as molders of public opinion?
13. Can you name groups who can rarely command access to the important agencies of communication? How do you explain this?
14. Thomas Jefferson said: "If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this union, or to change its republican form, let

- them stand undisturbed, as a monument of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." Could this advice be safely followed today?
15. In what way is freedom of speech, press, and assembly a safety valve that protects society?
  16. What is the value of writing letters of approval or disapproval to leading government officials?
  17. Why is it important to know what is propaganda and what is nonpropaganda? How can you often distinguish between them?
  18. Is the federal government justified in employing publicity experts? Defend your answer.
  19. Could pressure groups exist in a totalitarian state? Why do they flourish in a democracy? Wherein do they constitute a threat to government by the majority?

READINGS

- American Academy of Political and Social Science, *Annals*, Vol. 179, May, 1935, "Pressure Groups and Propaganda"
- American Civil Liberties Union, *Freedom of the Air. Radio Is Censored. So This Is Free Speech*
- Angell, Norman, *From Chaos to Control. The Public Mind: Its Disorders; Its Exploitation* (Highly recommended, easy)
- Beale, Howard K., *Freedom of Teaching in the Schools*
- Bent, Silas, *Ballyhoo: The Voice of the Press* (Journalism of today with historical material)
- Bernays, Edward L., *Propaganda. Crystallizing Public Opinion* (Popular)
- Lippmann, Walter, *American Inquisitors. Liberty and the News. Public Opinion*
- Lowell, A. Lawrence, *Public Opinion and Popular Government*
- Lundberg, Ferdinand, *Imperial Hearst*
- Munro, William B., *The Invisible Government. Personality in Politics*
- Odegard, Peter, *The American Public Mind*
- Pierce, Bessie L., *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth. Public Opinion and the Teaching of History*
- Trotter, W., *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*
- Wright, Quincy, ed., *Public Opinion and World Politics* (Interesting, not difficult)

# Chapter 24

## WAR—CAN WE AVOID IT?

*No state can cease to will war without ceasing also to will the causes of war.*

CHARLES D. BOOTH

### HOW AMERICA BECAME INVOLVED IN THE WORLD WAR

AMERICANS, like other democratic peoples, hate war. Until 1914 we thought we had succeeded in following George Washington's advice to avoid any foreign entanglements that might get us into war. The World War came, but no one dreamed that America would be drawn into it. We had no quarrel with any European nation and we did not really understand why they were fighting. President Wilson issued a proclamation of neutrality and we went about our business as usual.

*Our War-Time Prosperity.* Very soon the Allies began to buy huge quantities of American steel, manufactures, and farm produce. The Central Powers, too, bought our goods, but because of the Allied blockade, our trade with them soon came almost to a standstill. After the first year of the war we furnished far more supplies to the Allies than to the Central Powers.

Several senators and representatives, who saw that this trade in war materials was likely to entangle us in the war, tried to get Congress to declare an embargo. But the trade was so profitable that Congress would not take any action to stop it. Our factories were humming. Industrialists, shippers, farmers, bankers, workers, all were reaping the benefits of trade; prices were going up, and so were profits

and wages. There was no longer any unemployment. Business, which had been slow in the early part of 1914, was now booming.

*Loans to the Allies.* At first the Allies were able to pay for their purchases. They had gold to send over, and their citizens owned American stocks and bonds which could be sold here to raise cash. Besides, some British, French, and Russian goods were still being imported into the United States, and these imports provided credits for paying export bills. Soon, however, the Allies realized that they would be bankrupt unless they could get credit or loans in America with which to buy our goods.

Our State Department very early in the war warned the bankers that loans to any nation at war would be "inconsistent with the true spirit of neutrality." William Jennings Bryan, then Secretary of State, clearly saw that such loans would prolong the war and also tend to draw us in on the side of the borrowers. For a time, therefore, no loans were made. Credits had not been forbidden, and our bankers therefore extended credit to the Allies. By the late summer of 1915 these credits were all used up, and publicly subscribed loans were necessary unless the Allies were to stop buying our goods.

The bankers approached the President. Unless the ban on loans were lifted our export business with the Allies would dwindle. Munitions factories would have to close; the price of manufactured goods and farm products would shrink; unemployment would follow, and there would be an economic crash. It was an hour of fateful decision. Should the President lift the ban on loans or should he allow the crash to come? The ban was lifted. Loan after loan was floated to pay Americans for American goods. Senator Robert M. La Follette called attention to the danger, saying, "We are underwriting the success of the cause of the Allies. We have ceased to be neutral in fact as well as in name."

*Another Financial Crisis Threatens.* By 1917 the total loans and credits to the Allies amounted to more than two billion dollars. American bankers had badly strained their resources. Either the government itself must take over the

financing of the Allied trade or the flow of goods to Europe would stop, with economic disaster to the United States. For our government to extend credit to the Allies would mean a break with Germany.

On the field of battle things were not going well for the Allies. When, in March, 1917, the Tsar's government collapsed and it appeared that Russia would not continue the war, defeat or stalemate for the Allies became a distinct possibility.

The Wilson administration faced a crisis. If the war stopped, American business faced calamity. If the Allies were defeated, it was believed that they would not be able to repay what they had borrowed from us. Political and economic leaders alike saw that the fate of millions of American farmers, workers, merchants, manufacturers, and bankers had become entangled in the fate of the Allies on the battlefield.

Amid this tension, the German government renewed its submarine warfare. This action is often spoken of as the cause of the American declaration of war. But it was only one in a long series of causes. Back of the submarine warfare was the action of the Allies in imposing an "illegal blockade" intended to starve Germany to her knees. Was this not also a cause of our entry into the war? Nobody can say what caused Woodrow Wilson's decision in favor of war; but we do know the economic conditions and pressures that made it possible.

In the files of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee appears a conversation between Senator McCumber and President Wilson shortly after the war. It ran as follows:

SENATOR McCUMBER. Do you think that if Germany had committed no act of war or no act of injustice against our citizens we would have gotten into the war?

PRESIDENT WILSON. I think so.

SENATOR McCUMBER. You think that we would have gotten in anyway?

PRESIDENT WILSON. I do.

*Propaganda.* Among the causes of America's entry into the war, propaganda has a prominent place. The American



press had from the first blamed Germany for having caused the war. Stories of German atrocities filled the newspapers. Few people realized that we were getting our news chiefly from London, where it was censored and colored by propaganda for the Allies. No dispatches came from Berlin, because practically all communication with Berlin was cut off a week after the war started. The Germans were daily described to us as barbarians who practiced the most abominable cruelties against the enemy, including women and children. No tales were too wild to be published and believed. When it was said that the Germans used the bodies of dead soldiers in making soap, a wave of horror swept over our credulous people.

In 1915 the Germans executed an English nurse, Edith Cavell, as a spy. Allied propagandists cleverly used this incident to inflame public opinion throughout the world against the "barbarian Boches." The fact that the French had executed two German nurses under similar circumstances at about the same time was not revealed.

Larger and larger headlines told how our neutral rights were being trampled by German submarine warfare. The fact that our neutral rights were also being flouted by the British blockade was little mentioned.

The sinking in 1915 of the English passenger ship "Lusitania," with the loss of over one thousand civilians, including some one hundred Americans, shocked the moral sense of the world. It is impossible to excuse this deed. Yet it might not have aroused such bitter hatred of Germany had the public been informed that the "Lusitania" was carrying munitions, and that British passenger ships regularly did so, in violation of international law and in spite of German warnings that sinking might follow.

Many cultural ties bind the United States and England. We speak a common language, share the same treasures of literature, take pride in a common democracy. Possibly the majority of Americans sympathized with the English cause from the beginning. Yet without the anti-German propaganda that deluged us for nearly three years, would our people have been ready to go to war against Germany?

## WHAT THE WAR COST THE UNITED STATES

*Did It Pay?* According to estimates of the Morgan Company, about seven billion dollars' worth of goods was sold by Americans to the Allies prior to April 1, 1917. This produced the prosperity that the administration tried so hard to uphold between 1914 and 1917.

According to an estimate by President Coolidge, participation in the World War will cost the people of the United States, besides death and suffering, at least one hundred billion dollars, counting outlays yet to come for pensions and other war charges. It appears that the period of prosperity from 1914 to 1917 did not pay.

A very conservative estimate of the cost of the war up to 1938 places it at fifty-one billions. It is interesting to figure out what this gigantic sum could have done if spent on peaceful projects. Fifty-one billions of dollars would pay the cost of running all the public elementary and high schools and universities and colleges for seventeen years. It would construct 12,750,000 six-room houses. Or it would build nearly 2,000,000 miles of paved roads, which is about three times the mileage of all surfaced roads now in use in the United States. It could do all of the following:<sup>1</sup>

Wire the 9,400,000 urban and rural homes of the United States which do not have electricity; pay all farm mortgages in the United States; install bathrooms with running water in the 80 per cent of our farm homes which do not have them; double the present endowment funds of all institutions of higher learning in the United States; build four consolidated rural high schools at \$250,000 each in every county of the United States; spend a million dollars in each county for airports and emergency landing fields; build 10 bridges like the Triborough Bridge; build another canal across the Isthmus of Panama; establish a \$5,000,000,000 program for prevention of floods and soil erosion; set up an endowment fund which at 3 per cent interest would provide a pension of \$100 a month for every blind person and deaf mute in the United States; finance the entire recovery and relief program of the

<sup>1</sup> From an article by Thomas J. Watson, President of the International Chamber of Commerce, in *Think*, April, 1938. Courtesy of International Business Machines Corporation.

United States from the time it was begun in 1932 to the end of the fiscal year 1938, which includes aid to agriculture, the Civil Works Administration, the Public Works Administration, aid to homeowners, and the resettlement and housing activities of the Government; and endow at 2 per cent an organization to promote world peace at more than the combined cost of the League of Nations, the World Court, and the International Labor Organization.

#### FACTORS THAT MAKE FOR WAR

In spite of our determination not to be drawn into another world war, we have no assurance that we shall be able to stay out. Our historic policy of isolation proved to be of no help in keeping us out of the last war. The peace machinery that has since been set up to prevent war is too weak to promote confidence. And once again armies are being mobilized, new battleships are being built, and the nations are preparing for war. Shall Americans not do well to study the factors that may bring about another world-wide conflict?

The root causes of war go deep into the past. They are very tangled and often difficult to trace. But there are three factors that always seem to be present among the causes of any modern war. These are the economic, the political, and the psychological factors.

*Economic Motives for War.* A strong economic reason is to be looked for in every war. The American Revolution started with a dispute over taxation. In the Civil War the question of freeing the slaves was as much an economic question as a moral one. After the World War was over, President Wilson told the people what he considered to be its real cause. "The real reason that the war we have just finished took place," he said, "was that Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were getting the better of her, and the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought Germany would get the commercial advantage of them. The seed of the jealousy, the seed of the deep-seated rivalry was hot, successful commercial and industrial rivalry."

Germany wants to expand eastward, and is also demanding the return of her colonies taken from her after the World

War. Italy has seized Ethiopia. Japan has invaded China. These three powers attempt to justify their aggressiveness on the ground that they must have raw materials and food-stuffs and room for their people. They are often referred to as the "have-nots" or the "hungry" nations, while Great Britain, the United States, France, and Russia are called the "haves" or the "satisfied" nations.

Of course, there are many other nations besides Germany, Italy, and Japan which lack extensive territory and raw materials. Some of these, including Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, live in peace and prosperity and do not seek empire. They have so ordered their domestic affairs and their foreign relations that they have attained a high standard of living.

Can the economic problems of the "have-not" nations be settled by colonial expansion, or is there some more satisfactory solution for all concerned? This question was recently studied by a committee of experts appointed by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the International Chamber of Commerce. The committee reached the conclusion that the inequalities have been exaggerated, that the difficulties can best be solved by a return of world trade, and that "world peace and a return to prosperity through the revival of world trade are one and indivisible."

*Why Nations Want Colonies.* Three reasons are given by the "have-not" nations for demanding additional territory. They say they want colonies (1) as a source of raw materials, (2) as a market for their manufactured goods, and (3) as an outlet for their surplus population.

*Colonies as Sources of Raw Materials.* The "have-not" nations are afraid that in time of war they will be deprived of essential raw materials. There are at least twenty-two raw materials without which no industrial nation can either live or fight. If cut off from foreign sources Germany would lack some eighteen of these materials, Italy would lack fifteen, and Japan fourteen. During the last war Germany was cut off from her sources of supply, and the result was fatal. Hence the urge for self-sufficiency.

Yet colonies are not necessarily an advantage in time of war, since they must be defended. What a nation wants when at war is access to markets where it can buy what it needs. A nation which dominates the seas can keep the lines of trade open and secure supplies whether it owns colonies or not, whereas a nation without a mighty navy would in wartime find the greatest of colonial empires useless.

Are colonies valuable as sources of raw material in time of peace? Cannot any nation buy whatever it wants in the open market?

Except in the Soviet Union, raw materials are owned by individuals. In recent years these owners have been eager to dispose of their materials at almost any price. Sometimes, however, where one country has most of the world's supply of a given commodity, advantage has been taken of this situation to hold up the rest of the world. This was attempted by Great Britain in the case of rubber, with the result that huge rubber plantations were established in Brazil and elsewhere, thus breaking the monopoly. It is now practiced in the case of tin from British dependencies, upon which product there is an export duty unless the tin is smelted in the British Empire.

Except for rubber and tin, most of the raw materials needed for modern industry are not to be found in colonies. There is a long list of raw materials of which less than one per cent of the total output is produced in colonies. France, even with her great colonial empire, still must depend on other countries for fourteen of the essential raw materials. In 1913, from all her African colonies together, Germany drew just one half of one per cent of her raw materials. Italy's hopes of obtaining important supplies of raw materials from Ethiopia have so far been disappointed. A League of Nations committee which has been investigating access to raw materials has shown that the transfer of *whole continents* would still not assure a nation like Germany or Italy outright ownership of all the vital raw materials she needs. Unless the "have-nots" are to embark on a program of world conquest, they will have to buy their raw materials not from their own nationals but upon the markets of the world.

Peaceful trade is the only practicable way of redistributing the world's natural resources.

Ordinarily nations have little difficulty in buying from each other. But in the last few years great obstacles have been set up in the paths of world trade. One of the worst of these obstacles consists of high tariffs designed to keep out foreign goods. If a country cannot sell its products, it cannot buy what it needs abroad. A country like Germany, Italy, or Japan, which must buy most of its raw materials abroad, suffers greatly when it cannot find a foreign market for its goods. It cannot even obtain raw materials needed in manufacturing goods for its own people. When its exports fall off, factories have to shut down or run on part time; workers are unemployed; and the standard of living sinks. Is it surprising that under these conditions a nation may seek to improve its condition by war?

Another serious obstacle to world trade consists of exchange restrictions — an embargo, more or less complete, on the withdrawal of money from a country. Exchange restrictions have been imposed by governments who saw their meager gold reserves melting away. Their reserves were disappearing because they were buying goods abroad from countries that would not take their products in payment, or because of debts to foreign countries refusing to buy their goods. If they were to protect their remaining reserves of gold and maintain their currencies, they had to put a stop to the export of gold.

The disease they complained of is due to the lack of trade; the measures taken to cure it make any trade at all practically impossible. In Germany, for instance, imports are paid for in *blocked* marks, spendable only in Germany. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, in one deal, finally accepted 40,000,000 mouth organs in payment for its products. The Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Company took a live hippopotamus for some films. The Budd Company of Philadelphia delivered machinery quoted at \$43,000 in exchange for 200,000 canary birds. This system of international barter is so inconvenient that countries maintaining it have almost ceased either to buy or sell goods abroad. They are forced



to develop substitutes for raw materials that they formerly imported, or else do without them.

If the obstacles to world trade can be removed, all the nations will have equal access to raw materials, and one of the principal causes of poverty and unrest will be removed. To attempt to redistribute the material resources of the world except through peaceful international trade is a product of wishful thinking.

*Colonies as a Market for Manufactured Goods.* The "have-not" nations argue that they need colonies as markets for their industrial output. By erecting high tariff walls around the colony, the mother country may monopolize the colony's entire trade. Here is the real advantage of a colonial empire — it is a preferential market for manufactured goods.

One suggested solution to the problem of markets is to extend the open-door policy to all colonies. This would mean that citizens of all countries would have an equal right to trade with every colony, and no preferential tariffs would

be permitted. Since the war, in most of the lands held as mandates under the League of Nations, all countries wishing to trade have received equal treatment. If this principle were extended to all colonial possessions, one of the principal grievances of the "have-not" nations would be removed. But will the countries possessing colonies be willing to make this sacrifice for the sake of peace? It seems very unlikely.

It is, however, easy to exaggerate the importance of colonies as a market for manufactured products. In the industrially backward regions people are very poor and can buy little. During the last full year of German control, all of her former colonies took exactly 0.6 per cent of her exports. Her biggest customers were in the industrial countries. A long time must elapse before the tribesmen of Ethiopia can purchase Italian manufactured products; Italy's best customers are in Europe and America, and probably always will be. Germany was England's greatest commercial rival before the World War, but she was also one of England's largest customers. After the war English bankers were obliged to help rebuild German industries that Germany might again have the means to purchase British goods.

In yet another respect colonies are disappointing as markets for manufactured goods. Capitalists from the mother country build factories in a colony in order to take advantage of cheap labor. As a rule they establish the kinds of business with which they are most familiar, the same as those of the mother country. In time the colony may become a serious competitor. To mention but a single example, the cotton mills of India have put many of the cotton mills of Britain out of business.

*Colonies as an Outlet for Surplus Population.* A third reason given for the demand for colonies is that they would supply room for surplus people from the mother country. Japan, Italy, and Germany are densely populated. Moreover, the population of Japan and Italy is rapidly growing.

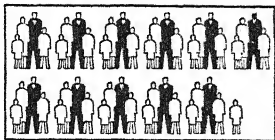
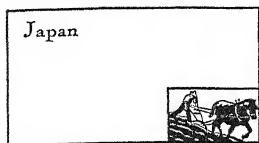
Are colonies an answer to the problem? Not for Italy and Germany. The experience of the past century shows that few white people migrate to colonial areas in Asia and Africa. Only 40,000 white people have settled in all the British col-

onies in Africa, exclusive of Rhodesia. The white population of all the German colonies in Africa before the war was only about 18,000. In the whole of the Italian possessions in Africa there were in 1937 less than 20,000 actual settlers. The reasons for lack of settlement are plain. The climate of Africa and southern Asia is not attractive to white people. Also, in those parts that are most favorable for settlement there is already a dense native population. Furthermore, labor is very cheap in Africa and Asia, and working people are much worse off there than in Europe. The only good lands for white people that are not yet densely populated lie in the temperate zones of North and South America and in Siberia. It is altogether unlikely, therefore, that Germany or Italy can obtain colonies to which any considerable number of their people would migrate.

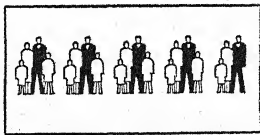
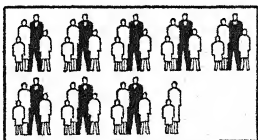
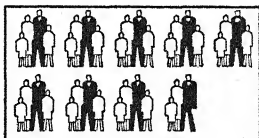
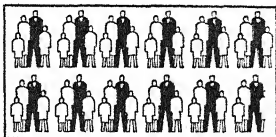
It remains to be seen whether Japan's hopes of finding room for her surplus people on the mainland of Asia are doomed. The standard of living of the Japanese is higher than that of the Chinese, and for that reason the Japanese working people prefer to stay at home. Great numbers of Chinese are migrating to Manchukuo, but very few Japanese can be induced to go there.

Colonies are evidently not a solution for the population pressure of Germany, Italy, and Japan. The solution must lie in another direction, namely, industrialization and international trade. Despite large increases in population in most European countries during the last century, living standards have improved. By building factories and railroads, and by using labor-saving machinery, the output per worker has been multiplied many times. The result is seen in higher wages, shorter hours, and a more plentiful supply of goods. Furthermore, the use of modern methods of agriculture has enormously increased the productivity per farmer. At the same time the productivity of the land has also been multiplied. There is reason to believe that in the not far-distant future even the most densely populated countries will be able to grow all their own foodstuffs. The food supply will then no longer be a drawback to the further industrialization of these countries. However, if further industrialization

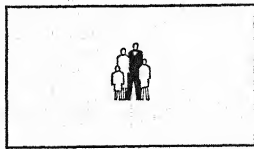
## Population and Land



Each person equals 10  
people per square mile



Indicates percentage of  
total land area which  
can be used for crops



Courtesy, Foreign Policy Association

A dense population in relation to acreage for crops causes some nations to seek conquest

takes place, the raw materials problem will be more acute than ever unless the present barriers to world trade are removed.

*Political Motives for War.* In ancient times and in the Middle Ages wars were often fought because an ambitious ruler wanted greater personal power. Today men do not go to war because of loyalty to a leader but because of loyalty to their nation. Even when a dictator like Mussolini leads his people to war, it is always supposed to be for the honor and glory of the nation.

Love of one's nation, so intense today, is a comparatively new influence in the world. We may refer to it as *nationalism*. It is founded on the belief that loyalty to the nation, and its organization, the state, is greater than all other loyalties. To hold any other loyalty, such as to one's family or to one's religion or to humanity, higher than loyalty to one's national state is thought contemptible. Witness the outrages and torture sometimes meted out to "conscientious objectors" during the World War.

Nationalism arose during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries and came to full flower in our own time. Before the sixteenth century the loyalties of a citizen were, on the one hand, local or tribal, or on the other hand, imperial, as to the Roman Empire or the Catholic Church. The citizen felt no allegiance to a national state. In fact, national states did not come into being until modern times. The Italian people have been united less than a century, the Germans only since 1871.

The people of a national state, with rare exceptions, speak a common language. They are actively encouraged to develop a common culture. The public schools teach little but their national history, heroes, literature, and music, and the achievements of their national scientists, businessmen, and leaders. Newspapers and radio programs are strongly nationalistic, emphasizing national news and national artists. All the agencies of education and communication are used to build up the belief that the nation is superior to all others, that it has a "mission" and a high destiny.

Nationalism in the twentieth century is like a religion.

The nation has its special rituals of saluting, singing anthems, pledging allegiance, and observing national holidays. People come to think of their nation as holy and as having an immortal spirit that will never perish. They believe that their nation is especially favored by God. In time of war this belief is so intensified that God as the father of mankind is forgotten, and He is thought of as purely a national deity who will lead them to victory over their enemies. Today Christianity with its international spirit has less influence over vast multitudes of people than has nationalism.

Nationalism makes people extremely sensitive to their national honor, national rights, and so-called national interests. It leads them to sacrifice their long-term interests in world peace and world prosperity for short-term advantages. Hence the willingness to fight for colonies that are of very doubtful value except for national prestige; the scrapping by several governments of treaties and pledges not to resort to war; the armaments race and the competitive building of huge navies and vast air fleets; and the high tariff walls and other barriers to world trade which tend to keep every nation poor.

The national state is presumed to be sovereign. It can pass any kind of law it chooses, even though the law may create ill feeling abroad. For instance, the exclusion of Japanese immigrants from the United States hurt the pride of a sensitive race. Had the Japanese been placed under the same quota system that applies to other nations, a maximum of but 246 of them could be admitted in a year; for all practical purposes exclusion would have been accomplished, yet Japan would have had no reason to feel insulted. Will the time not come when nations will wish to deal courteously with one another?

The notion that a sovereign state can totally disregard the interests of its neighbors and the world is the greatest obstacle in the path of international co-operation. According to this view, a state should act with complete independence of the wishes of other states. Nothing should be considered but the immediate advantage of the individual state. This spirit accounts for the failure of numerous conferences

called to discuss disarmament or the removal of trade barriers. Such a conference can succeed only when all the important participating states are willing to make concessions in order to promote the common good. The same spirit is an obstacle to the creation of international law. It leads the more nationalistic nations to violate international law whenever it is to their own immediate advantage. So long as nations insist on doing just as they choose, there can be no order in international affairs.

International relations today are something like the relations of feudal lords in the Middle Ages. Each lord considered himself a sovereign able to do as he pleased; each robbed and fought the neighboring lords. The rise of a powerful king able to make all the lords obey the law brought peace and prosperity to the entire country. Would the rise of a strong international organization, able to compel the member states to obey the laws that they themselves make, bring peace and prosperity to the world?

*Psychological Motives for War.* Preparation for war causes fear at home and abroad. Military leaders in each country exaggerate the war preparations of other countries. They harp on the danger of war and demand larger and larger sums for the army, navy, and air force. In time the people come to think that war is inevitable. The gradual reduction of armaments throughout the world has long been the dream of American statesmen and of leaders in other democratic countries, but today the armament race is going on more fiercely than ever. When all the powers are armed to the teeth, any minor incident is apt to provoke hostilities.

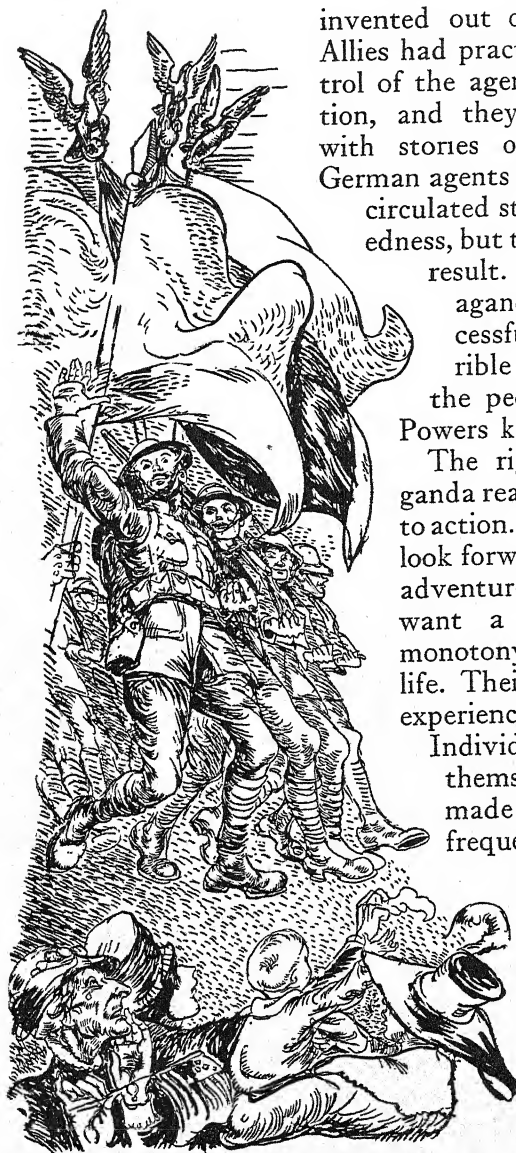
News agencies (newspapers, news broadcasts, newsreels, etc.) play a powerful role in arousing international fear and hatred. In the totalitarian states they are the tools of war-like leaders who wish to keep nationalistic feelings always at fever heat. In these countries war is glorified; from the cradle up every boy is taught that war is both necessary and a supremely ennobling experience. The news is censored and twisted to suit the dictator's war plans.

In democratic countries in time of peace news agencies are free of governmental control. But they must appeal to

the masses of people and conform to nationalistic prejudices. Newspapers are not sold by the printing of sane, reliable news. On the contrary, news of war and threats of war, news of hostile statements and acts, are the builders of mass circulation (see illustration on page 482). Nearly all papers, therefore, emphasize sensational incidents which create international ill will, and minimize whatever makes for quiet assurance. It is not that the newspapers often tell falsehoods, but that they publish only part of the facts. Very commonly they use headlines that give a distorted impression of the facts. One large chain of American newspapers is credited with having brought about the Spanish-American war. In recent years it has been carrying on a campaign calculated to result in war with Japan. Any kind of obscure event or crackpot utterance is used in these papers to build up a Japanese bogey. A sample collection of headlines includes "Japan's Fleet Commander Admits Preparation to Fight United States," "Russia-Japan War Involving U. S. Feared," "Japan Pushes Secret Plan to Enlarge Navy," and "Japs Sneer at Flag in Curt Apology."

When two countries stand on the brink of war the newspapers issue extra editions, telling in screaming headlines of the wrongs committed by the enemy. If the press is free, the editors are probably not trying to cause war but only to sell papers by appealing to the public's pride, hate, and fear. The radio and the newsreel act in similar fashion. In the tense atmosphere thus created, the people come to believe that war is the only way out. Inflamed with passion, they may demand war.

Even in the democratic countries, once war begins, there is rigid censorship of the news. Freedom of speech and press ceases to exist. Great skill is used in reporting news from the front. Losses and defeats are either concealed or toned down. For instance, if the army has to retreat it is said to have "moved back to a previously prepared position." Stories to discredit the enemy are published at home and abroad. During the World War every warring country spread tales of enemy atrocity. Instances of brutality to prisoners and to women and children were exaggerated a thousand times or



invented out of whole cloth. The Allies had practically complete control of the agencies of communication, and they flooded the world with stories of German cruelty. German agents in the United States circulated stories of Allied wickedness, but their efforts had little

result. At home their propaganda was more successful; through four terrible years of suffering the people of the Central Powers kept on fighting.

The right kind of propaganda readily stirs young men to action. They unconsciously look forward to the thrill and adventure of fighting. They want a change from the monotony of their everyday life. Their craving for new experience seeks an outlet.

Individuals who distrust themselves, or have been made to feel inferior, are frequently the most eager to enlist when a war begins. They hope to prove themselves in the battle. They want a chance to test their courage.

Still others welcome the chance to drop responsibility.

They are weary of the struggle against poverty, or to keep up appearances, or to adjust themselves to an unsatisfactory position. They

wish to be relieved of care, and for a time, at least, they welcome the opportunity to be under the command of a superior who has responsibility for every detail of their lives. War is for them a way to escape from adult burdens and to return temporarily to the heedless conduct of childhood.

Moreover, war begins with glamour. The troops leave for the front singing, laughing, and shouting. There are bands and parades. Public enthusiasm runs high. The soldier is acclaimed a hero. The troops glory in the popular adoration. They do not picture the gruesome work ahead of them. They think of the novelty and sociability of the new way of living.

After the war has dragged on for a time these unconscious motives are less powerful. War no longer looks like a picnic. But hatred or despair has by this time become sharp enough to keep the individual in line.

*Is the Economic Factor Fundamental?* The economic, political, and psychological causes of war are closely related to each other, and there is some ground for believing that the economic causes are primary. The most extreme form of nationalism is seen in the Fascist countries. Fascism develops among people whose economic situation is very bad. They are ready to accept an autocratic government and to assume the burden of armaments because they believe war must be waged in order to abolish the barriers to national prosperity. They make desperate sacrifices to attain national self-sufficiency (although this increases their poverty) because they are making ready for war. They use all the devices of propaganda to build up a strong nationalistic feeling and to glorify war.



## KEEPING AMERICA OUT OF WAR

The people of America are determined that they shall not again be drawn into war. Pacifist sentiment is strong, especially among church members. A few years ago *The World Tomorrow* sent a questionnaire to Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis. Of 20,000 who replied, 14,000 declared that the church should not sanction or support any future war.

In 1938 a new amendment to the Constitution was introduced into Congress, providing for a national referendum before any declaration of war, except in case of invasion. This proposal was backed by a considerable body of public opinion. President Roosevelt opposed the amendment, and it was narrowly defeated. Doubtless it will come up again for consideration by Congress because it testifies to the popular desire that the United States remain at peace.

Unfortunately those who hate war are not always willing to face the question of how war is to be prevented. To say we are going to stay out of war and then do nothing to prevent war is futile. We got into the last war in spite of our intention to stay out. Shall we be any more fortunate if another great conflict begins in the Old World?

Many people believe that we can isolate ourselves from the Old World and thus remain at peace. Others argue that isolation failed in 1917 and that it is bound to fail again. Accordingly they urge a policy of co-operation with the rest of the world to remove the causes of war. But what nations are to co-operate? Some say that the surest road to war is through collective security. Either policy has risks. The question is whether isolation or co-operation is the least dangerous.

*The Policy of Isolation.* American isolationists believe that in trade with warring nations lies the greatest threat to our peace. In 1935 Congress passed a neutrality act prohibiting the export of arms, munitions, and implements of war to belligerent countries. In 1937 this measure was extended and amplified. The President is given discretion to forbid the export of other war materials to belligerents in American ships or bought on credit. Belligerents may still

buy war material other than munitions, but they must take it away in their own ships; and they cannot borrow money here to pay for it. The aim is to be absolutely impartial between countries at war, and to avoid the dangers of trade with belligerents, while keeping as much of their trade as possible. As in the last war, we would probably sell to the countries having control of the seas, but only on a cash-and-carry basis.

In the Spanish civil war the President moved quickly to apply the neutrality provisions. The effect was to prevent a friendly government from obtaining arms to suppress a revolt; thereby it reversed our long-established policy. To many Americans it seemed doubly wrong because the Spanish rebels intended to replace a democratic government with one of the Fascist variety and were receiving extensive support from Mussolini.

In the undeclared war between Japan and China the neutrality act has not so far been applied. To do so might help Japan at the expense of China, and it is to our interest to have China remain independent.

Could the neutrality act be maintained during a major war? That is a serious question. To invoke the act would deny to American industry a highly profitable trade in war materials. Since ordinary peacetime trade would dwindle greatly during a major war, we should almost certainly be plunged into a severe economic depression. To restore prosperity by repealing the neutrality act would look attractive. Would Congress be able to resist the pressure? There are many who say "no," and who argue that the neutrality act, by giving us a false sense of security, is actually increasing the danger that we shall be drawn into another war.

*Is Co-operation a Safer Policy?* To some Americans co-operation with other nations seems more promising and less risky than the attempt at isolation. They declare that there is one way and one way only to make certain that America will not be involved in future wars—that there be no wars. Besides, they argue that co-operation with other nations is essential for our welfare and prosperity.

London is closer to New York than was Philadelphia in

Washington's time. In spite of nationalistic prejudices, the world is rapidly becoming one neighborhood. Disease, disaster, poverty, or war in any section of the globe soon makes itself felt everywhere. In 1917 influenza broke out in Asia, and swept over the entire world with enormous loss of life. A great flood in China makes penniless millions of customers for American cigarettes, and our tobacco farmers cannot pay their taxes. Japan, forced to retrench in order to pay for war in China, cuts down her imports of American cotton; gloom thickens in our cotton states. No nation is more closely interrelated with world happenings and world problems than is our own. If the world does not prosper, we cannot prosper long. Whether we like it or not, every world problem is in some respects an American problem. For self-preservation we have to co-operate with other nations in solving these problems.

#### PROGRESS IN INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

*The Growth of International Organization.* In 1849 the American consul at Tangier, near the Straits of Gibraltar, recommended that the United States patrol the dangerous Cape Spartel, where many ships were wrecked. A few years later he recommended that a lighthouse be built. Both suggestions were disregarded. More shipwrecks occurred, and in 1858 the Sultan of Morocco finally built a lighthouse there. Ten nations, including the United States, agreed to pay for the upkeep of the lighthouse. Thus began America's part in international co-operation for safety.

In 1868 the International Telegraph Union was established, the first of a long series of international organizations. Similar unions were soon formed to regulate weights and measures, to deal with trademarks and copyrights, and to bring order into various other fields of international relations. The best known is the Universal Postal Union. Before its advent the mail service between nations was in utter confusion. Each country tried to make the largest possible profit on foreign mail. Poor connections caused weeks of delay, and it was almost impossible to conduct important

foreign business without sending a personal messenger. Postal treaties made between various countries did not overcome the difficulty. After several preliminary conferences the Universal Postal Union was organized in 1878. Postal rates are set by the Union and cannot be raised by any member state without its consent. So well does the Union function that even the most nationalistic member would not think of withdrawing. In fact, world-wide co-operation between governments has proved successful in a great number of fields.

*Co-operation in Two International Courts.* In 1899 the first world-wide peace conference met at *The Hague*. As a result of this conference the Permanent Court of Arbitration was set up. The court consists of a panel of judges, four of whom are appointed by each nation. Nations referring their disputes to the court are to choose their arbitrators from this list. In 1907 the Second Hague Conference was held, attended by representatives of forty-four nations. It attempted to create an international court that would hold regular sittings, but the endeavor failed because no agreement could be reached on the manner of choosing the judges. Effort was also made to compel the arbitration of all quarrels between nations, but this plan came to naught. In creating the first definite judicial machinery for settling international disputes, the Hague Conferences took a vital step in the direction of world government.

Before the outbreak of the World War seventeen nations submitted cases for arbitration which were satisfactorily settled by the Court. Nations are under no obligation to bring their quarrels to the Court, and it is therefore powerless to prevent war.

In 1920 the Permanent Court of International Justice (the World Court) was established. Fifty-seven members have signed the constitution of the Court, and forty-one have agreed to compulsory jurisdiction of the Court in certain types of cases. Compulsory jurisdiction is also conferred upon the Court by several hundred treaties made by two or more nations. The Court may hear any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it.

Unlike the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the World Court holds regular sessions. So many cases are submitted to it and so many advisory opinions asked that it now meets continuously throughout the year. The World Court is a court of justice, that is, it does not settle disputes by arbitration but renders decisions according to the recognized principles of international law. Most of the cases that come before the Court are not of a type likely to lead to war, since they are legal rather than political disputes. However, it contributes greatly to the smooth functioning of international organizations and treaties. While there is no provision for enforcement of the Court's decisions, in practice its decisions are always accepted.

*The Growth of International Law.* The settling of disputes between nations by applying recognized legal principles is a long step forward. Charles Evans Hughes has said, "The chief concern of the world at this time is to establish the foundations of international justice. If the world is to be made safe for democracy, it must be a world in which the nations recognize and maintain the supremacy of law."

International law today is more like the customary law of a primitive community than like the statutory law of modern states. It is rooted in custom, usages, and accepted practices, for there is no international legislature to pass the law of nations. International law is so far enforced only by the public opinion of civilized peoples; there is no international police, and practically no attempt has been made to punish a nation violating the law.

Treaties and conferences have added to the growing body of international law. Only those treaties to which all sovereign states agree can be considered international law. The League of Nations Assembly may propose that a certain principle be accepted in international affairs, and a convention (treaty) may be drawn up and submitted to the powers. Such a convention is binding only upon those who sign it.

The frequent violations of international law and the flouting of treaties do not prove that there is no international law. Rather these transgressions prove that international government is in a very rudimentary state.

The rise of the totalitarian state is the most serious obstacle to the further strengthening of international law. A nation which does not recognize the supremacy of law in its domestic affairs will hardly recognize the supremacy of law in international affairs. A totalitarian government will be guided by international law only when this is clearly to its immediate advantage. The democratic countries are getting away from this kind of short-sighted nationalism. It is not that the democracies are less selfish, but that they are coming to believe that it is to their own advantage that law prevail in the affairs of nations.

*The International Labor Organization.* This agency, familiarly known as the I.L.O., was created at the Peace Conference at Paris in 1919. It has special interest for Americans, since in 1934 the United States became a member. The I.L.O. has done much to better the conditions of workers throughout the world. It has sixty-three member nations and each sends four delegates to an annual conference at Geneva. Two delegates from each country represent the government, one the workers, and one the employers. The main purpose of the conference is to adopt conventions dealing with needed reforms in labor conditions. A convention, when passed by a two-thirds vote, is submitted by each member state to its parliament or legislative body. The parliament at home may either ratify or reject the convention, but if ratified it has the binding effect of a treaty, and each country ratifying must report regularly as to how it is carrying out the provisions of the convention. In the United States labor legislation usually comes from the states and not from Congress; therefore the conventions of the I.L.O. will not ordinarily be laid before Congress.

Of the sixty-five conventions thus far adopted, thirty-three have been ratified by large blocks of industrial countries. The conventions and recommendations of the I.L.O. set new and higher standards for many kinds of workers and occupations. They cover such things as child labor, unemployment and sickness insurance, labor migration, forced labor, safety devices, and the right of labor to organize. Even in countries which have not ratified the conventions

or carried out the recommendations, the knowledge that these standards have been endorsed by a world-wide agency is helping to create a new public opinion on the rights of labor.

The improvement of working conditions and living standards throughout the world is no small contribution to peace. "Peace," states the charter of the I.L.O., "can be established only if it rests on social justice." The acceptance of minimum standards by all the important industrial countries will tend to equalize competition and so to undermine the argument for tariffs. The lowering of tariffs will encourage world trade and overcome some of the most serious complaints of the "have-not" nations.

*The League of Nations.* The most ambitious and far-reaching of all efforts so far made to preserve the peace of the world is the League of Nations. It is a voluntary association of states pledged by treaty to "promote international co-operation and achieve international peace and security."

During the World War many leading Americans of both parties were active in laying plans for the League, and public opinion seemed to favor American membership. The question of joining was made a partisan issue, and the Senate refused to ratify the treaty. The League came into being in January, 1920, but was crippled from the start by not having the United States among its members.

Almost from the first, our government has found that American interests required our co-operation with the League. Delegates from the United States have sat on regular and special committees of the Council and Assembly, and this is legally the same as sitting on the Council or Assembly. In disarmament conferences called by the League the United States has had an active part. When the Council was considering what to do about the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, a representative of our State Department was present. Altogether more than five hundred Americans have sat on League bodies either officially or unofficially. The United States is represented at the League by two officials, one the consul at Geneva and one the

minister to Switzerland, both of whom give most of their time to following the League's work. Neither, of course, may vote in League meetings.

The League of Nations has four functions: (1) to administer the peace treaties made at the close of the World War, including the supervision of mandated territory, (2) to promote international co-operation in that vast field where the interests of nations are common or subject to amicable adjustment, (3) to prevent war, (4) to organize peace. Someone has said that there are really three leagues: a league to sit on Germany's chest, a league for the development of the international man, and a league to prevent war.

The work of the League in promoting international co-operation and in removing the causes of war is extremely varied. Included are such activities as:

1. Financing of Central European countries
2. Studying of tariffs and the promotion of trade treaties
3. Oversight of international communications, transportation, air navigation, road and mountain traffic, and passports
4. Studying of public works to relieve unemployment
5. Maintaining a vast organization to suppress epidemics and improve public health work
6. Registering of treaties (to do away with secret treaties)
7. Gathering information on armaments
8. Suppressing the illegal traffic in drugs
9. Suppressing slavery including white slavery
10. Arranging for the care of refugees
11. Studying the raw materials question
12. Holding economic and monetary conferences
13. Research and publication of reports on all phases of international relations

So important are these services that doubtless the League will continue indefinitely.

The primary mission of the League is to prevent wars. Over thirty political disputes have been dealt with by the League with varying degrees of success. Some involved serious threats to peace but were handled successfully and

therefore received little publicity. But the League was powerless to prevent Italy from going into Ethiopia, and Japan from invading China, and it could not check the prolonged war between Bolivia and Paraguay. Its prestige was severely impaired, and some think that as far as preventing war is concerned the League is a dead letter. Some of the strongest nations have withdrawn from it.

Friends of the League claim that the League machinery has proved its adequacy for practically any emergency. The difficulty is in the unwillingness of some of the powers to use the machinery in disputes to which they are parties. These powers do not wish any interference with their aggressions. If the League is to prevent war in such cases, the members must be willing to restrain the aggressor by penalties (sanctions). Economic sanctions were used against Italy during her campaign against Ethiopia but were not effective, largely because they were applied halfheartedly.

There is a growing opinion among League members that war can be prevented only if the League acts as an agency of *peaceful change*. The just grievances of the so-called "have-not" powers must be removed. Otherwise nations will continue to resort to war to remedy their wrongs. Article 19 of the Covenant provides for "consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world;" but little attempt has been made to put this article to work. The Committee on Raw Materials established in 1936 is a step in this direction.

Due to our strong isolationist tradition, it is unlikely that the United States will join the League for a long time to come. But probably nobody would deny that it is to our advantage to have the League continue its work. Whatever its weaknesses, it is the best international institution there is for the settlement of international difficulties. It exerts a considerable influence on public opinion, and is one of the great educational forces of the modern world. If it is a feeble instrument in the prevention of war, it is far better than nothing.

*Conclusion.* The people of the United States want to make sure that we shall never again be drawn into a war.

Public opinion is divided as to whether isolation or co-operation with other nations is the best way to insure peace. Because trade with the warring nations seems to have been the chief factor in drawing us into the World War, Congress has passed neutrality laws designed to reduce the dangers involved in trade with belligerents. There is grave reason to doubt that the neutrality laws can be maintained if another major war plunges America into a severe depression.

Some believe that co-operation to remove the causes of war is America's best hope of peace. The gradual lowering of tariffs and the gradual removal of all other barriers to world trade is urged as the most practical way to overcome the intolerable handicaps of the "have-nots" and to promote world prosperity.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. Write to the National Peace Conference, 8 West 40th St., New York City, for materials on world economic co-operation. Read and discuss these materials.
2. Write to the Department of State, Washington, for material on the trade agreements program, as a contribution to world peace. Review.
3. Send to the League of Nations Association, for the pamphlets listed on p. 531. Assign these for review.
4. Report on the work of the World Court.
5. Report on the practical value of the I.L.O. Interesting cases are given by Kathleen Gibberd in *I.L.O.: The Unregarded Revolution*.
6. Collect samples of propaganda in war time. Ponsonby's *Falsehood in Wartime* is recommended.
7. What is the Pact of Paris (also known as the Kellogg-Briand Pact), and what could be done to implement it?
8. Read *All Quiet on the Western Front*, by E. M. Remarque, and show the effect that the World War had on the mind of the soldier.
9. Find out why Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, although "have-nots," are so prosperous. See *Sweden, The Middle Way*, by Marquis Childs; "The Paradox of the Satisfied Swiss," by Edwin Muller, in *The Forum* for May, 1938, and other references.

10. Send twenty-five cents to the National Council for the Prevention of War, 532 17th St., N.W., Washington, D.C., for "World Problems," a folder of pamphlets. If not reviewed in connection with Chapter 20, ask also for "Industrial Mobilization Plan," a very important plan made by our War Department to mobilize the country in the event of war.
11. Examine and assign for review some of the interesting, inexpensive pamphlets published by The Foreign Policy Association, 8 W. 40th St., New York City. Attend a meeting of your local Foreign Policy Association.
12. Form an International Relations Club. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 W. 117th St., New York City, will send you interesting materials to use for discussion in your meetings.
13. Examine the diagram on p. 513.
14. Interpret the drawings on pp. 503, 510 and 518.

#### WORD STUDY

convention  
embargo  
exchange restriction

mandate  
nationalism  
open-door policy

preferential tariff  
sovereignty

#### QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. What groups of Americans would have suffered had no money been lent the Allies between 1914 and 1917?
2. Why would Congress probably be under great pressure to repeal the neutrality act in the event of a major war?
3. Some favor a complete embargo of warring nations as the only practical way to preserve our isolation. Would this be practicable? Defend your answer.
4. Will colonies satisfy the need of Germany and Italy for raw materials? Explain.
5. Why are colonies in Africa not likely to provide an outlet for the surplus population of Germany and Italy?
6. Why did Germany resort to a system of international barter?
7. So long as the United States owns most of the world's gold, the only way in which the war debts can be paid is in goods. Prove this statement.
8. Fascism is an extreme form of nationalism. Explain.
9. Is the growth of international law a peril to national sovereignty?

10. What is the difference between a court of arbitration and a court of justice?
11. How can the International Labor Organization be expected to promote peace?
12. Why are Americans particularly interested in the I.L.O.?
13. Why has the United States found it necessary to co-operate with the League of Nations?
14. Do you think that American isolationists are hopeful that the League of Nations will be abandoned? Explain.
15. What do you think of the idea that a government should take a vote of its citizens before declaring war?
16. Lincoln Steffens said: "Nobody in the world wants war; but some of us do want the things we cannot have without war." Discuss.
17. Resolved: That the United States should adhere to the World Court.

#### READINGS

American Academy of Political and Social Science, *Annals*, Vol. 186, July, 1936, "The Attainment and Maintenance of World Peace"

Angell, Norman, *Peace and the Plain Man* (Awarded the Nobel Prize; Easy). *Raw Materials, Population Pressure and War. The Unseen Assassins* (How popular delusions and prejudices cause war)

Beard, Charles A., *The Devil Theory of War* (Easy)

Engelbrecht, H. C., *One Hell of a Business* (The facts revealed by the Nye Committee during its investigation of the munitions industry)

Gibberd, Kathleen, *I.L.O.: The Unregarded Revolution*

Hudson, Manley O., *Progress in International Organization* (Easy; important)

League of Nations Association, Inc., 8 West 40th St., New York City. *List of Materials. A Brief History of the League of Nations*. Twenty cents. *Essential Facts in Regard to the League of Nations, the World Court and the I.L.O.* Five cents. *Fourteen Fallacies about the League of Nations Refuted*. Five cents. *Millions of Patients: What the League is Doing for the World's Health*. Ten cents.

Mead, Lucia Ames, *Law or War*.

Miller, Spencer, ed., *What the International Labor Organization Means to America*

Nichols, Beverley, *Cry Havoc!*

Ponsonby, A. A. W. H., *Falsehood in Wartime*

Riegel, O. W., *Mobilizing for Chaos: The Story of the New Propaganda* (Rather difficult)

Sheriff, R. C., *Journey's End* (Tragically gripping war drama)

Simonds, Frank H., and Emeny, Brooks, *The Price of Peace*

Stallings, Laurence, *The First World War*

Viereck, G. S., *Spreading Germs of Hate*

*What Would Be the Character of a New War?* by Eighteen of the  
World's Greatest Experts

White, William A., *Thoughts of a Psychiatrist on the War and After*

Willcox, O. W., *Nations Can Live at Home* (How nations can  
produce all their own food)

## Unit IX

### *Can Agriculture Be Saved as a Way of Life?*

THE ideal of equal opportunity for all has long been dear to Americans. It found expression first in the establishment of free public schools and later in the homestead act, under which every citizen could obtain land for a farm. Here was to flower a democratic society, where every industrious man could win a livelihood for his family and give his children a good start in life.

For a time the ideal came near to being realized. Hundreds of thousands of Civil War veterans, working people, and immigrants seeking American citizenship, settled on free homesteads. Others started as farm laborers, spent a few years as farm tenants, and while still in early manhood saved money enough to buy farms. Farm life, although the work was long and hard, was noted for its security. The farmer and his family were reasonably sure of a good living, save for occasional years of severe drought or insect injury. They might handle little cash, but they lived quite as well as the average city people.

Free land came to an end. Ascent up the agricultural ladder grew more and more difficult. Tenants often remained tenants to the end of their days. During and shortly after the World War came a brief period of prosperity; then depression settled over agriculture. Many owners, heavily burdened with debt, slipped down the agricultural ladder into tenancy. Farm people were no longer secure. Farm youth found opportunity neither in the country nor the city; they seemed to be caught in fixed, hereditary classes like peasants. Agriculture as a way of life, as the very spirit of democratic independence, appeared to be doomed. Congress, perhaps too late, tried a variety of legislative remedies. Why these were needed and what it is hoped they may accomplish will be presented in the next two chapters.



## Chapter 25

### AMERICA DISCOVERS THE FARM PROBLEM

*When agriculture begins other arts follow; farming is therefore the foundation of civilization.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON

AT THE close of the Revolutionary War the government of the United States possessed a huge tract of land stretching from the Appalachians to the Mississippi. Save for Indians and an occasional trapper or hunter this public domain was practically uninhabited. The difficulties of settling the wilderness were so great that even the far-seeing Thomas Jefferson said that all the land east of the Mississippi would not be occupied by settlers for a thousand years.

The young government was in urgent need of funds. To obtain money public land was sold at auction in large tracts. The buyers were usually land companies expecting to reap large profits by dividing their holdings into pieces suitable for individual farms. This land policy, which encouraged wealthy buyers and speculators, was very unpopular. Yielding to pressure from persons desirous of buying small tracts of land direct from the government, Congress in 1800 made it possible to buy a half-section, 320 acres, at two dollars an acre, with payments over a period of four years. But on these terms land was still out of reach of the ordinary man. In 1820 Congress authorized the sale of as little as 80 acres at \$1.25 an acre. The bulk of the land sales, however, continued to be in large tracts to land companies. The democratic ideal of equal opportunity for all had not yet been realized.

Many poor wage earners and farmers whose soil had be-

come exhausted wanted free land. They thought the national domain should be given to actual settlers. Beginning in 1845 Congress was under continual pressure to adopt a homestead act. As late as 1852 debaters in Congress pointed out that only 100,000,000 acres of the public land had been sold, and that 1,400,000,000 acres remained in the hands of the national government. At the existing rate of sale it was calculated that it would take from 400 to 900 years to dispose of all the public domain.

In 1862 Congress passed the Homestead Act. It gave to each citizen over twenty-one years of age, or to any adult alien who had declared his intention of becoming a citizen, 160 acres of land free, provided that the homesteader lived on the land for five years and made certain improvements upon it.

In the same year Congress passed two other acts that were to have a far-reaching influence on American agriculture. One act gave over 30,000,000 acres of land to western railroads. The other gave land to each state to provide funds for founding and maintaining a college of agriculture and mechanic arts.

Sales of public land at auction in large tracts continued to be made. In this manner much of the mineral resources and virgin forest passed into private hands for a dollar or two an acre. In addition to sales, large additional grants of land were made to railroad, wagon road, and canal companies. Altogether the railroads got four times as much free land as was taken up by homesteaders.

By 1890 the frontier was closed. Practically all of the good land available to homesteaders had been granted away, and the rest of the free land open to settlers was of low quality. No longer could a farmer settle on virgin land, skim the "cream" from it without any effort to maintain its fertility, and move on to fresh soil. No longer could the poor man obtain a free homestead capable of yielding a fair living. The landless now had three choices: (1) to buy land at a speculative price; (2) to rent land; or (3) to settle on submarginal land — land that is never able to support people on a standard of health and decency.

#### THE FARM PROBLEM DEVELOPS

The American farm problem is really not one but many. It has not come about suddenly or from any one cause but rather from a whole series of gradual changes. As we outline these changes the complicated nature of the farm problem will appear.

*The Period of Self-Sufficiency Comes to an End.* The pioneer farmer was practically self-sufficient. With the help of his wife and children he produced almost everything needed by the family. He raised little beyond his own needs, since it would have cost too much to get it to market. He had no debts; his taxes were a trifle; and he could get along practically without money.

With the building of roads, canals, and railways, and the growth of factories and of cities, the farmer ceased to be self-sufficient. He raised as much as he could for sale, and with the money he bought manufactured articles and farm machinery. In this way his efficiency was greatly increased, but he had become dependent upon distant markets. To the usual uncertainties of the farmer's life — the weather, plant and animal diseases, and insect pests — was added a new uncertainty, the question of whether his products would sell for enough to pay for the manufactured things needed for his family and his farm operations, and to cover taxes and interest.

*The Rise of Land Values.* During the nineteenth century the average farmer made little money from working his farm. Yet the steady growth of population caused his land to rise in value. If a railroad was built within his reach, his land would become several times more valuable than before. If a town grew up near his farm he could, if he had no mortgages, sell his property at a large gain and retire to spend his remaining years in comfort. Many a homesteader lost money as a farmer but made a modest fortune as a landowner. This was particularly common in the Midwest.

During the World War the price of farm land soared. Afterwards, when the farmers lost most of their foreign market and hard times came to them, the value of their land

fell. Many of those who had bought land at a high price with borrowed money were forced into bankruptcy.

*The Increase in Farm Tenancy.* Tenancy used to be a step toward ownership. The agricultural ladder had three steps — laborer, tenant, owner. Those who began to climb this ladder between 1870 and 1880 spent an average of 10.1 years as laborers and tenants before becoming owners. Those who began the climb thirty or forty years later and were to succeed in becoming owners had to spend an average of nineteen years on the way; millions of their fellows never got beyond the stage of tenancy.

The proportion of farm tenants has increased year by year. In 1880 one out of every four farmers was a tenant, but in 1935 more than two out of five farmers were tenants. Not only did 42 per cent of the farmers rent all their land, but an additional 10 per cent rented part of their land. The growth of tenancy has been most rapid in the best agricultural states where land values have been most inflated. In eight of these states but 15 per cent of the farmers were tenants in 1880, while today the proportion is nearly three times as high.

It should not be thought that a farm tenant is necessarily worse off than an owner-farmer. Many tenants make as much as the majority of owner-farmers. But a larger group of tenants, most of them in the South, are miserably poor and without hope of improving their lot.

Generally speaking, the position of tenants is much better in the North and West than in the South. In 21 states in the North nearly 30 per cent of all tenants are related to their landlords, and in 11 western states the percentage is 17. In 16 southern states only 15 per cent of all tenants are related to their landlords. Moreover, in the North and West there has not yet developed a large permanent tenant class, although there is a tendency in this direction. In these two sections among every twelve farmers who have attained the age of 65, only one is a tenant. In the South more than one fourth of the farmers over 65 years of age are tenants.

*The Increase in Farm Indebtedness.* With the rise in the price of land, more and more farmers have had to borrow in

order to acquire land. Farmers who own their farms outright often mortgage them to buy farm machinery or livestock or to build a barn. As a result the equity (ownership free of debt) of farmers in their farms has shown a continual decline.

PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL VALUE OF FARM REAL  
ESTATE BELONGING TO FARM OPERATORS <sup>1</sup>

Census Year	Farmers' Equity
1880	63 per cent
1890	59 per cent
1900	54 per cent
1910	50 per cent
1920	46 per cent
1930	42 per cent

In some of our states, among them a number settled by homesteaders, the equity of operating farmers in their lands is now little more than one fifth. Nearly four fifths is in the hands of landlords and mortgage holders.<sup>1</sup>

Not only have farm mortgage debts increased but also chattel loans on machinery, livestock, and growing crops. Like other businessmen the modern farmer must often borrow heavily. Unlike other businessmen he has to pay a much higher rate of interest on borrowed money than he can hope to earn on the money he has himself invested.

In good years the ordinary farmer seldom earns more than 2 or 3 per cent on his investment, while in bad years his investment yields nothing at all. But he must pay at least 5 or 6 per cent on borrowed money. Unless he is able to borrow from a bank, he may pay as much as 30 per cent on chattel loans and sometimes even more. Tenants, because they can offer less security than owners, generally have to pay higher interest rates. In the southern states tenants borrowing from landlords and merchants customarily pay 20 to 50 per cent interest. These high rates are sometimes justified because of the risk involved. Many a southern landlord, because he is heavily in debt, has to pay 20 per cent to obtain the money he advances to his tenants.

<sup>1</sup> According to estimates of the United States Department of Agriculture.

In a period of falling prices the farmer who is heavily in debt soon faces bankruptcy. The prices of farm products fall farther and faster than the prices of other commodities. Interest rates do not drop at all and soon take most of his income. A farmer who could meet his mortgage interest in 1928 by selling 500 bushels of corn had to sell 1500 bushels of corn to make the same payment in 1932 or 1933. It is therefore not surprising that more than 236 farms out of every 1000 changed ownership through foreclosure and bankruptcy sales between 1930 and 1936, besides others that were transferred to avoid foreclosure. Those who lost their farms went down the agricultural ladder and became tenants or laborers.

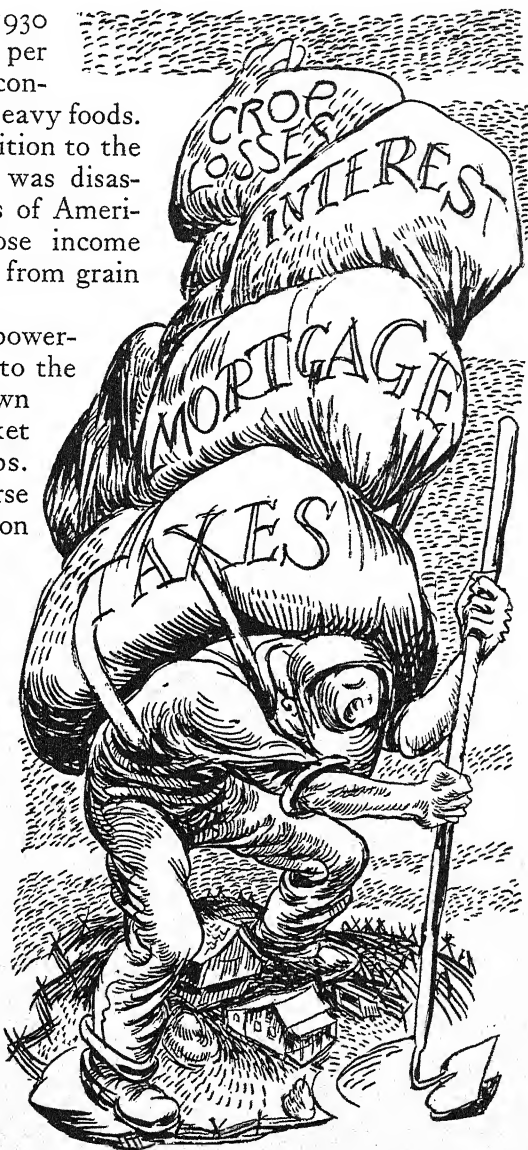
*Shrinkage of the Farm Market.* During the World War American exports of farm products rose to huge proportions. Prices rose sharply, inducing farmers to bring under cultivation millions of additional acres and to increase the amount of livestock. It is estimated that during these prosperous years more than 40,000,000 acres of grass land were plowed up, most of it in the Great Plains. At that time our farmers were raising about 80 per cent of all the cotton, 60 per cent of all the corn, 50 per cent of all the tobacco, 40 per cent of all the hogs, and about 25 per cent of all the wheat produced in the entire world.

In 1920, exports of American farm products began to shrink. European nations that during the war had taken a large share of all the cotton, corn, wheat, and hogs produced here cut their imports of these products and strove to become self-sufficient. Other countries had meanwhile expanded their production and begun to sell to our foreign customers. For example, Egypt and India commenced to grow large quantities of cotton, and Argentina, Canada, and Australia greatly increased their exports of wheat. There was no longer any demand for the products of the forty million acres of land that American farmers had plowed up during the war.

The farmers' market at home has also decreased. People are turning away from heavy foods — meat, fat, cereal, bread — and using more fruits and fresh vegetables. Be-

tween 1920 and 1930 there was a 15 per cent drop in the consumption of the heavy foods. This drop, in addition to the drop in exports, was disastrous for millions of American farmers whose income is derived chiefly from grain and hogs.

The coming of power-driven machines to the farm has cut down another big market for staple crops. Since 1919 the horse and mule population has decreased by nearly ten million head. This caused a decline in the consumption of farm crops as great as if thirty million people had stopped eating. Some thirty million acres formerly used in growing food for work animals are no longer needed. Incidentally, the substitution of tractors and cars for horses and mules has added considerably to the farmers' cash expenses and made them more dependent than ever upon their cash income.

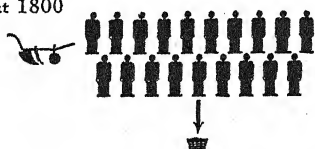


Since 1929 the domestic market has been cut because of the unemployment of city workers. People have been buying cheaper kinds of food, with the result that in the depth of the depression, in 1933, six million less acres were required to supply the domestic market for food than in 1929.

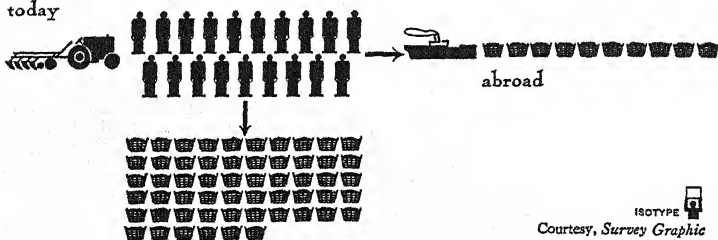
*Increased Productivity.* Although the market for his products has shrunk, the productive capacity of the average American farmer continues to increase. This is due to the

### Surplus Food Produced by 19 Farmers in U.S.A.

about 1800



today



Each basket symbol represents enough food for one non farmer

ISOTYPE

Courtesy, Survey Graphic

use of better tools, machinery, and improved strains of seed and livestock, and likewise to more scientific methods of production.

In George Washington's time it took all that nineteen farm people could produce to feed themselves and one non-farmer. Today in the United States nineteen farm people can supply food for themselves and sixty-six additional people. This is an increase of 425 per cent. Furthermore, it is calculated that if all farmers should use the methods now used by the most up-to-date farmers our present agricultural output would increase by one fourth to one half. This would mean vast unsalable surpluses.

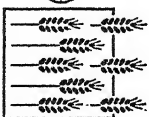
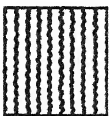
Farmers are not able to apply at equal rates the new

# Wheat Production

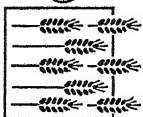
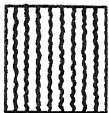


Man Labor per Acre

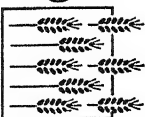
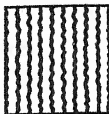
1878-1882



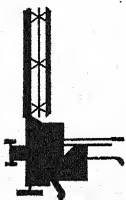
1898-1902



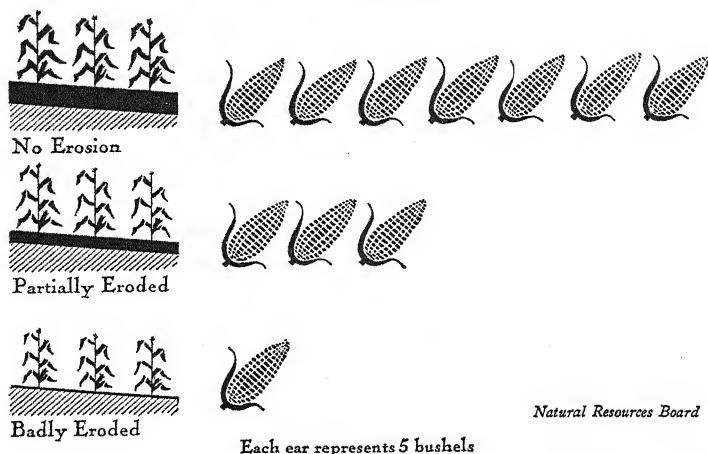
1928-1932



Each clock represents 1 hour



Source  
Courtesy, Sherry Graphic

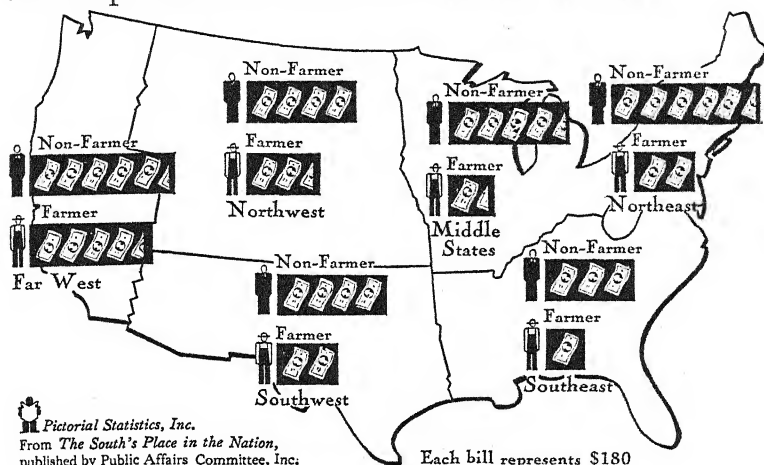
**Eroded Lands are Unproductive***Natural Resources Board*

methods made available by science and invention. The farmer with little acreage cannot make efficient use of expensive machinery. For instance, a four-row corn planter will not pay for itself on a farm that has only ten to twenty acres of corn. Large farms, especially if the land is well drained and fairly level, are well adapted to the use of tractors, gang plows, harvesters, and other machines.

Some believe that farmers having large tracts of land will, because of their greater efficiency, drive little farmers out of business. The man with the hoe is not the competitive equal of the man with the tractor where they are engaged in the same type of farming. Already 39 per cent of American farm land is concentrated in 3.9 per cent of the farms. Many of these huge farms are owned by corporations and worked by gangs of seasonal laborers.

Whatever the future has in store for American farmers, it seems certain that year by year fewer of them will be needed to supply the market. The shift of population from agriculture into other occupations has been going on for over a century. In 1840 more than three fourths of the people engaged in gainful occupations in the United States were tillers of the soil; today the proportion is hardly more than one fifth.

# Per Capita Income of Farmers and Non-Farmers



*The Destruction of the Soil.* At the same time that new tools and new methods have been raising the output of the more fortunate farmers, the output of others has been falling off. This has come about through the gradual depletion of their land.

Practically all of the land now in crops and pasture has lost some of its original fertility. The result is seen in smaller yields and a poorer return for the labor expended on it than would otherwise be the case. The benefits resulting from better seed and better implements are less than they would be had the original fertility been maintained.

If the topsoil has not been destroyed, the fertility can be restored by the use of chemical or natural fertilizers. But if erosion by water or wind has carried away much of the topsoil, the land is permanently damaged. When all the topsoil is gone the land is ruined. The soil erosion specialists tell us that half a billion acres — 52 per cent of all the land in farms — has lost from one fourth to three fourths of the original topsoil.

A large percentage of the eroded acreage is in the hands of tenant farmers. Because tenants generally have short-term leases (one to three years) which allow no compensation for improvements, they cannot afford to invest time

and money in conserving the soil. They make the best crops they can at the least expense, and move on when the lease expires. Unless this evil system is corrected and further erosion stopped, the whole body of tenant farmers will grow steadily poorer.

#### GROUPS OF FARM PEOPLE NOW INSECURE

The growth of tenancy, the increase in farm indebtedness, the shrinkage of the farm market, and the depletion of the soil have hurt the security of a large proportion of our farming people.

*The Low Income of the Farm Population.* According to calculations of the United States Department of Agriculture made in 1928, the minimum standard of health and decency for a farm family of five requires a net income of \$1800. Of this amount, \$1200 should be in cash and \$600 in farm products and a dwelling for the use of the family. At today's prices the figures would be somewhat less. Even in good times at least three fourths of farm families fail to reach the standard of health and decency, and at least one half live in poverty.

The farmer receives little or nothing on his investment. Moreover he and his family get little for their long hours of labor. What the whole family receives for its labor, including things supplied by the farm, is, as a rule, much less than the earnings of individual workers in other occupations. The low income of the agricultural population is not a new situation, but it has become more serious as cash expenses (for farm machinery, gasoline, interest, taxes, etc.) have risen.

Farmers, whether owners, tenants, or laborers, have never received their proportionate share of the national income. Our farm people comprise nearly one fourth of the total population, yet they receive only about one tenth of the national income.

The income of farm dwellers varies according to the section of the country. It is highest in the Far West and lowest in the Southeast. Nowhere except in the Far West does it approach the income of the nonfarm dweller. These regional differences are brought out by the map on page 545.

Certain groups of farm dwellers are much more secure than other groups. It is these relatively prosperous farmers whom city workers envy. But according to President Roosevelt's Committee on Farm Tenancy, fully half of the farm population is seriously insecure. Let us briefly examine the groups of farm families whom the Committee found to be insecure.

*Tenants.* There are two principal types of tenants. The largest number are *renters*. They work about one third of all the farms in the United States. The renter operates the farm under his own direction, paying a cash rent, or more often a share of the crops and livestock at the end of the year. He usually owns his work animals and equipment and possesses a little capital to carry on the farm operations. If he has considerable working capital, he is treated almost as a partner of the landlord. In the North he is frequently a relative of the landlord. In the North and the West the renter often earns as much as the average owner-farmer.

The second type of tenants are known as *croppers*. They operate 10 per cent of all farms in the United States and are chiefly found in southern cotton and tobacco areas. Slightly more than half of them are white. Croppers usually possess no livestock, equipment, or capital. They have only their labor to offer. The landlord provides work animals, tools, seed, firewood, and small advances of money and groceries. Against the cropper's share of the crop money (usually one half), the landlord charges the cropper's debts for advances and also one half of the fertilizer bill. Interest is charged on advances, usually at from 20 to 50 per cent if reckoned on a yearly basis. When the crop is sold and the account reckoned up, the cropper is lucky if he gets any cash for the year's labor of himself, his wife, and his children. More often than not he merely comes out even, and sometimes he finds that he is actually in debt to the landlord at the end of the season. In the latter case he has to remain and try to work off his debt during the next year. Thousands of croppers, both white and Negro, have tried unsuccessfully for years to work themselves out of debt to their landlords. It is easy for an unscrupulous landlord to juggle accounts when the tenant cannot read and write.



The average cropper lives in utter poverty. Rarely does his family spend more than \$200 a year and this sum, advanced him at a high rate of interest, will purchase little. The cropper's family is ill fed, scantily clad, housed in extreme wretchedness, and seldom or never has medical care.

In the last few years the plight of croppers has become more terrible than ever. The price of cotton has dropped so

low that fewer acres are being planted. Many croppers have been converted into day laborers dependent on casual employment for wages, and no longer sure of even a roof over their heads.

*Farm Laborers.* In 1930 there were 2,733,000 paid farm laborers in the United States, or 26 per cent of all persons gainfully employed in agriculture. The most fortunate farm laborers are those who have year-round employment on a farm of family size where only one or two hired men are kept; many of them live in the employer's home and are treated almost like members of the family. Although the average hired man earns considerably less than the unskilled industrial worker, his wages, counting room and board, are not far below the earnings of the average farm operator. Some years the operator of a family-size farm clears less than he pays his hired man.

The great majority of farm laborers depend on irregular employment. Some are farm owners or tenants who help other farmers when work is to be had. Some operate tiny "subsistence farms," seeking farm work by the day to bring in a cash income. The largest group are hand laborers who work on intensive crops such as sugar beets, vegetables, and fruit. The work is highly seasonal and they are forced to migrate from crop to crop. The principal stream of migratory laborers moves along the west coast following the fruit, vegetable, or cotton harvest through Arizona, California, Oregon, and Washington.

Many migratory workers are former tenants or small owners who failed during the depression. The drought that covered the Great Plains a few years ago drove thousands of honest, hard-working people from their farms and forced them to take to the road, their few possessions packed into a worn automobile.

Migrant workers earn very little. Those who travel in family groups eke out a bare existence by the combined labor of the entire family. The California Relief Administration reports that of 775 migrant families which applied for relief, most had earned between \$300 and \$400 in 1930 and between \$100 and \$200 in 1935. They must depend



almost wholly on cash expenditures, since they have no land on which to obtain food or shelter. They are badly clothed and often without nourishing food. Their children attend school irregularly if at all. They have no community life since they are continually traveling from place to place.

A board shack, a leaky tent, or a crowded trailer is the only home they ever know, and this is often shared with other families. Sometimes they have no shelter at all, but

sleep by the road in open fields, in creek bottoms, or along the banks of irrigation ditches. Occasionally a city or county provides a labor camp with decent sanitary arrangements and a cabin or a room for each family. The federal government has established a few camps where migrant laborers can live during the slack season. But for the most part these people are passed on as rapidly as possible by one community into the next after their labor is no longer needed.

Farm laborers have little political power since few of them vote. When laws are passed to protect other classes of workers, farm laborers are nearly always exempted. Thus they have not shared the benefits of federal and state legislation for collective bargaining, accident compensation, unemployment and old-age insurance, regulation of hours and wages, and requirements for safe and sanitary conditions of employment. They might with considerable justice be described as "forgotten men."

*Farmers Stranded on Submarginal Land.* More than half a million farm families occupy land so poor that under no system of farming can it yield a decent living. Some own the land they work; others are tenants. They hold about 100,000,000 acres of land, all of which, according to the National Resources Board, ought to be retired from cultivation.

Farmers on submarginal land are found most commonly in: (1) hilly and severely eroded areas of the South and East; (2) cut over areas of infertile soil in the South, the northern Lake states, and the Pacific Northwest; and (3) extremely dry areas in the Great Plains. In 1929, a relatively favorable year, some 75,000 of these farmers had a *gross* farm income of only about \$450; the net income would be less. Of the farmers in one poor area in the Lake states, two thirds were found to be receiving less than \$100 net farm income per year.

These families live in extreme poverty. Diets are deficient, housing is miserable, sanitation is lacking, and weakening diseases (pellagra, malaria, hookworm, etc.) are prevalent. Generally the population on submarginal land

is sparse. For this reason, and because the people can pay little taxes, schools are poor, roads are bad, and health services often totally lacking. Such schools, roads, and community services as exist may be paid for largely through state aid. Furthermore, a large proportion of the families depend on public relief for part of their subsistence. Distinct savings would probably result if families living in isolated areas of poor land were helped to resettle on better land in communities already having good schools and roads.

The federal government is carrying out a program to purchase 9,300,000 acres of submarginal farm land and develop it as forests, recreational areas, and wild-life refuges. Some of the farmers whose land has been purchased are being helped to rent or purchase better land elsewhere; many are finding temporary or permanent employment in the new national forests and parks that are being created. Several of the states are also drawing up resettlement programs as an economy measure, and have closed certain areas of poor land to further settlement. The prevention of erosion is necessary if more farm land is not to become submarginal in the near future.

*Farmers on Holdings That Are too Small.* At least one third of all farms are too small to return a fair living to their operators. Some of these are in the Great Plains, where a large acreage is necessary because the land is dry and yields little. Many are held by southern tenant farmers. The average tenant farm in the South is only half the size of the average owner-farmer's holdings. Because his farm is so small the tenant grows little but cotton and corn or tobacco and corn. If he had more land he could grow other crops not requiring labor at the same time as the cash crop, or raise livestock to supplement his income.

In every part of the country there are farms too small for the economical use of work animals and machinery. A farmer cultivating his fields with hand tools cannot easily compete with a farmer who is able to use horse-drawn tools, and as a rule neither can compete with the large-scale operator with a tractor growing the same crop. Because of the increasing use of farm machinery on large farms, the

operators of small farms are having a harder and harder time to make a living. Holdings that a few years ago were reasonably adequate in size are becoming too small to compete with those where machinery can be efficiently used. The only possible solution seems to lie in helping part of the small farmers to acquire larger holdings and helping the remainder to find nonagricultural employment.

*Owner-Farmers Hopelessly in Debt.* About 11 per cent of all mortgaged farms in the country are indebted for more than 75 per cent of their current value. About 5 per cent are indebted for more than 100 per cent of their current value. These figures reflect the drop in land values that has occurred since the depression, a drop so great in many cases as to wipe out the farmer's equity. Doubtless some of these heavily indebted farmers would be better off if they became tenants, provided that they could obtain a good farm on a long-term lease.

In hard times most farmers find it extremely difficult if not impossible to meet their interest payments. Between 1930 and 1934 three fourths of a million farmers lost their farms through foreclosure. In certain parts of the Midwest the farmers would gather to prevent the auction of foreclosed farms. Sometimes they threatened violence to officers attempting to carry out foreclosure proceedings. This "Farmers' Holiday" movement led in 1933 to legislation in most of the states granting a temporary moratorium to farmers unable to pay interest on their mortgages. It was hoped that with the return of better prices the farmers could resume interest payments and also pay the back interest. The outcome remains to be seen.

*Farm Young People Unable to Obtain Farms.* There is yet another group of farm people who are seriously insecure. These are young men and women who cannot obtain farms of their own. Most of them would ordinarily go to the city to seek work, but because of the existing unemployment they have had to remain on the farm. Between 1930 and 1935 it is estimated that at least two million young persons stayed on the farms who would have left for the cities if jobs had not been so scarce there.

In an effort to provide land for their sons, farmers often divide their farms. Unless the father's holding was unusually large to begin with, the result of dividing it is to create farms too small to support a family adequately.

Some of the surplus young people are sharing the labor and the earnings of their parents' farms. Others have no choice but to join the ranks of farm laborers. It is sometimes suggested that the government should help these young farmers to establish themselves on farms, either by rental or by purchase over a long period of years at a low rate of interest. The trouble with this proposal is that there are already far too many farmers. Unless the mass of farm dwellers are to sink to a still lower scale of living, the surplus farm young people must find nonagricultural employment.

#### SOME RURAL SOCIAL PROBLEMS

We have seen that one half of our farm people are insecure and three fourths of them have incomes too small for life on the so-called standard of health and decency. As a result of these conditions various social problems have arisen.

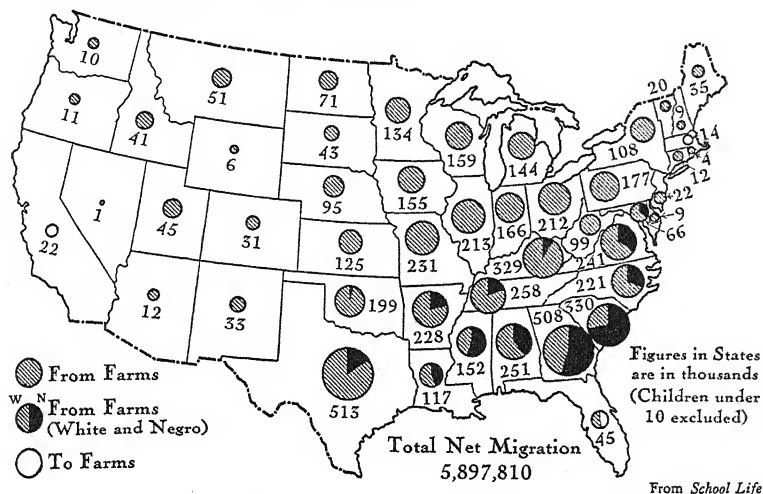
City people cannot afford to ignore the problems of rural dwellers. In the first place, the cities maintain their population only because they attract a steady stream of surplus farm youth; upon the quality of this stream depends the welfare of the cities. In the second place, a large part of the city's products must be sold to the farm people. If the farm people are too poor to buy, then the factories close down and millions of city workers are unemployed.

We shall present briefly some of the most serious problems of rural society.

*The Continual Moving of Tenants and Laborers.* Most farm tenants change farms every two or three years, and about one third of them move every year. Especially in the South the average tenant does not stay long enough in a neighborhood or a community to build up strong community ties; he and the members of his family seldom participate in any community activities and organizations, and rarely vote.

If tenants move about too much for their own and the

# Approximate Net Migration of Rural Farm Population, Jan. 1, 1920 - Apr. 1, 1930



About 60 per cent of the 6,000,000 net migration from farms during 1920-29 was from the South. Most of these migrants were young people. The birth rate is high among southern rural people, and economic opportunity is less than in the North. If it costs \$2000 to rear and educate a child to the age of 15 years on farms in the South, these 3,600,000 migrants from southern farms represent a contribution of \$7,000,000,000 made during the decade by the farm population of the South to other parts of the nation, mostly to the cities.

community's good, what can be said for migratory farm laborers? Many of them have no homes. Many have no families. Most of them are perpetually moving from one place to another searching for work.

People who have no community ties tend to deteriorate. They are apt to become unsociable and suspicious. Often they are discouraged and disorganized. The shiftlessness and unreliability of which farm tenants and laborers are commonly accused can be explained by their lack of secure social relationships. A wandering life is particularly bad for children. Exposed from early childhood to poverty and hard labor, and having little opportunity for play and for schooling, how can they develop normally?

*Extreme Poverty.* About one fourth of the farm population lives in extreme poverty. This includes most of the croppers, the laborers, and the families living on submarginal land. They are likely to have a large number of children. As a rule their houses are unsightly, uncomfortable shacks that are seriously overcrowded. Often the roofs and walls are leaky; many lack even an outside toilet. Although flies and mosquitoes are plentiful in the country, screening is a luxury for which these people cannot hope.

Many are chronically undernourished. Their clothing is likely to be scarcely sufficient to afford protection, much less to help maintain self-respect. Pellagra, malaria, the hookworm, and other parasites take a heavy toll in life and energy. Medical care is usually beyond the means of these people, and public health services are, over wide areas, almost nonexistent. (See pp. 342-3.)

During the depression some farm dwellers could not maintain themselves even on the level of extreme poverty. Over a million farm families were forced to go on relief.

*Inadequate Schooling.* Many rural children are kept out of school in spring and fall to help with the farm work. The children of migratory workers lose much time from school. Besides, the rural school is apt to have a shorter term than the city school. These facts help to explain why farm children are sometimes several years behind city children of the same age.

Another cause of inadequate schooling is the poor training of the average rural teacher. The typical white teacher in a one-room school is a high school graduate. Thousands of others have only completed elementary school. Nearly one fourth are not over twenty years of age; a considerable number are not yet sixteen. The typical Negro teacher of a one-room school has two and a half years' schooling beyond the eighth grade.

As soon as young ambitious teachers have a little experience in a rural school, they try to get positions in city schools where salaries are larger. Those remaining in the rural sections move from place to place hoping to better their condition. The salaries paid to most rural teachers are

too low to attract and hold competent candidates, or to permit the teachers to attend summer school to improve their qualifications. In a study of rural teachers throughout the nation made in 1935 it was learned that the average salary of teachers of one-room schools was \$517. The average Negro teacher of a one-room school earns but \$314 a year. Since the farmers of the nation have a *net* income that will hardly support them, we cannot expect them to increase their taxes to pay higher salaries to teachers. State aid to schools in the poorer rural sections is a long step forward, but in some states that are predominantly rural, state aid is not enough. Federal aid to rural schools is therefore being advocated. (See p. 301.)

Another urgent need of rural education is the consolidation of one-room schools. When a number of little schools are consolidated into one large school and the children transported to it, the pupils benefit greatly. The teachers can devote themselves to the subjects or grades for which they are best fitted. The children are grouped to better advantage. The health and recreation program is better. The building and its equipment is more suited to a modern educational program. The cost per pupil in a fine consolidated school is no greater than in the average one-room school, the extra cost of transportation and building upkeep being offset by increasing the number of pupils per teacher. Many one-room schools have less than ten or twelve pupils. Five thousand of them have but four to five pupils in average daily attendance, and 2500 of them have an average daily attendance of one, two, or three pupils. In such small schools the cost per pupil is much higher than in a consolidated school.

*Inadequate Churches.* The shifting of population from the farms to the cities robs the country of able leaders, and this has profoundly affected the rural church. Few rural churches have leaders able to carry on an adequate program of religious education and social and recreational activities. Many churches do not have even a Sunday school, to say nothing of any weekday events. Few of them are able to attract and hold a well-trained, experienced minister. In

fact, most rural churches have a part-time minister, who comes into the community once a week or once a month to deliver a sermon and is rarely seen at any other time. Rural ministers are poorly paid and often are forced to add to their income by doing some other kind of remunerative work. Inadequate leadership, lack of funds, and too few members characterize the average rural church.

Co-operation between churches of different denominations is increasing. It is probably the best way to strengthen the religious life of a rural community. Sometimes several weak churches, that have been competing together for members and financial support, consolidate into a single community church. A consolidated church can employ a full-time minister, pay him a respectable salary, and support a vitalized program of weekday and Sunday activities. Perhaps the problems of the rural churches will be solved by their gradual consolidation into community churches.

The prevalence of tenancy makes for weakness in rural churches. This is partly because many tenants are too poor to contribute to a church, and partly because many of them move too often to take interest in any kind of community organization. In high-tenancy areas the churches are apt to be exceptionally weak and impoverished.

A southern white tenant expressed his attitude toward church attendance as follows: "No, we don't go to church, and the children don't go to no church neither. We ain't been here very long; we don't know nobody yet; nobody ain't ast us to go. Besides we ain't got no clothes that's fitten, and no money to put in the hat, and where we kain't pay, we don't go."<sup>1</sup>

*The Farmer's Home.* A survey in 1934 of over 600,000 farmhouses in all parts of the country brought to light astonishing facts. Half of the houses proved to be in good structural condition. The other half were not structurally sound. Some 15 per cent needed new foundations; 15 to 20 per cent needed a new roof; 10 to 15 per cent should have their floors replaced; 10 per cent needed extensive repairs

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Wilson and E. C. Branson, *The Church and Landless Men*, University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin 9, 1923.

or replacements of exterior walls. At least 12 per cent were in such bad condition as to need total replacement.

Only a small proportion of farm homes have modern improvements. Less than a third have water in the house, and nearly half of these have only a hand pump. Seventy-three per cent do not have a kitchen sink with a drain and 88 per cent do not have a bathtub. Seventy-one per cent have no stove other than a wood or coal stove.

Tenant houses are generally much poorer than the houses of owner-farmers. The average value of dwellings on full-owner farms in 1930 was \$1,427, while the value of tenant farmers' dwellings was \$702, less than half as much.

Only about 15 per cent of American farms have electricity from a power line. In this regard we are behind many European countries. About 90 per cent of the farms of Germany are electrified, and in The Netherlands it is said that every farm has electric power. American farms are so scattered that the cost of building electric lines is often prohibitive.

Recognizing the great importance of supplying electric power to farmers, an executive order of President Roosevelt in May, 1935, set aside \$100,000,000 to begin a nationwide program for rural electrification. Money is being lent to cooperative associations and to other groups for the purpose of building electric lines through rural districts. Money is also being lent to farmers for the purchase of electric equipment. By 1939 nearly 100,000 miles of line had been completed, supplying about 250,000 rural families. The bringing of electricity to the farms of the nation will doubtless make farm life more pleasant and productive than it has ever been in the past.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. Chart the price of some farm product over a period of years. A librarian will help you. Post this in your classroom.
2. On a large outline map of the United States show the cotton, corn, wheat, tobacco, and livestock areas. Post this in your classroom.
3. Make a chart showing the declining percentage of persons gainfully employed in agriculture.
4. Draw a cartoon illustrating some phase of rural life.

5. Show how farm labor is displaced by power machinery. See *Monthly Labor Review*, March, 1938, pp. 595-607, and April, 1938, pp. 852-67.
6. Collect and exhibit pictures of the most modern farm machinery; of old-fashioned tools and methods of farming.
7. Prepare a report on children in agriculture, preferably in some near-by area.
8. Find out what social and economic results may be expected from the mechanical cotton picker. See "Enter the Cotton Picker," by Robert Strauss in *Harpers*, September, 1936, pp. 386-95, also Works Progress Administration Report No. A-2, *Mechanical Cotton Picker*, and "Machines Pick Cotton, But —" by R. D. McHugh in *Scientific American*, November, 1938, pp. 242-45.
9. Prepare a report on migratory farm laborers. Consult *The Readers' Guide*; also write to the Department of Agriculture.
10. Report on some outstanding rural church. Some are described in *Churches of Distinction in Town and Country*, by Edmund de S. Brunner.
11. Find out what is being done to prevent soil erosion. Bulletins, slides, and films may be obtained from the United States Department of Agriculture.
12. Report on what is being done by the Rural Electrification Administration, Washington, D.C.
13. Interpret the diagrams and drawings of this chapter.

## WORD STUDY

croppers      foreclosure      moratorium      submarginal

## QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Compare colonial agriculture with agriculture today. Which was more productive?
2. Compare the purchase of a farm today with one a hundred years ago.
3. How did the United States change its land policy under the Homestead Act? From what source did many homesteaders eventually make money?
4. How would you explain the passing of the frontier? How did this affect the farmer?
5. Why was the American dream of creating a nation of independent farmers not realized?

6. It is said that for a century we "mined" the soil. Explain.
7. In what way is the proportion of people living on farms related to the efficiency of farm production?
8. What caused the farm depression that began in 1920? Is it ended?
9. Would it be desirable for the government to assist all farm young people to obtain farms? Explain.
10. What is meant by submarginal land? Where is most of it found? What should be done with it?
11. Describe the life of the migrant farm family.
12. What social and economic problems arise from the share cropper system?
13. What proportion of farm families did the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy find to be insecure? Name the insecure groups.
14. What are the problems of the rural church? Why are not more of them consolidated?
15. What is the outlook for the rural school?
16. What changes may be brought about in various sections by the rural electrification program? Do you expect it to help the poorer groups of farm people? Explain.

#### READINGS

- Brunner, Edmund de S., and Lorge, Irving, *Rural Trends in Depression Years*
- Caldwell, Erskine, and White, Margaret Bourke, *You Have Seen Their Faces*
- Chase, Stuart, *Rich Land, Poor Land*
- Cole, William E., and Crowe, Hugh P., *Recent Trends in Rural Planning*
- Daniels, Jonathan, *A Southerner Discovers the South*
- Dawer, Mark A., *Rebuilding Rural America*
- Dickson, Harris, *The Story of King Cotton*
- Hoffer, C. R., *Introduction to Rural Sociology*
- Holmes, Roy H., *Rural Sociology*
- Hough, Emerson, *The Passing of the Frontier. Covered Wagon* (Fiction)
- Johnson, Gerald W., *A Wasted Land*
- Kester, Howard, *Revolt among the Share Croppers* (Pamphlet)
- Kolb, J. H., and Brunner, Edmund de S., *A Study of Rural Society*
- Landis, Benson Y., *A Guide to the Literature of Rural Life* (An invaluable pamphlet)

Lumpkin, Katherine DuPre, and Douglas, Dorothy, *Child Workers in America*

National Resources Committee, *Farm Tenancy: Report of the President's Committee*

Raper, Arthur F., *Preface to Peasantry*

Sanderson, Dwight, *Rural Life in the Depression*

Schafer, Joseph, *The Social History of American Agriculture*

Sims, Newell LeRoy, *Elements of Rural Sociology*

Taylor, Carl C., *Rural Sociology in its Economic, Historical and Psychological Aspects*

# Chapter 26

## PROPOSALS FOR INCREASING FARM SECURITY

*The greater the overproduction in the wheatlands of the West, and the lower the price per bushel, the longer are the breadlines in New York.*

GEORGE COUNTS

How to promote the security of our farm people is one of the gravest of our national problems. It is a problem with many ramifications. In dealing with it evidently no simple remedy will suffice.

Proposals for dealing with the problem may, for convenience, be classified under four headings in ascending order of importance: (1) enabling farmers to obtain land and credit on more favorable terms; (2) improving the farmer's position as seller and as buyer; (3) finding new markets for farm products; (4) enabling surplus farm people to find nonagricultural employment.

### ENABLING FARMERS TO OBTAIN LAND AND CREDIT ON MORE FAVORABLE TERMS

*Helping the Tenant to Become a Landowner.* Aware of the rapid growth of tenancy in the United States and the evils the system has brought in its train, Congress in 1937 passed the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act. A small number of carefully selected tenants will be permitted to borrow money from the government to purchase farms. A county committee in the county where the person wishes to buy a farm selects the applicants for loans. Interest is at the rate of 3 per cent, loan to be repaid gradually during a period of forty

years. The average loan is about \$3500. The borrower agrees to cultivate his land according to approved methods and to follow the advice of county supervisors appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Undoubtedly this legislation is strongly supported by public opinion. It harmonizes with the old American ideal of creating a nation of independent owner-farmers. Yet careful students of tenancy in the United States do not regard the Farm Tenant Act as more than a small beginning in solving the problem. They point out that the program under way will cost \$435,000,000 over a period of ten years, and that it will provide farms for only about 120,000 tenant families. In 1935 there were 2,865,000 tenant families in the United States, and the number had been increasing by 40,000 a year. If this rate of increase continues, there will be 280,000 more tenant families in 1947 than when the Farm Tenant Act was passed.

Moreover, it is argued that tenant farming need not be a bad thing. In England nine tenths of the farmers are tenants, and the tenancy system seems to be satisfactory to the tenants, the landlords, and the community. The evils of soil erosion, careless methods of farming, wretched housing, continual moving, and the destruction of the tenant family's health and ambition, which tend to accompany the tenancy system here, do not obtain under the English system of tenancy. Could we not revise our tenancy laws and make tenancy a good instead of an evil?

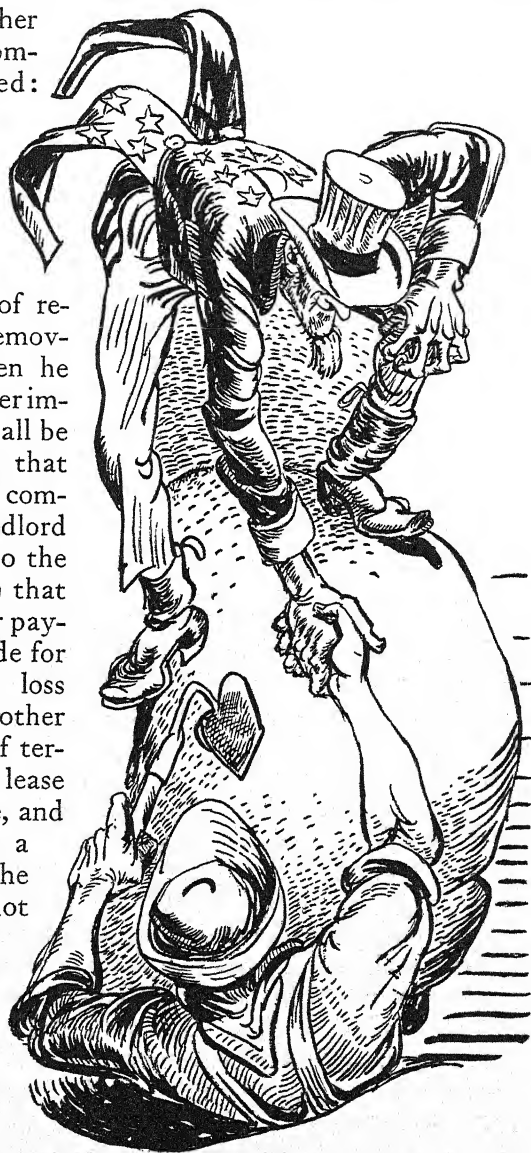
*Improving the Tenancy System.* One of the gravest evils of American tenancy is the shortness of the lease. Most leases are for a single year, and either party may then terminate the agreement. Another evil is the failure to compensate tenants, when they move, for improvements they have made. Because they will not be compensated, they have no incentive for making any improvements.

The President's Farm Tenancy Committee recommended that the state agricultural stations should conduct research to determine what kinds of leases are best adapted to various types of farming; also that state legislatures should consider measures for giving tenants and landlords better protec-

tion. Among other measures the Committee suggested:

(1) that agricultural leases should be written, (2) that all improvements made by the tenant and capable of removal shall be removable by him when he moves, and for other improvements he shall be compensated, (3) that the tenant shall compensate the landlord for damage due to the tenant's fault, (4) that after the first year payment shall be made for inconvenience or loss sustained by the other party by reason of termination of the lease without due cause, and (5) that renting a farm on which the dwelling does not meet certain minimum housing standards (such as a tight roof, screens, and a sanitary outside toilet) shall be a misdemeanor.

The Resettlement Administration between 1933 and 1938 gave help to several hundred thousand extremely needy



tenants. As a rule the help took two forms: first, a small loan made on the condition that the applicant should follow the advice of a county committee in managing his farm; and second, aid in obtaining a more satisfactory lease. It was found that many landlords, when relieved of having to supply credit to their tenants and partly relieved from supervising them, are willing to give a longer and more favorable lease. Furthermore, a tenant with a little working capital in the form of a mule, tools, and money to keep his family going until the harvest, is in a much stronger bargaining position, and able to make better terms with a landlord. This experience suggests that one way to improve the condition of farm tenants is to make it possible for them to borrow small sums at low cost, provided they agree to follow careful methods of farming suggested by the lending agency.

The granting of small loans to farmers is now being carried on by the Farm Security Administration. The average loan is \$300. Applicants are carefully selected and supervised, that they may be able to repay what they have borrowed. This policy, though less spectacular than helping tenants to buy farms, may possibly bring more far-reaching benefits. At any rate, it will help a large number of needy farm families to attain more security than they have had in the past.

*Co-operative Farm Communities.* Near Lake Dick, Arkansas, a new type of farm community is being built up. It has been carefully planned by the Farm Security Administration to accommodate eighty families, or between four and five hundred people in all.

Each family has its own house, outbuildings, garden, and poultry flock, but the real farming is done on a single tract of 2600 acres owned by the entire community. The people co-operate in farming it, using modern machinery owned by the community, and they share in the profits at the end of the season according to the number of days they have worked. The money for the land, buildings, and machinery was advanced by the government, and is to be repaid over a period of forty years. It is hoped to develop co-operative industries by which the people can supply many of their own needs and

also add to their cash income. The whole project is regarded as an experiment which may show the way to a higher standard of living for small farmers. The most important feature is the use of machinery that small individual farmers would not be able to command.

Another interesting new community is Delta Co-operative Farm in Hillhouse, Bolivar County, Mississippi. It was founded in 1936 by a group of leading Southerners eager to find a practicable method by which share croppers could help themselves. These southern leaders also desired to show that white and colored laborers could work helpfully and happily together on the co-operative principle. They collected money to buy two thousand acres of rich land and to settle thirty families upon it the first season. More families are being settled as additional contributions are received.

Half the families are white and half are colored. They have decided to live in two separate communities and to be separate in their social life, but to come together in running and working the farm. They have formed a producer's co-operative association in which each adult worker has a vote. The land is worked co-operatively with the aid of machinery, under the direction of a trained manager. Thus these people for the first time in their lives are in a position to benefit from new farming methods and the use of machines.

The members will apply part of the yearly income of the farm to repay the money that was advanced to purchase it, and eventually they will own it outright. Part of the yearly earnings will be used for improvements, and the rest will be divided among the families according to the quantity and quality of their work. They have started a co-operative store and plan to open a co-operative cannery and other small co-operative industries. A medical co-operative, through which to obtain good medical care at low cost, is also being considered.

Two churches with Sunday schools have been established. The people, many of whom could neither read nor write, are eager for education, and have formed evening classes for adults. The experiment so far looks very promising, not only in its economic aspects but also in the creation of a fine com-

munity life, among people who formerly lived in the depths of ignorance, poverty, and social isolation.

*Lightening the Farm-Owner's Tax Burden.* Farmers have always paid more than their fair share of the nation's taxes. In some years the proportion of the total farm income going for taxes is twice as great as the proportion taken from the income of nonfarmers. This happens because practically all of a farmer's wealth is in the form of tangible property — real estate, livestock, machinery, etc. — which is taxable at a high rate. Nonfarmers as a class possess a large amount of intangible wealth — stocks, bonds, savings accounts, etc. — which is either tax-exempt, or taxable at a smaller rate than the rate on tangible property.

Suppose someone owns \$1000 in the form of taxable stock and bonds, or a savings account. Let us assume that it earns him four per cent a year, or \$40. If his total income is not large enough to be subject to income tax he will not, in most states, have to pay any tax on this wealth. In some states he may have to pay a trifling tax — possibly five per cent of the net income from his securities, or two dollars. If his total income is large enough to be subject to income tax, the tax will amount, unless he is in the upper income brackets, to only a few per cent of his income.

By contrast, take the case of a farmer with \$1000 in the form of farm property and livestock. If this investment brings him (apart from his labor income) a return of 2 per cent, \$20, he is fortunate. But whether it brings him any return or not, he must pay a tax of \$15 to \$30 a thousand, depending on the local tax rate. An average farm tax rate of \$20 per thousand would take all his earnings on his capital if they were at the rate of 2 per cent. Obviously, this is most unjust.

In hard times many farmers have difficulty in raising cash to pay their taxes. In 1935 in western counties dependent on dry farming, 95 per cent of all taxes were in default. When taxes are not paid, the mortgage holder has to pay them, and before doing so, he will, of course, foreclose.

In some tax districts there is a tendency to assess family-size farms at a higher rate than larger farms. This gives an

unfair advantage to corporation farms and to plantations worked by gangs of laborers. Many believe that this tax policy should be reversed, so that family-size farms would have the advantage. In at least seven states small homesteads are now given complete or partial tax exemption, a policy intended to favor the family-size farm operated by the owner. This works hardship, however, on the farm tenant, who in the end has to pay the taxes levied on the land he rents.

The whole question of taxation urgently needs study. When farmers are no longer called upon to pay more than their fair share of taxes, they will find it easier to make a living.

#### IMPROVING THE FARMER'S POSITION AS SELLER AND AS BUYER

*The Farmer's Disadvantage as a Seller.* The farmer is at a great disadvantage in selling his products. When his crops or animals are ready to sell, he must sell them. He cannot wait; he cannot bargain for a better price than is offered. He is not able to take his products to market and sell them there as in the old days. Today he markets nearly everything through big concerns — the packers, canners, milk companies, millers, and through powerful commission men and brokers.

A few examples from a study made by the Federal Trade Commission will show to what extent the chief farm products are bought and processed by big concerns. Nearly half of all the tobacco produced by American farmers in 1934 was purchased by three tobacco companies. In 1934 three canners together processed from 30 to 67 per cent of the prunes, asparagus, dried beans, spinach, plums, pears, and peaches produced for canning. Thirteen flour-milling companies purchased 65 per cent of the 1935 wheat crop. Ten leading meat-packing companies bought 51 per cent of all the cattle and calves produced in 1934 and sold 70 per cent of all the beef bought by consumers in 1935. One milk company handled almost 10 per cent of the commercial milk produced.

The purchasing of many of the farmer's products seems to be in the hands of giant corporations, and it is easy for them to control the price. When a market is restricted to a few buyers, and when there are hundreds of thousands to sell, the sellers have to take whatever they can get.

*The Farmer's Small Share in the Consumer's Dollar.* The farmer receives on the average only 30 to 40 per cent of the price paid by the consumer for farm products. The rest is absorbed by those who ship, process, store, and distribute the product. The Federal Trade Commission in 1935 found that for fresh fruits and vegetables the consumer's dollar was divided almost equally between growers, distributors, and transportation-storage agencies. Only 13 cents out of the average bread dollar went to the farmer. Cigarette smokers paid 12 cents out of their cigarette dollar to the farmer, 41 cents to the manufacturer and distributor, and almost 47 cents for the federal revenue stamp on each package. Of the consumer's meat dollar the farmer received 40 cents. Potatoes, which undergo no transformation from the farm to the consumer, one might expect to yield higher returns to farmers, but here, too, the farmer's share was less than 50 per cent of the retail potato dollar, and sometimes as little as 30 per cent. In the case of potatoes the Commission found in certain large cities useless handling, the imposition of unreasonable charges, and cartage monopolies sometimes enforced by violence. These abuses and others due to outright racketeering are frequently discovered in the handling of farm products. Such practices add to the price paid by the consumer, while reducing the returns to the farmer.

From time to time some effort has been made to reduce the cost of distributing the farmer's product. When dishonest practices are found, the individuals responsible are liable to criminal prosecution. But it is always difficult to stop clever racketeers. The distant farmer may suspect that he is being cheated, but he cannot prove it. Under the Packers and Stockyards Act the farmers are given some protection. For instance, the Secretary of Agriculture was recently able to reduce unreasonable charges for unloading

cars of live poultry. To give the farmer additional protection, the Federal Trade Commission has recommended the public control of grain elevators, and the more effective control of exchanges which deal in wheat, cotton, and other farm products.

*The Income of Farmers Compared with Processors.* During a depression the income of farmers is severely cut, while the income of the processors of farm products may decline only slightly. Cotton farmers' gross income in 1934, exclusive of government benefits, was 48 per cent of its 1929 figure, but the gross income of cotton textile manufacturers stood at 96 per cent of its 1929 level. Wheat farmers received in 1934, exclusive of benefit payments, only 45 per cent of their 1929 gross income; the gross income of flour millers was down to 74 per cent of their 1929 income.

During the depression years few farmers made any interest on their investment. Moreover, the majority of them earned little for their labor, in millions of cases hardly enough for the barest subsistence. The processors and distributors of farm products made less than they had made before the depression, but few of them failed to make at least a moderate return on their investment. According to the Federal Trade Commission, between 1929 and 1935 a selected group of fourteen tobacco companies earned an average annual return on their capital of 15.8 per cent. During this period three biscuit and cracker companies earned for their stockholders 14.6 per cent on their capital. Six large chain groceries, most successful of all the companies studied, made an average of 17.4 per cent per year for the same seven years. Ten milk companies made an annual average return of 9.57 per cent. One hundred and two canners and packers averaged 7.33 per cent.

Not all processors made money. A group of eleven leather companies and a group of three cotton processors showed losses for the seven-year period as a whole. Generally, however, processing and distributing companies managed to earn something on their investment. For example, a group of eleven meat packers averaged 4.3 per cent annually on their capital; twelve shoe manufacturers 4.8 per cent; and

seven butter brokers and wholesalers 4.7 per cent. These earnings would look large to farmers even in their most prosperous years.

*Prices Received and Prices Paid by Farmers.* Between 1929 and 1933 the prices received by farmers dropped 62 per cent. The prices paid by farmers for goods used in agricultural production dropped only 31 per cent. Practically none of the manufactured articles bought by farm people fell as much as the prices of the things they had to sell. On this account farmers had only half as much purchasing power in March, 1933 (the lowest point in the farm depression), as they had had in the "normal" years from 1910 to 1914. This caused suffering and unrest among the farmers. A demand arose that "parity prices" be restored through government action. (See paragraph below.) Since 1933, farm prices have improved somewhat but parity has not yet been reached. In other words, farmers are in a less favorable position than they were from 1910 to 1914.

*The Agricultural Adjustment Act.* Beginning in 1929 Congress tried to help farmers get better prices. The Federal Farm Board was established to buy up crop surpluses, but was unsuccessful in raising farm prices. In 1933 the Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed. Effort was made to reduce the acreage planted to the principal crops. This act was held unconstitutional. In 1938 Congress passed another Agricultural Adjustment Act.

The new AAA is designed to regulate the production and marketing of five major farm crops — corn, cotton, rice, wheat, and tobacco. The aim is to establish "parity prices." This means that farmers should have those prices for corn, cotton, rice, and wheat which will give the same purchasing power (regarding those things that the farmer buys) as existed for those commodities from August, 1909, to July, 1914. For tobacco the parity price should be that which existed from August, 1919, to July, 1929. To prevent market gluts, the act has four provisions:

1. Acreage allotments in order to prevent a surplus. The national acreage allotment will be apportioned among the states, counties, and farms with the advice and help of

farmers' committees elected by the growers. Any farmer may ignore the allotment, but if he does he cannot get a conservation payment for keeping acreage out of production and substituting soil-restoring crops for soil-depleting crops, and he will be ineligible for government storage loans and crop insurance.

2. Marketing quotas in years when there is a large surplus. If two thirds of the growers approve, each grower will be asked to keep a certain percentage of his crop off the market. If a farmer sells more than his quota, he must pay a penalty on each extra pound.

3. Storage loans to farmers who need help in carrying over reserves from one year to another. The government furnishes storage facilities since few farmers have any place to store their crop. Meanwhile, the farmer may obtain a loan on the portion of the crop he has placed in storage. When the price is sufficiently high (between 52 and 75 per cent of the parity price) part or all of the stored crop may be sold. Then the farmer pays back the money borrowed from the government. If the stored crop sells for less than the loan, the government, not the farmer, is liable for the loss.

4. Crop insurance for wheat growers. Farmers who wish government crop insurance may pay premiums for two years in advance, when they have a crop surplus. Premiums may be paid in actual grain, and go into the "ever-normal granary." The government insures the farmer for a crop of from 50 to 75 per cent of the average yield on his farm. If insects or weather destroy his crop, he will be paid as much actual grain or its cash equivalent as the amount by which his yield falls below the insurance coverage. Under this plan it is hoped that the farmer's income will vary less, the market will become more stable, and consumers will obtain an adequate and steady supply at fair prices.

Whether this particular AAA succeeds or fails, it is probable that the government is in agriculture to stay, and that the farmers, although they may criticize its activities, will resist any attempt to pull it out.

*Co-operative Associations.* The farmers have not depended solely on the government to aid them. Nearly half of them

have joined co-operative purchasing and marketing associations.

In the marketing association, producers of a given product join together that they may be able to bargain on a more nearly equal basis with the big corporations that process and distribute their product. The marketing association strives to uphold a high quality in the output, and in the case of some commodities (particularly oranges, cranberries, raisins, and walnuts) tries through national advertising to stimulate the demand. In 1936 more than 8,000 marketing co-operatives had a membership of nearly 3,000,000 farmers. Co-operatives play a prominent part in the marketing of fruit, dairy products, livestock, grain, cotton, wool, and tobacco. They have an annual business of over one billion dollars.

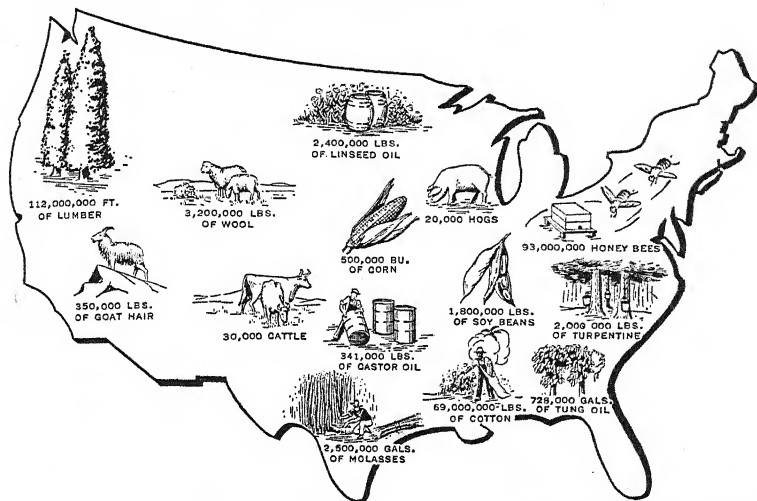
Marketing co-operatives have helped their members get a better price for their products. Yet in America they have not greatly increased the farmers' share of the final selling price. This is because they sell to wholesalers and processors. In Denmark, co-operative marketing associations handle the farmers' products from the time they leave the farm to the time they reach the consumer. As a result the Danish farmer receives 70 to 75 per cent of the price paid by the consumer.

In recent years co-operative purchasing associations have been growing rapidly among American farmers. Today the farmers have more than 2000 of these organizations, with over one million members. Through the purchasing co-operative they can obtain various items at a saving.

In some communities co-operative farm credit unions have been established. These are "baby banks" which lend their funds to members desiring short-term loans. Borrowers pay 6 per cent interest instead of the usurious rates (15 to 50 per cent, counting "bonuses" and other charges) generally charged by commercial small-loan companies.

Other types of co-operatives, including electric light, medical, insurance, and burial associations, are also being formed. Such co-operatives generally enroll both farmers and nonfarmers in the area they serve.

## What the American Farm Now Supplies in One Year for One Make of Automobile



Courtesy, Farm Chemurgic Council

### FINDING NEW MARKETS FOR FARM PRODUCTS

Large crop surpluses have troubled American farmers often in our history, but since 1920, when they lost the enormous export market they had enjoyed during the World War, they have experienced the worst agricultural depression since we became a nation. Either new markets must be found, or it is estimated that at least forty million acres of good farm land, brought into cultivation during the War, must be retired.

*New Industrial Uses for Farm Products.* An increasing quantity of farm products is being utilized as raw materials for industry. Cotton is the chief industrial crop. Two fifths of American cotton goes into a wide variety of industrial uses, including automobile roadbeds and explosives. Dozens of other crops have industrial value. One automobile company buys for its cars cotton, corn, soybeans, molasses, lard, mohair, wool, linseed oil, and turpentine. It is said that new uses of farm products in industry may before long take the output of fifty to a hundred million acres of farm land. Be-

sides, some think we may be on the eve of using vast quantities of fuel alcohol made from corn, artichokes, potatoes, and sweet potatoes, to run our automobiles.

Research on new uses for farm products is going forward in many private laboratories. In 1938 Congress provided for four laboratories to be maintained at government expense, one in each of four major farming sections. Each laboratory will receive one million dollars a year to conduct research in an effort to show how agricultural commodities and waste products can serve industrial purposes. However, the benefits will not be felt at once. It takes a generation or more before any new discovery or invention comes into widespread use.

*Promoting Better Dietary Standards.* At least twenty million Americans have a dangerously inadequate diet and are prey to many deficiency diseases, including such common ones as pellagra, rickets, anemia, scurvy, and nervous debility. Three or four times as many people have a diet that is more or less adequate, but contains only a minimum amount of some of the essential vitamins and minerals. Only a small proportion of the people have a *liberal* diet, one that contains the optimum quantity of vitamins, minerals, fats, and proteins.

According to estimates of the United States Department of Agriculture, if every person in the country were to have a liberal diet our present production of milk, butter, eggs, citrus fruits, small fruits, green and yellow vegetables, and livestock, would have to be greatly expanded. More than 40,000,000 additional acres would have to be used to provide these products. The acres no longer needed for export crops might be used to supply the expanded domestic market.

To change the dietary habits of the nation will take years of education, yet education alone is insufficient. Many people cannot now afford a liberal diet; they eat too much cereal, bread, and sugar because these foods are cheap. Education plus higher earnings will probably bring about better eating habits. But the process will be too slow to help farmers during their present hard times.

*Efforts to Recapture Foreign Trade.* Apparently the welfare of the American farmer still depends on a large foreign

market for his products. Before the depression 55 per cent of our cotton, 18 per cent of our wheat, 16 per cent of our hog products, and 41 per cent of our leaf tobacco was sold abroad. One sixth of our total acreage was needed to produce what was exported.

With the coming of a world-wide depression in 1929, our exports of farm and industrial commodities dropped to less than one third. This, more than any other single factor, was responsible for the farm crisis that prevailed during the 1930's. When our surplus cotton, grain, tobacco, and hog products cannot be sold abroad, these surpluses are thrown upon glutted home markets, causing a disastrous fall in prices. If at the same time American industries lose their foreign markets, our city workers are stripped of their purchasing power, and turn to cheaper foods. Accordingly, the most practicable way to restore farm prosperity seems to lie in recapturing foreign markets. This will be possible only if other countries can be persuaded to lower their tariffs and remove some of the other barriers they have set up to discourage imports.

In 1934 Congress authorized the State Department to make reciprocal trade agreements with other countries. Within four years trade agreements had been concluded with seventeen countries which before the depression were buying over one half of our total commodity exports. Under the first seventeen agreements we have secured improved trade treatment on hundreds of agricultural items. To get such concessions from other countries it is, of course, necessary to grant concessions in return, including duty reductions on some manufactured goods and some farm products. The program has already increased our total foreign trade substantially, and brought about a considerable rise in the export of our farm products.

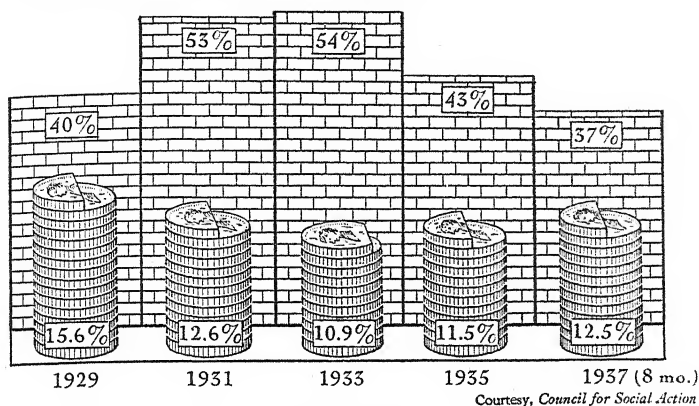
The trade-agreements program is endorsed by many leading businessmen and condemned by others. Propaganda against the program, much of it misleading, has been widely circulated. There has been an effort made to persuade the farmers that the State Department is "selling them down the river."

Substance was lent to this charge because our agricultural imports increased faster in 1935, 1936, and 1937 than our agricultural exports. But much of the increase was in non-competitive imports, such as coffee, tea, rubber, and silk. The increased imports of beef and of low-grade wheat and corn for feeding purposes are explained by droughts and restrictive laws, which caused a shortage here of these products. A considerable part of the increase was made up of certain important agricultural products that we regularly import in large quantities in spite of high tariffs. These include long-staple cotton, dutiable types of wool, hides, and skins, and wrapping tobacco, products which we cannot produce in sufficient quantities at reasonable costs to supply our factories. Imports of these products rose because of improved economic conditions. During the period 1934-37 our exports of farm products were abnormally low because drought and acreage restrictions had seriously curtailed some of our staple crops, but by 1938 they showed important gains.

The trade agreement with Canada in January, 1936, was much criticized by dairy farmers because it increased our imports of Cheddar cheese. After the agreement was executed, imports of Cheddar cheese rose to between 1 and 2 per cent of our production. This alarmed the farmers, although the amount was too small to have any appreciable effect on prices. In 1932, when a high tariff shut out almost every pound of Cheddar, when producers enjoyed 99.84 per cent of the domestic market, Cheddar was selling for only 10 cents a pound, and the gross income of the industry amounted to but \$37,000,000. In 1936 Cheddar prices averaged 15.3 cents, our domestic production reached an all-time high, and the gross income of the industry was over \$75,000,000. A similar story could be told concerning many other products. The producer is far more prosperous with a substantial share, say 80 per cent, of a large market than with 100 per cent of a shrunken market. There is no doubt that trade agreements bring about a larger market. For instance, Canada reduced her tariff on 125 of our agricultural products, with steep reductions on fresh pork, hams, and bacon. She also made tariff cuts on numerous industrial products. We made cer-

## Tariffs and Trade

The Higher Our Average Tariff Rates,  
the Lower Our Share of World Exports



tain concessions, too, and the brisker trade that resulted with our northern neighbor has benefited both nations, including farmers and wage earners on both sides of the border.

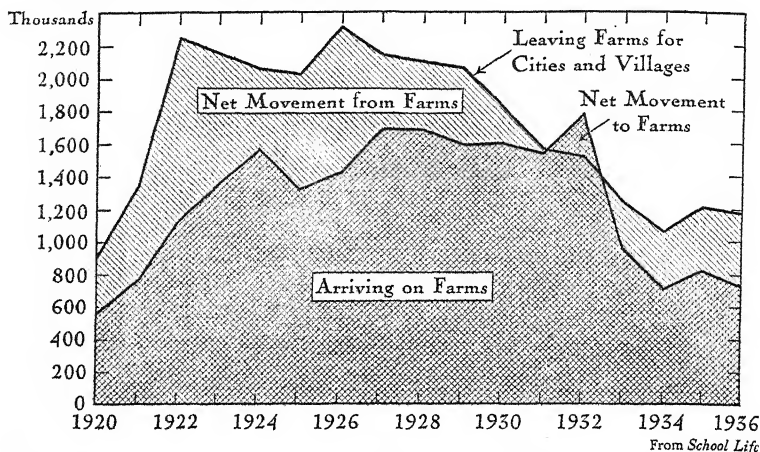
The idea that every nation should strive for self-sufficiency, that it should reduce its imports to zero, is popular in the totalitarian countries. It has some followers in the United States. Farmers having this idea demand tariffs high enough to keep out everything that our farmers are capable of producing. But should this policy be adopted other countries would certainly retaliate, and we might lose all that remains of our farm export market. Some thirty-five to forty-five million acres now being used to grow export crops might lie idle. The most additional land we could use by cutting out imports is estimated at ten million acres. The phrase "America for the Americans" appeals to nationalistic feelings, but there is reason to doubt that it harmonizes with the real interests of our farmers.

### FINDING NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS FOR SURPLUS FARMERS

There are nearly seven million farm operators in the United States. In 1929 half of them sold less than one thou-

## Movement To and From Farms, 1920-36

Births and Deaths Not Taken into Account

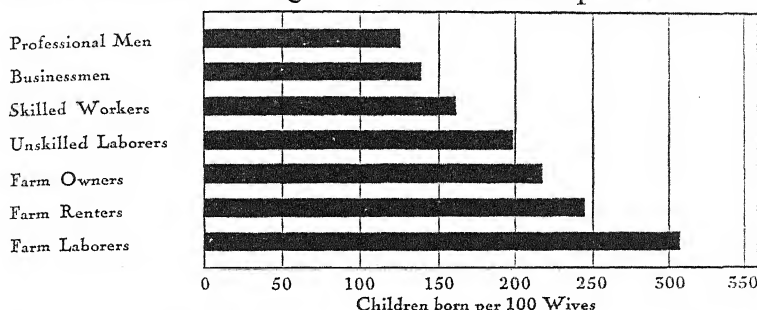


Farm prosperity requires that the movement from the farms exceed that to the farms. In the depression the movement from the farms fell drastically, and in 1932 was less than the movement to the farms from the cities. Great numbers of the unemployed went back to the farms, hoping to support themselves on the land.

sand dollars' worth of products each. From this sum had to be paid the cash expenses of the farm as well as the family. Such small-scale production, necessarily carried on without modern machinery and equipment, cannot be very efficient. Nor can it yield more than a meager family living. Many of these small farmers work elsewhere than on their farms whenever work is to be had. Sometimes one member of the family works full time for a neighboring farmer or in a near-by town. Thus a good many small farms may be regarded as part-time enterprises.

Most students of the farm problem agree that the nation would be better off if about one third of the families now struggling to wring a subsistence from the land could get their living from nonagricultural employment. Presumably they would earn much more than they do now, and would become good customers for all kinds of manufactured articles, which now they are too poor to buy. If they ceased to farm,

### Birth Rate according to Husband's Occupation



Based on a study made by the Millbank Foundation of 100,000 native white women married to 100,000 native white men

they would also become customers for farm products, and this would help the remaining farmers substantially.

In the long run industry should be able to absorb the surplus farmers. It has been absorbing them very rapidly for over a century. And the transfer of people from jobs at which they produce little to jobs at which they can produce more has two good results: it raises their earnings and also adds to the total national income. It is only in the last few years that industry has been unable to employ most of the surplus young farm people. As business recovers, the flow of population from the farms will doubtless again set in.

There is every reason why we should encourage the free movement of people off the farms and into industry. In the first place, the farm population has a much higher birth rate than the nonfarm population. In the second place, the cities cannot maintain themselves at their present size unless they continue to attract the surplus farm youth. Furthermore, the farmers' productive efficiency will keep on increasing, so that year by year fewer farmers will be necessary to raise the nation's food. Finally, the nonfarm industries can be expanded indefinitely, since there is no limit to the demand for manufactured goods and for services.

Must the surplus farm people move to the city? Why should they? ask the regional planners. Why not develop a variety of village industries? With cheap electric power and

with raw materials from near-by farms, forests, and mines, some industries can operate in rural communities as successfully as in cities.

Now that we are learning to handle our forests as a crop, we may count on a very considerable amount of forest employment. The national forests alone give full or part-time work to nearly a million persons. The development of wild-life sanctuaries and of state and national parks is also creating work for many thousands of farm dwellers. In some areas of beautiful scenery and pleasing climate, recreational industries — hotels, camps, “dude” ranches, hunting, sports, etc. — are growing rapidly. These industries give part-time work to numerous farm people. It does not seem impossible that in the near future millions of small farmers will be able to supplement their slender farm earnings by work in forests, recreational areas, and village industries. In the long run the farm problem may be solved by creating new occupations for the surplus, and therefore impoverished, farm people.



ACTIVITIES

1. Draw a cartoon illustrating the plight of the farmer; one showing his attitude toward the AAA.
2. Write an editorial criticizing or supporting the AAA.
3. Review the pamphlet, *The Response of Government to Agriculture*, obtainable from the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.
4. Report on the recent growth of farmers' co-operatives. Write for information to the Farm Credit Administration. Inquire of local farmers whether they belong to co-operatives.
5. Make a study of some local product to see how much the farmer gets for it, how much the consumer pays, and through how many concerns it passes before reaching the consumer.
6. Report on the difference between agricultural co-operatives in Denmark and in the United States.
7. Write to the State Department for recent publications on the way in which the trade-agreements program affects the farmer. Review these for the class.
8. Invite your county agricultural agent to tell the class what the government is doing to help farmers in your county. Question him on the AAA, the Farm Security Administration, Federal Land Banks, and on the extension service.

QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. Discuss various ways to aid farm tenants.
2. Should farm land that is rented be taxed more than farm land worked by the owner? Explain.
3. Why do farm owners pay a larger proportion of their income in taxes than most nonfarmers?
4. Show that the farmer is at a disadvantage in selling his products.
5. How do you explain the fact that farmers suffered worse from the depression than the processors and distributors of farm products?
6. What is meant by parity prices in the AAA?
7. Explain the ever-normal granary plan. How is it expected to benefit farmers and consumers?
8. Do you consider that the AAA is in accord with democratic ideas? Defend your answer.
9. What are the different types of co-operative associations?

10. What benefits may be expected from the regional agricultural laboratories?
11. What is meant by a liberal diet? How might it be attained by all our people? How would its attainment help the farmers?
12. Do you agree with those who think that the most practicable way to expand the farm market is through restoring foreign trade? Explain your position.
13. Why cannot a high tariff policy help the producers of export crops?
14. A southern editor estimates that high tariffs over the past seventy years have cost the American farmer 45 per cent of his income. Can you explain how the tariff affects the farmer?
15. Drawing upon both chapters 25 and 26, how do you account for the farmers' low per capita share in the national income?
16. Should more people be retained in the country? If so, how might this be done? If not, where should they go?
17. Is it possible for the farm population to have as high a per capita income as city workers?

#### READINGS

- Cohn, David L., *Picking America's Pockets* (Concerning the tariff)
- Eddy, Sherwood, *A Door of Opportunity or An American Adventure in Co-operation with Share-Croppers* (Pamphlet)
- Farm Credit Administration, *Agricultural Financing through the Farm Credit Administration. Co-operative Marketing of Farm Products. The Farmers' Stake in Co-operative Credit. Improving Our Rural Credit Facilities* (Free)
- Federal Trade Commission, *Report on Principal Farm Products; Agricultural Income Inquiry*, Vol. I, 1937
- National Foreign Trade Council, Inc., 72 Beaver St., New York City. *Economic Values of International Trade. Foreign Trade and the Domestic Welfare*
- Nourse, Edwin C., Davis, Joseph S., and Black, John D., *Three Years of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration*, Brookings Institute, 1937
- Ostrolenk, Bernhard, *The Surplus Farmer* (A brief and readable account of how the present agricultural problems have developed)
- Pettet, Z. R., *Part-time Farming in the United States*
- Tasca, Henry J., *The Reciprocal Trade Policy of the United States*
- Wallace, Henry, *America Must Choose*. World Affairs Pamphlets, No. 3, 1934

Refer also to Readings at end of chapter 25.

## Unit X

### *Earning and Distributing the Nation's Income*

WE COME now to the most pressing of all modern problems — how to assure to everyone an adequate income. For the first time in human history it has become possible to produce so abundantly that all could have plenty of the necessities and even many of the luxuries of the machine age. We stand at the gates of a new economy — the economy of plenty.

We are discovering that unless we enter those gates we cannot keep our wonderful industrial organization running at capacity, and we cannot assure to the owners of farms, transportation, and businesses of all sorts a return on their investments. The welfare of all classes seems to depend on distributing income in such a way that production of all kinds of goods and services may continue at full blast. To solve this problem is the great task of our age.

Because this matter of adequate income is so vital to welfare we might well have inquired into it before we turned our attention to any other social problem. Were every family able to live at least on the minimum level of health and decency, we have good reason to believe that many social ills of our time would be partly or wholly overcome. The study of income was, however, postponed to this point because it is so complicated. It involves so many factors and is so cluttered up with tradition that clear thinking on the subject is far from easy.

In approaching the next three chapters, on problems of labor, the national income, and the regulation of business, it is essential to be open-minded. Remember that these are questions on which people feel strongly, and on which the best minds are not agreed.



# Chapter 27

## SOME PROBLEMS OF LABOR

*Human welfare requires a progressive diminution of the part played by economic production and consumption, leaving a larger and longer share of life free for the pursuit of those noneconomic ends which are the highest in the scale of human values.*

J. A. HOBSON

THE basic economic problem in our society, as in every other, is: How can we produce the largest amount of the things that people want at the lowest human cost? The past century has brought considerable progress in solving this problem, but we still have far to go.

The production of wealth always involves human costs, such as fatigue, monotony, unwelcome discipline, exposure to heat, cold, dust, noxious fumes, and accidents. In some occupations, as deep-sea fishing, coal mining, and stoking, the human costs are very high. In others, such as office work, the human costs are fairly light. Strangely enough, those occupations that involve the most drudgery, exposure, and risk are, generally speaking, the poorest paid. Thus the human costs of production are apt to fall most heavily upon those least able to bear them, including the poor, the weak, the young, and the defenseless.

The reduction of the human costs of production often increases the material cost. Installing guards on machinery to prevent accidents, providing clean washrooms, safeguarding employees against dust and fumes, and other acts of consideration cost money. Before all employers will go to this expense an incentive has to be supplied. As a rule the incentive takes the form of legislation to compel employers to comply with minimum standards.

In the long struggle to reduce the human costs of labor, workers' organizations have played a decisive part. Workers who are well organized generally have better working conditions than those who are unorganized. The poorest labor conditions are found in occupations that do not lend themselves to organization. Agricultural laborers, migrant workers, scrubwomen, and domestic workers are little better off now than they were several generations ago.

#### THE RIGHT TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IS WON

With the introduction of the factory system in the early years of the Industrial Revolution, workers found themselves in a worse position than ever before. They were dependent upon the factory owner for the necessities of life, and he had no responsibility whatsoever for their welfare. The day's work was begun and ended by the sun. Wages were so low that everyone in the family had to work in the factory in order to live. The use of machinery made jobs that even children of six could do. To protect themselves laborers formed organizations. But in every country such combinations of workers were at first held to be illegal.

*The Growth of American Labor Organizations.* The first continuous labor organization in the United States was formed in 1792 and was soon followed by others. Between 1806 and 1815 a series of conspiracy trials was held, and in each case the combination of laborers was declared illegal. A few years later another series of labor cases was tried, and by 1827 it was understood that workers had the right to combine. However, it was illegal for them to use any of the tactics that might make their unions of any benefit to them in a contest with employers.

After 1827 organizations of workingmen grew like mushrooms. For a time they confined themselves to political activity. They helped secure many of the social and political reforms of the time, including a free common school system, equal manhood suffrage, and the abolition of imprisonment for debt. They demanded the ten-hour working day and legislation to protect the health and safety of factory workers.

Not until 1842 was the right to organize and to strike definitely established. In the forties and fifties the labor movement gathered momentum. Men of all nationalities joined the ranks. They demanded a ten-hour day and a decent living wage. Little was gained, and the wage earners of the North were scarcely better off than the Negro slaves of the South. Labor unions declined in the panic of 1857 and did not again flourish until after the Civil War.

The first national labor organization to secure a large membership was the Knights of Labor. Begun by a few garment-cutters in Philadelphia in 1869, its purpose was to unite all wage earners in a powerful national union. It advocated political action rather than the strike to gain its ends. Among the reforms it worked for were: (1) an eight-hour day and a weekly payday; (2) exclusion of Chinese laborers; (3) the prohibition of child labor; (4) a graduated income and inheritance tax; (5) government ownership of railroads and telegraph lines; (6) establishment of postal savings banks; (7) the *referendum*, a method by which the voters may, if they choose, repeal an act of the legislature. This organization aroused the country to the needs of labor and created a stronger sentiment for unionism, but it became involved in several severe and unsuccessful strikes and gradually declined.

*The Rise of the American Federation of Labor.* In 1881 some active labor leaders, dissatisfied with the management of the Knights of Labor, started a new organization known as the American Federation of Labor. Hundreds of members from the old organization flocked to the new, and within a few years it displaced the Knights of Labor as a potent representative of labor. In less than twenty years it had a million members and today it has four million.

Under the policy of the American Federation of Labor, each trade is independently organized into local, state, and national trade unions, and each "local" is left to negotiate with its own employers. Every local is affiliated with the state federation of labor and the national federation.

It is the purpose of this national labor organization to bind together all the national unions and to work for im-

proved working conditions, higher wages, shorter hours, and good labor laws. It tries to create a public opinion that will be sympathetic to its program. It has always been intensely patriotic and conservative and until recent years has never taken any deliberate part in politics.

### The Ranks of Labor

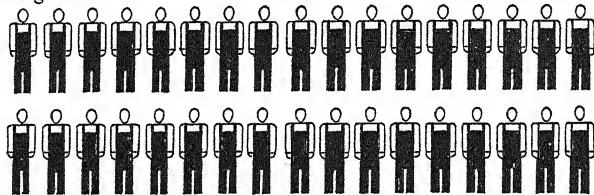
A. F. of L.



C. I. O.



Unorganized



Courtesy, *The Weekly News Review*

Each figure represents one million workers

*The Rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.* Until 1935 the American Federation of Labor spoke for workers everywhere. Nearly all the important unions belonged to it. But today this is no longer true. Another organization, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, is in the field. It has about the same number of members. Most of the unions now belonging to the C.I.O. were once members of the A. F. of L., but some of them are new unions composed of members who formerly belonged to no organization at all. There is a struggle for power between the two organizations, and rivalry is bitter.

The organized labor movement has grown rapidly during the last few years. The growth has been due in part to the split in the ranks of labor. Each group, in its effort to outdo the other and gain the mastery, has worked hard to organize

unions and increase its membership. Recently the government has encouraged the organization of all workers, and this is another reason for the rapid growth of the labor movement.

There is a wide difference of opinion as to whether the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. is the better form of organization. The A. F. of L. is composed of unions of skilled workers organized according to crafts. For example, all the teamsters are formed into a teamsters' union, although one teamster may work for a construction company, another for a warehouse, and a third for a brewery. Each union bargains with separate employers for its craft only. A single employer may have to negotiate with a dozen or more craft unions, and any one of them may strike and paralyze production without regard for the whole mass of the workers.

The C.I.O. welcomes all men, skilled and unskilled. It organizes all the workers in an industry, regardless of training or craftsmanship. For example, in the steel workers' union there are riveters and teamsters and firemen and many other types of workers. But since all of them are in the steel industry and work for steel companies, they belong to one union. This type of organization is known as the *industrial union*. It negotiates with all the employers in an industry. Unlike the crafts' union it tries to get improved conditions for every worker in the industry, including the unskilled workers, who would not be allowed to join a crafts' union. As the large majority of workers in the nation are unskilled, the industrial unions may be expected to grow rapidly.

*The Right of Collective Bargaining Is Guaranteed by Law.* Many years ago Chief Justice William Howard Taft said that it was essential that the workers be given "an opportunity to deal on the same equality with their employers." This opportunity has at last been guaranteed under the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. The act establishes the right of collective bargaining and majority rule, and defines unfair labor practices. The employer is forbidden to interfere with or in any way seek to dominate any labor organization, or to encourage or discourage unions; he may not coerce, restrain, influence, or interfere with the men if they wish to form a labor organization. Discrimination against

workers because of their union membership is forbidden. It is the duty of the employer to deal collectively with representatives of the workers if they represent a majority as determined by an election. The persons selected by the majority voting must represent all.

Labor had long fought for the right to bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing. Accordingly, the act is regarded as a great gain for labor. Many employers feel that the present law is one-sided, and that it will encourage unions to become arrogant and to make unreasonable demands. Regular employment depends on the ability of the employer to make profits. Where these are too restricted industry will not expand. If, through compulsory collective bargaining, wages tend to become more rigid, how will the employer be able to adjust costs and prices in times of depression? If costs cannot be lowered in a period of falling prices, the business must be shut down. Unless collective bargaining takes into account the interest of the employer as well as of the workers, it will be a failure.

*Weapons of Industrial Warfare.* In the long struggle between capital and labor certain weapons have been developed. One of the oldest, frowned upon by employers, intelligent workers, and all labor organizations, is *sabotage*, the wilful destruction of the property of the employer, especially the machinery or products. The *strike* is the refusal to work until demands are granted. For many years the strike was illegal. Since it is of little value when the labor market is flooded with the unemployed, there are fewer strikes during a depression, in spite of the fact that wages are cut. The *sit-down strike*, in which men remain in their places of employment and refuse to work or to allow others to work, is a new weapon in the United States. Those who believe in this type of strike recognize that they have no *legal* right to occupy another man's property, but they say there is a *human* right involved, the worker's right to his job. It is claimed that the sit-down strike is peaceful and avoids bloodshed; also that "scabs," or strikebreakers, cannot be sent in to take the place of the strikers.

To prevent the use of strikebreakers during a strike, the

unions resort to *picketing*. Pickets are placed in front of or around the place where the strike is and try to discourage or prevent people from going to work. Picketing is also used to persuade the public not to patronize a firm that labor considers unfair. Peaceful picketing has been declared legal by the Supreme Court.

Other weapons used by unions are the *boycott*, the *unfair list*, and the *union label*. The boycott is an attempt to persuade the public not to buy the products of an employer. The unfair list, published in papers friendly to labor, contains the names of firms from which the unions urge the public not to buy. The union label is used to identify goods produced by union labor. Workers are urged not to buy goods that do not bear this label.

Groups of employers customarily band themselves together in employers' associations in order to combat the activities of unions. They can command all the resources of publicity in the effort to discredit the unions and win public opinion to their side. The *lockout* is the shutting down of a factory as a means of forcing workers to withdraw their demands. Another means of combating the labor union is the formation of a *company union*, composed of any employees who may wish to join. At an election, as provided under the National Labor Relations Act, the workers sometimes vote for a company union rather than for one controlled by outside labor leaders. The company union is relatively powerless to secure concessions from the employer. It cannot employ a trained leader from outside, but must rely for leadership upon its own members.

The most effective weapon of the employer is the *injunction*. It is an order from a court forbidding a person or group from performing an act which the court believes is, or may be, injurious. In the past it has often been obtained by employers or public officials to prevent meetings, picketing, boycotts, or collecting money to further a strike. In 1932 Congress passed the Anti-Injunction Act, prohibiting the United States courts from issuing injunctions to stop workers from holding meetings, striking, urging to strike, or picketing. Similar acts have been passed by a number of

the states. These anti-injunction laws merely eliminate some of the grave and well-known abuses in the issuance of labor injunctions. The employer may still obtain an injunction to prevent an illegal strike or to prevent damage to his property.

If an employer can show in court that his business has been injured by any act of a labor union which restrains interstate commerce, he may not only recover damages but treble damages. Not only is the union responsible for paying these damages, but individual members of the union are responsible to the extent of all their personal possessions. In the Danbury Hatters Case judgments were obtained against the Hatters Union (1908) for \$300,000, and were paid in full. This is still the law today.

Several weapons against labor unions which have been widely used in the past are still used by some employers. The *blacklist*, made and circulated by employers, is a list of workers who have been discharged or who have been active in labor struggles. To be on such a list makes it practically impossible to secure employment. Labor spies and private detectives are sometimes hired to keep the employer fully informed about the activities of the employees and to attempt to block their efforts to organize or agree on a program of action by stirring up suspicion and strife within the ranks. So notorious had the hiring of labor spies become that in 1936 the Senate authorized an investigation of the practice.

#### PROBLEMS THAT CONCERN CHIEFLY THE UNORGANIZED

*The Employment of Children.* Commonly when people speak of child labor they refer to those who work in factories, mines, stores, and the trades. Under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 children less than sixteen may not be employed by producers, manufacturers, and dealers. Unfortunately this does not mean the end of child labor. Most of the children who work are found in agriculture. About half a million of them were enumerated in the 1930



Census as "regularly working full time on the day the census was taken." These young farm workers are chiefly found in the South, but a considerable number of them are employed in every state where truck and field crops are grown on a large scale. Some of them work at home. Some are hired by neighboring farmers. A great many of them migrate with their families from county to county or state to state, following the seasonal demand. The lot of these migrant children is pitiful indeed. Miserably housed and fed, they work from dawn to dark for a pittance. They miss months of school in spring and fall and are generally several years retarded in their grades.

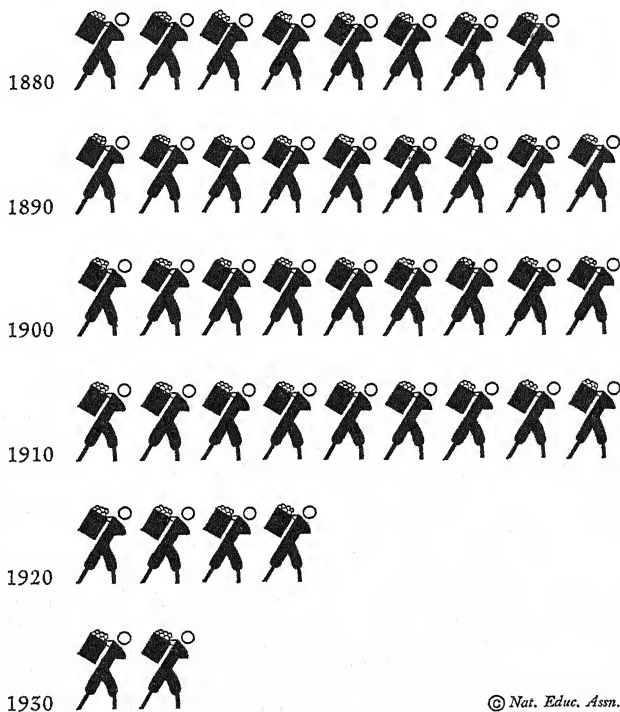
Another phase of child labor that has been neglected is industrial homework. The manufacturer sends to the home the material to be finished for the market. Adults and children work in crowded homes, often dark, poorly heated and ventilated, and without any limitation on the length of the working day. Children of all ages commonly work from the time they get home from school until late at night, and their earnings are but a few pennies. Homeworkers are always paid by the amount produced. They have no bargaining power, and accept whatever is offered for fear the work will be turned over to someone else. An experienced adult can earn from five to twenty cents an hour. Children seldom earn as much. Fifteen states have laws regulating homework to some extent, but most of these laws apply to only a few of the industries in which homework is practiced, and are intended to safeguard the consumer from disease rather than to protect the worker.

Other children of tender years are employed in the street trades, in messenger service, and in domestic and personal service. The street trades, chiefly bootblacking and the selling of newspapers, involve grave moral hazards. The child employed in domestic service is usually an orphan, working for her keep, and having very little protection.

A century ago public opinion was not much opposed to child labor. In many communities at that time there were no free schools. People thought that child idleness was a sin, and that gainful employment was beneficial to children.

Today most people recognize the great evils resulting from child labor and hope to see it eliminated. This does not mean, of course, that children ought not to help their parents or that they should not work for others in some of

### Proportion of Children 10-15 Years of Age Gainfully Employed



© Nat. Educ. Assn.

Each symbol represents about 2 percent of children

their free time. Child labor is defined as the employment of children at unfit ages, for unreasonable hours, under unhealthful conditions.

For more than a century feeble efforts have been made by legislation to prevent the working of children. In 1836 Massachusetts passed the first child labor law in our history. Today nearly every state has some type of law dealing with

employment of children, but often the law is inadequate and poorly enforced. It commonly grants so many exemptions that the largest groups of child laborers are not affected.

State laws regulating child labor are so unsatisfactory that many efforts have been made to secure national legislation. Congress passed two laws (1916 and 1918) to control child labor, but both were declared unconstitutional. In 1924 Congress passed a joint resolution calling for a child labor amendment to the Constitution. The amendment would give Congress power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age. Twenty-nine of the necessary thirty-six ratifications had been secured by 1938. Another child labor amendment was introduced in Congress in 1938, which is thought to have more chance of being ratified. It proposes to give Congress power to limit and prohibit only children under sixteen from working. Since the age limit has been reduced two years and the word "regulate" left out, it is thought that the proposal will meet with less opposition than the previous one.

*Women Workers.* Today nearly six times as many women are working outside the home as sixty years ago, and for every seven men employed there are two women working. This is a change of tremendous significance.

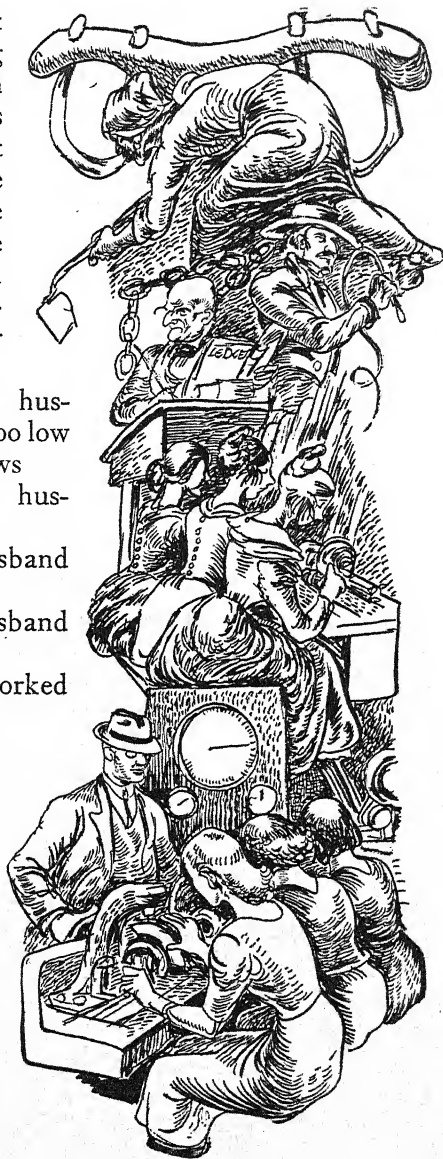
Why do so many women work in gainful occupations? A common fallacy is that they do so to earn a little "pin money" or to increase the income of the husband. In the vast majority of cases they work from necessity. At least one tenth of all employed women are the sole support of a family of two or more persons. In addition to those who are the sole family wage earners, a very large body of women are supporting dependents either wholly or in part. Many of these are fully responsible for the support of some persons and partly responsible for others. In a study of 155,282 women workers it was found that nearly 60 per cent helped to support dependents. In another study of 60,000 women, over half were giving all their earnings to the family support.

About one third of women workers are married. A small proportion of these, who are highly skilled or have special professional or business training, are working entirely from

choice. Undoubtedly most of the others are working because they must. In studies of schoolteachers it has been shown that the married women have more dependents than the single women. In one study of married women wage earners the following reasons were given for working:

- 29 per cent said the husband's income was too low
- 22 per cent were widows
- 14 per cent had sick husbands
- 13 per cent said the husband had deserted
- 11 per cent said the husband failed to support
- 11 per cent said they worked from choice

The fact that women are nearly always paid much less than men is a serious problem. Even for piecework the rate paid to women is usually less than that paid to men. Because women will accept lower wages, they tend to replace men in many kinds of work. Too often the father of a family loses his job because a woman will do the work cheaper, and the woman may be the mother of small children, forced into industry because her own husband is out of work.



Tradition is a powerful factor in keeping women's wages down. No cash value is attached to the labor of women in the home, and there is a tendency for that reason to regard a woman's services as not having a high money worth. In many cases women constitute a marginal labor supply that is called upon to fill in where needed, as for instance in a canning factory during the season. Such labor is usually paid little. Further, the great majority of women are not in gainful employment, and many of these could be hired if needed. The existence of this large supply of employable women tends to keep down the pay of those who are at work. Another reason for low wages is the fact that few women are unionized. Many of them do not expect to remain at work long, and they are therefore not so much interested in labor organizations as are men. Still another reason in certain industries is the giving out of work to be done at home. In a study of families doing industrial homework, made by the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry in 1934, half the homework families reported weekly earnings of \$3.54 or less, although these wages sometimes represented the work of several members of the family. To meet the competition of the cheap homework product, the factory employer is obliged to cut his costs. Thus homework forces down factory wages.

Massachusetts in 1912 was the first state to pass a minimum wage law for women and minors. Today twenty states have such laws, but in some cases the wage fixed is scarcely above a bare subsistence. For many years California has had the highest minimum wage in the nation, sixteen dollars a week; during the depression this was cut to fifteen dollars but later was restored to sixteen. Experience shows that minimum wage legislation has very materially raised the wages of large numbers of women. Experience also shows that the fear that the minimum would become the maximum paid, thus reducing the wages of those receiving above the minimum, was groundless. Women's employment continues to increase regardless of whether or not there is minimum wage legislation; and there is no evidence that such legislation has any general effect in causing women to be replaced by men.

Many studies have been made to determine the wage necessary to give women a decent standard of living, one that will allow for their complete self-support without assistance from their families. An exhaustive study of this question was made in 1937 by the state of New York. The exact quantity of clothing and its price was worked out, together with other details necessary for checking the standard. In the case of a woman living at home it is assumed that she pays her proportionate share of the running expenses of the household. If she does not, then her employer is being partially subsidized by the employer of some other member of her family. The following table shows the minimum yearly amount thought to be necessary to maintain a woman worker in New York on the American standard of health and decency;

Item	Living at home	Living away from home
Food	\$ 251.45	\$ 378.53
Housing	235.31	238.85
Clothing	196.81	196.81
Clothing upkeep and personal care	46.21	48.40
Medical care	55.70	55.70
Insurance and saving	71.58	92.92
Leisure time activities	106.75	106.75
Other living essentials	94.50	94.50
Total	\$1058.31	\$1212.46

This investigation of what the woman worker needs offers a serious challenge. If it be accepted as sound, then the state minimum wage laws have set wage rates far below what is required for full self-support on the level of health and decency. Whether any one state could raise the minimum wage of women to the sum indicated as necessary (between \$20.35 and \$23.30 a week) may be questioned. To do so might injure employers engaged in interstate commerce, since their products must compete with those from states with lower wage scales. Federal legislation would be necessary to overcome this difficulty.

*The Negro Worker.* Among our many labor problems are

those affecting the Negro population. Although Negroes have made marked economic and educational progress during the last seventy-five years, they are still severely handicapped in earning a living. This is partly due to their lack of training and partly due to discrimination against them. Severely restricted in their choice of employment, they have always been paid a lower wage than the whites. Generally they receive less than the whites even for the same work. Also, the better jobs are seldom open to Negroes, regardless of their training and personal qualifications. In the industrial areas we find Negroes employed chiefly in steel mills, slaughterhouses, garbage collection, and in other jobs that are particularly dangerous or disagreeable. Unemployment strikes the Negro worker first. In factory areas the percentage of Negro workers who are unemployed is from two to four times the percentage of white workers unemployed.

There are numerous reasons for the unfavorable condition of Negro workers. Negroes are unorganized. Millions of them now eking out a miserable existence in agriculture would like to find other employment. This vast reserve of would-be laborers holds down the wages of those who have jobs. Tradition does not place a high value on the services of Negroes, even though they are doing the same work as whites. As a rule the Negro is poorly trained, and for that reason is not so efficient as a white man. Finally, because of race prejudice, people do not think that Negroes should live as well as the whites. Conditions that would be shocking for white workers are given no thought when Negro workers are affected.

*The Fair Labor Standards Act.* In an effort to raise the wages of the lowest paid workers and to reduce the hours of those who are hardest worked, Congress in 1938 passed the Fair Labor Standards Act. Curiously enough, agricultural laborers, though notoriously the lowest paid in the country, are not covered by the act. Domestic servants, persons engaged in local retail stores, and processors of agricultural products are also exempt. These exemptions are perhaps better understood on political than on economic grounds.

The Act provides for a forty-hour week at the end of three years, with a forty-four hour week the first year, and a forty-two hour week the second year.

A minimum of forty cents an hour for all workers except those exempted is the ultimate goal. This rate may be established at once in some industries if the industry committee so decides. Each industry has a committee consisting of an equal number of representatives of workers, employers, and the general public. The administrator of the act must be guided by the recommendations of the committee for each industry.

Twenty-five cents an hour is set as the minimum rate in all industries during the first year, with thirty cents as the minimum in succeeding years. The forty-cent minimum is to be attained within each industry as soon as practicable, and must be attained after seven years have passed.

Will the act achieve the economic objects for which it was passed? Will it improve the conditions of the lowest paid workers? Will it stimulate recovery by increasing purchasing power? Time alone can tell.

Some fear that a certain number of workers will be forced out of employment. This might come about in several ways: (1) through the direct laying off of marginal (inefficient) workers whom their employers do not deem capable of earning the new wage rate; (2) through the suspension of marginal firms that cannot meet the increased labor cost; and (3) through the stimulus to the use of machinery to displace higher-priced labor. On the other hand those whose wages are raised and who keep their jobs will be able to buy more, which should create additional employment. It is the opinion of some that the minimum wage rates established by the act are too low and that the classes of workers most needing the protection offered are not covered.

Any attempt to raise wages by legislation or by organization of workers is likely to be successful only if it does not create too great a change too suddenly. The highest wage rates are not always the most advantageous for the workers. In the building industries, for example, it may be that a lower hourly rate would result in a greater yearly income.



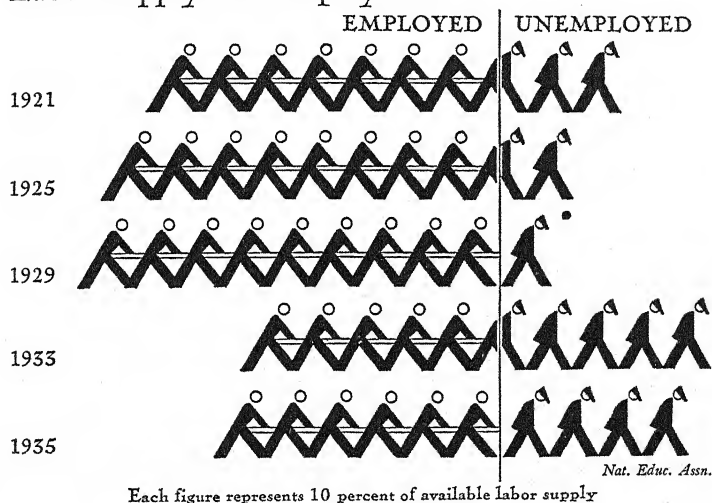
High hourly wages appear to have caused much unemployment in the building trades.

The right wage rates from the standpoint of labor are those that mean the highest total payroll. If wages are set too high the product must bring a higher price than consumers will pay. Marginal employers may be forced out of business. Others may run their plants only part time, and some may find it cheaper to install machinery to replace men. *The right wage rates are those that encourage maximum production and make possible full employment.* In carrying out the provisions

of the Fair Labor Standards Act each industrial committee will try to determine, within the limits set up by the Act, what is the right minimum wage in each industry.

*The Problem of Unemployment.* One of the gravest industrial problems of modern times is unemployment. In discussing this subject we do not refer to the *unemployables* — the cripples, the aged, the diseased, the mentally incapable, or those who choose to beg rather than to work. The unemployed are those who are capable and willing to work.

### Labor Supply and Employment



The unemployment resulting from the depression of the 1930's came to a staggering figure. In March, 1933, it reached an all-time high of some 13,689,000. In November, 1937, a government survey showed more than seven million unemployed. A violent decline of business was then taking place, and by January, 1938, some ten million were out of work. This is a most serious indictment against a country having great natural resources and vast industrial plants capable of creating plenty for all.

Yet unemployment is not a new problem. For many years there have not been jobs enough for all who wished them and were capable of working. The number of unemployed

varies from year to year and from season to season, but it is believed that even in the prosperous 1920's some two million workers were at any given time unemployed.

There are three fundamental causes of unemployment: invention, seasonal fluctuation of trade, and the business cycle. Let us examine each one briefly.

*Invention.* New machines and new processes constantly appear and continually throw men out of work, creating technological unemployment. Sometimes a single machine will replace fifty or more workers. The men thrown out of work may walk the streets for months or years before finding something else to do. Some of them will never again be able to find regular work.

In the long run every invention lowers the price of goods and thus increases the number of buyers. The more buyers, the more goods will be produced, and the more workers will be needed. The change from carriages to automobiles is instructive. Many carriage shops were converted into plants for making automobiles, but more were abandoned, putting thousands of highly skilled workmen out of employment. Yet today we make at least ten times as many automobiles in a year as we used to make of carriages, and far more men are at work in the automobile industry than ever found work in the carriage industry. In 1929 a motor could be produced with one twelfth the number of man-hours required in 1904, which is the main reason why cars are now so cheap that even workingmen can own them. With the lowered prices, the number of cars bought has increased. This has brought a demand for more workers, not only in automobile factories but in tire and accessory plants, in gasoline refining and distributing, in road building, and in policing traffic. The final result of invention should be to give everybody more goods and to reduce the amount of hard physical labor; at least this would be true in a planned society in which invention is so used as to increase the welfare of all.

The purpose of five inventions out of six is not to save labor but to create new goods or furnish new services or improve old goods and services. Between 1879 and 1929

machine development was responsible for creating eighteen new industries, which at the end of the period furnished jobs for about one eighth of all factory workers. Between 1900 and 1930 population increased 62.5 per cent, whereas employment in the manufacturing and mechanical industries increased 80 per cent. During the same period the net gain in employment in all occupations was 68 per cent.

It is obviously foolish to restrict invention, and it is impossible to expect employers not to adopt improved processes. Moreover, labor-saving machinery is capable of releasing all men from excessive toil, and of making goods so cheap that all of us can have an abundance of the necessities and even of the luxuries of modern life. What we need is to put machines to work in such a way that the good of all will be served. The cost of improved industrial methods ought not to fall on the men who are displaced.

*Seasonal Industries.* The variation from season to season in the operation of certain industries creates another kind of unemployment. At all times at least two million workers are unemployed due to this cause. The making of clothing, the mining of coal, the manufacture of cement, road building, canning, building, and many other industries are seasonal. When the season closes, hundreds of thousands of workers have no jobs. They have to "kill" time and live on their scant savings until the season reopens. While the season lasts, they may have to work overtime; there may be night and day shifts and a mad rush to get as much as possible accomplished. The wages paid are somewhat higher by the day or week than in industries which give steady employment. The yearly earnings, due to the long periods of idleness, are likely to be small.

Some farsighted employers have tried to overcome seasonal unemployment. They find they can get and keep a higher grade of worker if they offer steady employment. One method is to try to create a steady demand. The maker of refrigerators may offer a special low price to customers who purchase in the fall and winter; the maker of overcoats may sell them at a bargain during the summer; the coal dealer may offer coal more cheaply in the summer.

Another method is to combine the manufacture of several seasonal products. The straw hat maker may start a felt hat department. The canner of fruits may turn in the winter to the canning of baked beans. Another method is to find a market which has a different season. The maker of cement advertises his product in South America, since the summer there comes during our winter. In many lines these methods help appreciably. In others, like bricklaying, it is difficult to find any solution. However, the public welfare demands that every employer try to prevent seasonal fluctuations in his own line of work. The employer who recognizes this responsibility and meets it is performing a genuine public service.

*The Business Cycle.* The third and most serious cause of unemployment lies in the alternating periods of prosperity and depression. This alternation is known as the "business cycle." It is pronounced only in industrial countries, and seems to become increasingly severe as industrialization advances.

There are five well-defined stages. First is a period of gradually increasing prosperity. Production expands, prices rise, and profits increase. Businessmen and farmers borrow money to increase their output. Although there is still seasonal unemployment, and unemployment due to the introduction of new machinery, jobs are more abundant than usual. The second stage is a boom period. Plants run at full capacity, prices and profits rise rapidly; speculation spreads; wages are raised, but not sufficiently to enable people to purchase the entire output of the high industrial activity; people buy on the deferred-payment plan. The third stage then slowly begins. Stores and wholesalers are unable to move their goods with sufficient speed; as their inventories are felt to be too large, they order less; production is reduced; workers are discharged; people buy still less; prices fall, especially of agricultural products and clothing, which are sold on a "free" market where competition is sharp; foreclosures begin; and the entire economic life of the nation slows down. Panic spreads over the land.

The fourth stage now cannot be prevented. Factories

and mines shut down; construction stops; people become frantic, sell their securities, and withdraw bank deposits; many banks fail. Finally "bottom" is reached, a period of business stagnation and widespread unemployment. The workingman's family, even in prosperous times not far above the subsistence level, suffers acutely. Savings are exhausted, payments for life insurance cease, children are taken out of school and put to work, furniture being paid for on installments is lost, and the mortgage on the home may be foreclosed. One disaster follows another. Where relief is not given or is too meager, families are broken up because there is no money to keep them together. In the cities the army of homeless, jobless men grows day by day. There is also another pitiful army of unemployed who travel from place to place, vainly seeking work. It is composed largely of young people looking for jobs that do not exist, and hurried from one community to another by the authorities, who have no funds for the relief of transients.

After a year or two or three at "bottom," recovery begins. Business slowly improves, men return to work, people spend more freely, prices start to go up, the stock market is cheerful. The political party in power claims that it created the returning prosperity. Again we are on the way to recovery, only to repeat the tragic experience within a few years.

Various theories are put forth to explain the causes of the business cycle. The factors involved are numerous and complex, and our best business leaders and most able economists are not agreed on a program of prevention. The purchasing-power theory is now popular and is supported by numerous economists. According to this theory, the principal cause of business depression is the inability of the masses to buy what they have produced. The well-to-do cannot use all of the surplus output; hence it accumulates, and after a while production has to slow down. At the same time that production is slowing down, new construction ceases, since investors will not put money in new plants and equipment when the existing plants are running on part time. After a while the surplus goods are used up, and pro-

duction is actively resumed. With the return of prosperity new plants are built, surplus output again accumulates, and another period of inactivity is at hand.

If the lack of purchasing power be accepted as the principal cause of depressions, there appear to be two solutions of the problem. One solution is to increase wages as rapidly as output increases. (During the stage of prosperity and boom, wages advance more slowly than output.) The other solution is to lower commodity prices as production increases, in order that people can consume the larger output. (It is assumed that the demand for most kinds of commodities can be expanded indefinitely by lowering the price and making them available everywhere.) The second proposal is preferred because it would spread the benefit of industrial activity and invention among the entire population, including many who do not earn wages. There is reason to believe that on a free market — one where prices are not fixed by monopoly or agreement — there would be enough business competition to bring about the needed adjustment of prices. Advocates of these solutions do not deny that there are other factors in the creation of the business cycle. They believe, however, that the most important preventive measure consists in making purchasing power keep step with output.

*Other Proposed Remedies for Unemployment.* Many other plans have been proposed to deal with unemployment. Most of them do not attempt to smooth out the business cycle.

One plan, always much discussed, is to have a program of public works. Such projects as slum clearance, housing, reforestation, irrigation, highway construction, flood control, and drainage could be planned in good years and carried out in bad ones. Great Britain has used large numbers of idle men in building houses; not only were men and their families kept from want, but people will be better housed than before.

Numerous plans are designed to distribute the existing employment among more workers. Typical of these is the proposal for the six-hour day and the five-day week. Ob-

viously if this scheme were adopted, several millions of additional workers would be needed. The total payroll would merely be divided among more individuals. Economists are agreed that it would be far better to create new jobs by increasing production than by so sharply decreasing hours. And most individuals would probably prefer to have more goods instead of more leisure.

Another plan is to raise the compulsory school age to eighteen years. Some states have done this. This would take more than two million young people from the labor market. It is better, of course, for young people to be denied jobs than for people of mature years. Yet a good many boys and girls would rather go to work at sixteen than remain in school. If we could only increase production rather than restrict the number of workers, no one would argue that boys and girls of sixteen and seventeen should be kept in school against their wishes.

In old age few wish to remain at work. Therefore it seems wise to take the older workers off the labor market by old-age pensions or old-age insurance. A few years ago some of the states began to provide small old-age pensions to the needy. Under the Social Security Act of 1935 federal aid is given to the states for this purpose if they meet certain requirements. The federal government pays half of the pension if it is not more than thirty dollars a month. The act also provides for a national system of old-age insurance, which insures to the worker, upon reaching the age of sixty-five, a monthly payment for the remainder of his life. Certain groups of workers, such as agricultural laborers, domestic servants, casual laborers, and government employees do not now come under the old-age insurance plan. The worker and his employer must contribute to the fund from which annuities are paid. The size of the contribution depends on the amount of the worker's earnings. The following table shows the monthly benefits that will be paid, based upon the years during which contributions have been made, and the average monthly salary. At present writing the law does not provide for the payment of benefits to a retired worker's dependents after his death.

## MONTHLY BENEFITS FROM OLD AGE INSURANCE FUND

Average monthly salary	Years of employment					
	5	10	15	25	35	45
\$50	\$15.00	\$17.50	\$20.00	\$25.00	\$30.00	\$35.00
\$100	17.50	22.50	27.50	37.50	47.50	53.75
\$150	20.00	27.50	35.00	50.00	57.50	65.00
\$200	22.50	32.50	42.50	56.25	66.25	76.25
\$250 <sup>1</sup>	25.00	37.50	50.00	62.50	75.00	85.00

<sup>1</sup> Only \$3,000 a year counted.

*Unemployment Insurance.* Compulsory unemployment insurance has been urged for many years by the American Federation of Labor. Insurance of this sort has long been provided in most other industrial countries, the cost usually being borne equally by the government, the employer, and the employee. Until 1932, when Wisconsin led the way, no legislation for unemployment insurance had been enacted in the United States.

The Social Security Act of 1935 has induced every state to provide for compulsory unemployment insurance. Certain classes of employers are required to pay to the federal government a 3 per cent tax on their payrolls. Ninety per cent of the amount paid by the employer is returned to the state government for payment to the unemployed. Unless an employer has at least eight workers for at least twenty weeks in the year, he will pay no tax. The tax does not apply to workers in agriculture, domestic service in a private home, shipping, government employees, and nonprofit-making organizations. The state laws limit compensation to a short period — twelve to sixteen weeks — and to a small amount, generally 50 per cent or less of the weekly wages at which the individual had worked. In 1938 benefit checks paid to the unemployed averaged about \$11 a week each. These benefits certainly prevent much hardship in the interval that usually goes by before a new job can be found.

Undoubtedly the entire scheme will be revised from time to time in the light of experience. Less than two thirds of all

## The American People—What They Do

THESE PEOPLE ARE NOW PROTECTED UNDER THE  
SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAMManufacturing and  
Mining

Trade and Clerical

Transportation and  
CommunicationCovered by Railroad  
Retirement ActTHESE PEOPLE ARE NOT YET PROTECTED UNDER THE  
SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAMAgriculture and  
ForestryDomestic and  
PersonalProfessional and  
Public Service

Each figure represents 1 million people

From *School Life*

workers are now eligible. Many believe that all except casual workers should eventually be included, and also that the benefit period should be longer. Some urge that workers should contribute to the fund. Eligibility rules and compensation rates should probably be made uniform in the various states. It is desirable that employers who stabilize their operations and keep their force employed the year around should be rewarded. Why should an employer who has taken pains to eliminate seasonal fluctuations be taxed to pay benefits to the men discharged from a carelessly managed business? These difficulties can be corrected. No country has created a successful unemployment insurance scheme all at once.

## OTHER LABOR PROBLEMS

*Fatigue.* During every bodily movement a waste product or poison is manufactured in the muscles. If the individual stops often enough for rest, the poison is oxidized, and he can continue without fatigue. If he does not rest, the poison accumulates until a point is reached when he can accomplish less than when he began. This is the beginning of fatigue. If he still keeps on, the poisons increase until he is exhausted and has to stop. For the sake of good health, no one should work after fatigue begins. Not only health, but the work itself suffers, and mistakes and accidents increase.

Fatigue is a much more serious problem in the machine age than it was in the days of hand labor. Handwork lets the workman set his own pace. He works according to his natural bodily rhythm. He rests a few moments now and then, changing his position and relaxing his attention. Most machine-tending is quite different. The worker has to keep up with the speed of the machine. He cannot relax his attention, and often he cannot even change his position.

To prevent fatigue, hours should be reasonably short. This need not reduce production. In each industry there is a length of working day in which production is most efficient, and in which the labor cost per unit of output is lowest. After fatigue sets in the cost of production goes up.

Frequent rest periods should be allowed. At some kinds of work the workers accomplish much more if they rest ten minutes in every hour. Whatever makes the work disagreeable — bad odors, poor light, noise, excessive heat, dust, and dirt — will increase fatigue. The conveyor system used in automobile plants and other industries is fatiguing, especially when it is set close to the maximum possible speed. Only a young, vigorous person can stand the strain of working at top speed for seven or eight hours a day.

*Night Work.* Certain industries, such as transportation, the post office, and the handling of perishable food, will always require night work, but public welfare demands that night work be kept at a minimum.

The night worker almost never gets enough sound sleep.

He cannot have by daylight the quiet which is necessary, and his sleep is short and broken. He burns the candle at both ends, soon injuring his health. Night work in the long run is not economical in most industries, for night workers are decidedly less efficient than day workers.

*Holidays.* One day of rest in seven appears to be necessary for health. The individual who has one or more days of rest each week is more efficient and certainly much happier. It has been suggested that all legal holidays be fixed to fall on Mondays in order to give the worker a longer week end. In 1938 the state of Illinois made mandatory one day's rest in seven for almost every type of work. Many states have recently required a weekly rest day for such workers as night watchmen, guards at banks and factories, entertainers, and musicians.

*Vacations.* The annual vacation means much for health and for enjoyment of living. Many employers recognize its value for making workers more contented. An increasing number of firms are granting one or two weeks vacation with full pay. Probably the time will come when an annual vacation will be considered the right of every wage earner. This is also one method of spreading employment over a larger number of workers.

*Compensation.* One of the most vexatious of all labor problems is the matter of compensation for industrial accident and disease. Until recent years the worker has had to bear practically all the risk. Since one in every nine workers is injured in the course of the year's labor, the burden has been very heavy. Finally society realized that the cost of injury should not be borne by the victim. All but four states now have workmen's compensation laws, requiring that the injured man should be paid a part of his wages until he recovers. On the average, and taking the country as a whole, the injured man receives a payment equal to only one fourth of his lost wages. The compensation allowed for permanent total disability is even more inadequate. No compensation is allowed, usually, to farm laborers, domestic servants, and certain other groups of workers.

Middle-aged workers have a somewhat higher accident

rate than younger persons. Accident insurance therefore costs the employer more when he employs older men. Largely for this reason older people are being refused employment in many lines of work. This is one of the unforeseen consequences of workmen's compensation laws.

In providing compensation for industrial diseases the United States has lagged far behind most industrial nations. Only ten states require compensation of this type, although industrial diseases are probably more prevalent than industrial accidents. It is estimated that at least 5,600,000 Americans work under conditions that are detrimental to life and health on account of dust or noxious fumes. Metallic poisoning, particularly lead poisoning, is a risk in some two hundred occupations. These conditions could doubtless be greatly improved were an incentive to be supplied in the form of compulsory insurance against industrial disease. Great progress has been made, under the incentive of accident compensation laws, in removing the causes of industrial accidents.

*Conclusion.* The welfare of society is best served when there is industrial peace. Peace is possible in a democracy only when human rights are fully recognized. Organized labor has won recognition of its rights, but unorganized labor still has little protection.

Labor always involves human costs. Society's problem is how to produce the largest amount of wealth to satisfy human wants at the lowest human cost. At present the human costs are apt to fall most heavily upon those least able to bear them. By minimum wage laws, workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, old-age insurance, and other social legislation, this injustice is gradually being overcome.

The most serious labor problem of our day, unemployment, has bewildered us. Some of the proposals for meeting it would injure the social welfare by decreasing production. Apparently the solution will be found in steadily expanding the production of those things of which there is not yet an abundance for all, while at the same time enabling the masses of people to buy them. After a time a point will be reached

where people would rather have more leisure instead of more goods. Not until then should the length of the working day be reduced more than is necessary to secure the most efficient production.

## ACTIVITIES

1. Make a list of the makeshifts that families resort to when unemployment comes. (Chapter IV of *Some Folks Won't Work*, by Clinch Calkins, will be helpful.)
2. Outline a plan to lessen unemployment. Richard Ely's book, *Hard Times, the Way In and the Way Out*, Chapter XII, gives an interesting plan for stabilizing employment through public works.
3. Make a list of gainful occupations which people enjoy. Put down those things that make work agreeable.
4. Draw a circle showing the stages of the business cycle. This might be illustrated by drawings.
5. Has the National Labor Relations Board settled any case in or near your community? Look up the case and make a report to the class.
6. Choose some industry of importance in your community. Find out how it has been affected by the Fair Labor Standards Act.
7. Obtain the report of the Senate Committee on Civil Liberties. Appoint a group to review the Committee's findings and recommendations on three common practices in dealing with labor: (1) industrial espionage and the use of strikebreakers, (2) mobilization of the public to defeat strikers, and (3) the hiring of deputy sheriffs to interfere with labor unions.
8. Send thirty cents to the American Association for Labor Legislation, 131 E. 23rd St., New York City, for their booklet, *Labor Problems and Labor Legislation*. Appoint a committee to review it.
9. Write a paper on fatigue as a problem of industrial management. Try to find how fatigue may be reduced; also, how the correct length of working day may be ascertained.
10. Report on rackets that masquerade as labor unions, and labor unions that are controlled by racketeers. See the *Readers' Guide*. Chapter II of *This Labor Union Racket*, by Edward Sullivan, will be helpful.
11. Write a paper on the life of Samuel Gompers, T. V. Powderly, William Green, John L. Lewis, or some other labor leader.

12. Get the latest figures on the growth of labor organizations. Make a chart showing what proportion of workers are organized and unorganized, and the relative strengths of the several national unions.
13. Investigate the special difficulties confronting the Negro worker.
14. Make a list of night workers in your community, or in some city.

## WORD STUDY

annuity	compensation	lockout
black list	craft union	picketing
boycott	fatigue	sabotage
business cycle	industrial union	strike
company union	injunction	technological

## QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. What changes in methods of work followed the Industrial Revolution?
2. Trace the growth of labor organization. When was the right to organize established?
3. Enumerate and explain the weapons of labor; of capital. In what situations does either have advantage over the other?
4. What is industrial homework? Why is it an evil?
5. Do you favor a federal child labor amendment? Reasons?
6. How do you account for the increasing number of women in gainful occupations?
7. How do you account for the fact that women are usually paid less than men for the same work?
8. Why were minimum wage laws to protect women adopted long before there was any such legislation to protect men?
9. Outline a plan by which the economic position of the Negro worker could gradually be improved.
10. From the standpoint of labor what is the right wage?
11. Explain the objectives and administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act.
12. What is technological unemployment? Is it likely to increase?
13. What is the immediate effect of invention on unemployment? The long-run effect?
14. What industries in your locality are seasonal? What special labor problems do they present?
15. Give the stages of the business cycle. How is it explained?

16. Do you favor raising the compulsory school age to eighteen? Reasons?
17. Discuss the problem of preventing fatigue.
18. Should the law require that all workers be given one day's rest in seven and an annual vacation of two weeks?
19. Name occupations in which industrial diseases are a serious hazard. What steps should be taken to reduce this menace to society?
20. How did workmen's compensation laws providing compensation for industrial accidents affect the social welfare?

#### READINGS

- Amidon, Beulah, "Working Girl's Budget," *Survey*, January, 1938, pp. 4-5
- Beard, Charles, ed., *A Century of Progress*, pp. 149-70, Labor; pp. 254-90, Women
- Beard, Charles A., and Smith, George H. E., *The Future Comes*
- Beard, Mary R., ed., *America through Women's Eyes*
- Brophy, Loire, *If Women Must Work*
- Calkins, Clinch, *Some Folks Won't Work. Spy Overhead: The Story of Industrial Espionage*
- Clark, Marjorie R., and Simon, Fanny S., *The Labor Movement in America*
- Daugherty, Carroll R., *Labor Problems in American Industry*
- Ely, Richard T., *Hard Times, the Way In and the Way Out*
- Feder, Leah H., *Unemployment Relief in Periods of Depression*
- Feller, Alexander, and Hurwitz, Jacob E., *How to Deal with Organized Labor*
- Gilfallan, Lauren, *I Went to Pit College*
- Gompers, Samuel, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor: an Autobiography*
- Groves, Ernest R., *The American Woman*
- Jerome, Harry, *Mechanization in Industry*
- Lane, Marie Dresden, and Steegmuller, Francis, *America on Relief*
- Levinson, Edward, *I Break Strikes — The Technique of Pearl L. Berghoff*
- Lumpkin, Katherine DuPre, and Douglas, D. W., *Child Workers in America*
- Negro Year Book*, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
- Sullivan, E. D., *This Labor Union Racket*
- Women's Bureau, Bulletin 115, *Women at Work* and Bulletin 155, *Women in the Economy of the United States*

## Chapter 28

### CAN THE NATIONAL INCOME BE MADE ADEQUATE?

*When the object is to raise the permanent condition of a people, small means do not merely produce small effects; they produce no effect at all.*

JOHN STUART MILL

*The Need for a Larger National Income.* Social welfare is bound up with economic welfare. The things we want for building a better society — more adequate education, housing, recreational facilities, public health work — are expensive. Poor people and poor communities of course cannot afford them.

Since 1929 the national income has been severely reduced. Two thirds of the city population and three fourths of the farm population have been forced to live below the minimum-of-health-and-decency level. The greatest problem before us is how to produce a larger national income. As we solve this problem we shall find that many other social problems — labor unrest, unemployment, insecurity, poverty, ill-health, mental disease, delinquency, family breakdown — will grow less acute.

It will not be enough merely to restore the 1929 level of income. Our national income has never been big enough to give everyone a good living and to afford the social services which we believe should be available to all the people. We must aim to produce a larger income than the nation has ever had in the past. This means that we must increase our total output of goods and services.

WHAT WE MEAN BY REAL NATIONAL INCOME

*Real Income.* Income is best measured in goods and services rather than in money. Money is not desired for itself but for the food, shelter, amusements, and other things it can buy. *A family's real income includes all the goods and services obtained by its members.* A family derives its real income in three ways: (1) by spending a money income, (2) by utilizing the time and energy of the members of the family in making, growing, or gathering the articles used and in serving one another, and (3) by utilizing community facilities, such as the public schools, libraries, parks, and clinics.

The real income of the nation consists in the goods and services enjoyed by all its people. This includes the things they produce for themselves as well as the things they buy; the services they perform for themselves and each other, whether or not these are paid for; and the use of all kinds of public facilities. In cities there are a great many services and facilities — fire protection, streets and sidewalks, playgrounds, free educational institutions, museums, art galleries, and the like — which add to the real income of the residents. Even in rural places there are some public facilities which add to the real income of those who use them.

A family whose members are not fully employed can often increase its real income by a partial return to self-sufficiency, as in sewing, canning, and baking at home, and by raising most of the family food supply. But for the nation as a whole, this would not be a desirable solution to the problem of unemployment. Small-scale production wastes labor and equipment. Mass production, with workers specializing at the tasks they can do best, is the only way to achieve a large national income.

No method of creating more jobs, unless it adds to the total supply of useful goods and services enjoyed by the nation, can increase the real national income. To divide the existing jobs among more people, or to create jobs by changing from machine methods to hand methods, will not enlarge the output of goods and services. Similarly, to put

more people to work as canvassers, or at any other similar employment, will not materially increase the total supply of useful goods and services. But when people are taken from the ranks of the unemployed and are given jobs in industry or on useful public projects, the real income of the nation is enlarged by their exertions. Work relief for the unemployed, when it is administered efficiently, and honest work is required, does not subtract from but rather adds to the total national income.

#### WAYS TO OBTAIN MORE BUYING POWER

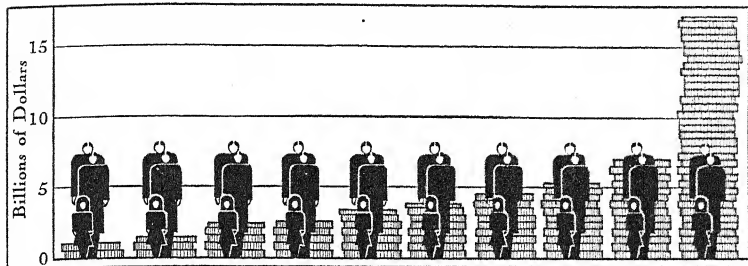
*The Importance of More Buying Power.* There is a growing belief that the common people should have more of the good things of life. This idea is constantly being built up by advertisements of automobiles, refrigerators, furniture, athletic equipment, and of everything else that can be turned out in great quantities to sell to the masses. The manufacturers of these products want the largest possible market. Unless they succeed in selling to the masses they cannot run their plants at full capacity.

The well-to-do minority cannot consume the goods and services that the nation is even now capable of producing. In 1929 (this year is taken because it was the last year before the depression) 67 per cent of all spending was done by families with incomes of less than \$3,000 a year. Only 8 per cent of the spending was done by families with more than \$25,000 a year, although this group had 20 per cent of the total national income.

The masses of people have many unsatisfied wants. Forty per cent of them even in 1929 were living on the poverty and the minimum-of-subsistence levels. Seventy-one per cent had family incomes of less than \$2,500, which means that they could buy little except the necessities of life. Here then is a potential market for all the goods and services that can be produced for years to come. Give the people buying power and they will keep the productive mechanism busy supplying their demands.

Apparently the first step in achieving a larger national

## How the National Income Is Divided



Courtesy, New York Times

Each group of figures represents a tenth of the number of families in the nation, the tenth with the lowest income being at left, the tenth with the highest income being at right. Each pile of coins represents the share of the national income received by each group of families. The chart, showing income of 1935-36, is based on figures of the National Resources Committee.

income is to put greater purchasing power in the hands of the less prosperous two thirds or three fourths of the people. The problem, in other words, is to raise the standard of living of those who now live at or below the minimum level of health and decency by enabling them to purchase the necessities and some of the comforts of life. When this is done there will be no unemployed workers or idle factories; all will be working at full capacity. Business, of course, will share in the resulting prosperity.

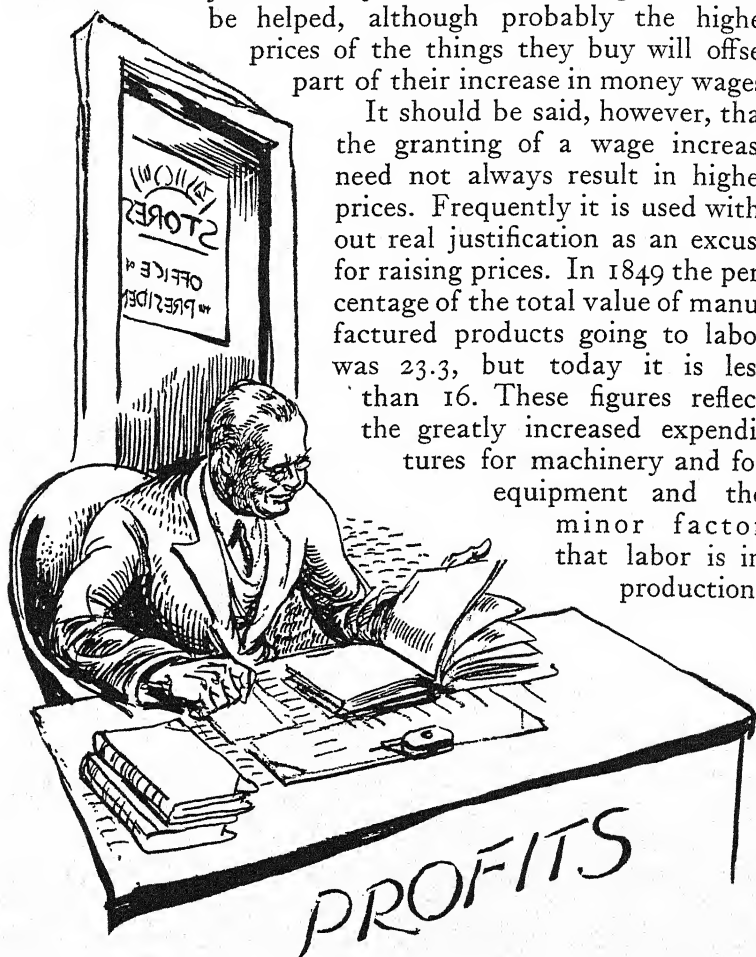
How, then, can the majority of the people be given greater purchasing power? There are numerous proposals.

*Raising Wages.* The most obvious method for expanding the income of the masses is to raise wages. Wage increases as a rule are granted only under pressure exerted by a general scarcity of labor or by labor organizations. Since wages are a direct cost of production there is a strong tendency for wage increases to be accompanied by advancing prices. The result is that even the very workers concerned do not get the full benefit of the higher wages. And for all other groups, including unorganized workers, the farm population, persons receiving a salary, professional workers, and government employees, the cost of living goes up. This

means that their purchasing power is cut. They generally lose as much as the fortunate groups of labor gain.

The attempt is now being made under the Fair Labor Standards Act to raise the wages of some of the poorest paid workers throughout the nation. If this causes higher prices to consumers, there may not be much net gain in total purchasing power. The farmers will most likely have still less purchasing power than they have now. Of course, the workers directly affected by the minimum wage rates will be helped, although probably the higher prices of the things they buy will offset part of their increase in money wages.

It should be said, however, that the granting of a wage increase need not always result in higher prices. Frequently it is used without real justification as an excuse for raising prices. In 1849 the percentage of the total value of manufactured products going to labor was 23.3, but today it is less than 16. These figures reflect the greatly increased expenditures for machinery and for equipment and the minor factor that labor is in production.





## PRICES

They indicate that an increase in wages is not so costly to manufacturers as it used to be.

*Profit Sharing.* The sharing of profits with employees is an interesting economic experiment. The scheme has been voluntarily adopted by a number of corporations, chiefly because it makes for harmonious labor relations and added labor efficiency. Lately several manufacturers have entered into a profit-sharing plan instead of granting a wage increase. Profits shared with labor are not counted in the costs of production, and therefore

do not cause a rise in prices. An employer paying a moderate wage scale plus a share in the profits is better off in a period of falling prices than one who is bound by a high wage scale that keeps him from reducing the prices of his product. Partly for this reason it seems likely that profit-sharing plans will gradually be adopted by many corporations. Unfortunately, a great number of small corporations do not make profits except in unusually good years, and therefore cannot satisfy their workers by any scheme of profit sharing.



## WAGES

*Reducing Prices.* The simplest way to create more purchasing power is to reduce prices. On a free market — one where the prices are determined by supply and demand — the price of any commodity tends to drop until all the available supply can be sold. If new inventions result in a larger supply the price must fall. Today many commodities (except unprocessed farm products and clothing) are not sold on a free market. Their prices are kept up by monopoly or trade associations. The result is that gains in efficiency are not quickly reflected in lower prices.

Between 1922 and 1929 the productivity per worker in the manufacturing industries increased by more than 25 per cent. Under a system of free competition this would have led to a substantial reduction in the prices of manufactured commodities. Actually the average wholesale prices of manufactures decreased only 5 per cent, and the average retail prices remained practically stationary. None of the gain in efficiency was passed along to consumers; some was passed along in higher wages; much of it went into higher dividends to the owners of the invested capital. That part which went into higher wages increased the total purchasing power, as did that part which went as dividends to small investors, for reasons which will be made clear in the next topic, but that which went into dividends to large investors was more apt to be used in speculation than in buying goods.

*Preventing Excess Savings.* In 1929 one tenth of one per cent of the families in the United States received as much income as the 42 per cent of the families at the bottom. That is, 36,000 families had as much income as the 12,180,000 poorest families.

Twenty-three per cent of the total national income went to one per cent of the people. Only 10 per cent of the national income went to the poorest 42 per cent of the people. On moral grounds it is difficult to justify these great extremes of poverty and wealth. They are contrary to Christian and democratic principles. Moreover — and this is not understood as clearly as it should be — the inequality of income threatens to undermine our present economic system.

The very well-to-do are unable to spend all that they

earn; accordingly, they save. In 1929 about 86 per cent of the total savings was made by the upper 10 per cent of the families, those having incomes above \$4,600 a year. The enormous savings made by this small group have recently become a danger to society.

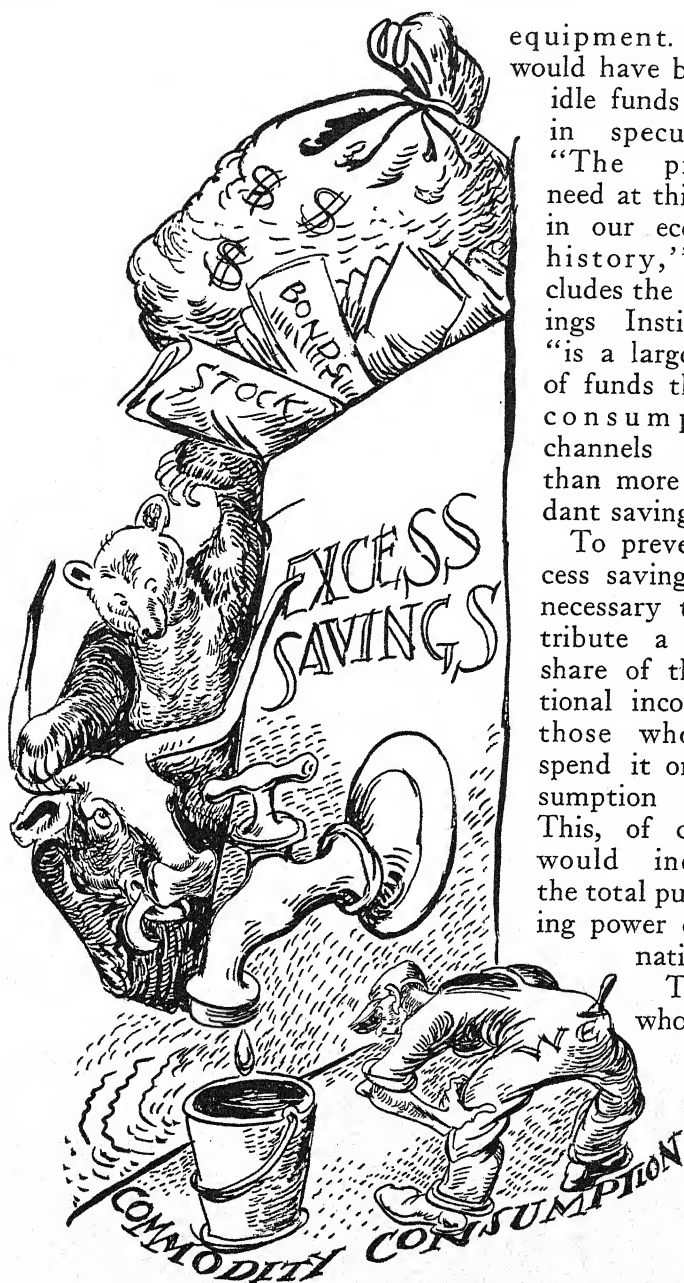
According to tradition, saving is always a virtue. The popular notion is that all savings automatically flow into new capital goods — factories, railroads, machines, trucks, and the like. This would give immediate employment to workers in the heavy industries and in the end would increase the production of consumption goods — goods wanted by consumers. During the first century of our industrial development, savings did act in this way. In fact, until about twenty years ago there was usually a shortage of money to invest. But since 1925, according to a careful study made by the Brookings Institution (an independent research bureau of the highest standing), we have had too much investment money.

The Brookings Institution found that *savings are not put into new plants and equipment unless the demand for consumption goods is expanding*. If the demand is nearly stationary, businessmen will not enlarge their plants. If the demand is falling off, as in a depression, investment funds go begging.

When too much money is being saved, what happens to the excess? It may be loaned abroad. It may be used in buying securities already outstanding, causing the prices of such securities to soar. Or, as during a depression, it may remain stagnant in bank deposits.

Between 1925 and 1929 many billions of dollars were saved, chiefly by the well-to-do. But the demand for consumption goods was not expanding much, and for this reason most businessmen did not enlarge their plants. The excess savings flowed into foreign loans and into the stock market. An orgy of speculation was the result, followed by the terrible collapse of October, 1929.

Had the billions of excess savings made between 1925 and 1929 been spent for consumption goods, the story might have had a happier ending. Businessmen, finding consumer demand increasing, would have expanded their plants and



equipment. There would have been no idle funds to use in speculation. "The primary need at this stage in our economic history," concludes the Brookings Institution, "is a larger flow of funds through consumptive channels rather than more abundant savings."

To prevent excess savings it is necessary to distribute a larger share of the national income to those who can spend it on consumption goods. This, of course, would increase the total purchasing power of the nation.

Those who direct



the great, successful businesses of the nation are in the best position to solve the problem. Obviously, some form of profit sharing is the answer — either profit sharing with their lower-paid employees, or profit sharing with the public through lower prices. Less money would then go to stockholders and

to officials now receiving great salaries and big bonuses. Undoubtedly in the long run such readjustments would benefit business by creating a larger and more stable market, by improving labor relations, and by encouraging a more friendly public opinion.

Should business leaders fail to make these readjustments voluntarily, the government, in order to preserve the capitalistic system, will be compelled to act. Excess savings can be controlled by corporation and individual income taxes. In fact, taxation is one of the principal ways by which a better distribution of the national income can be brought about.



Some fear that the government will go too far in its taxing program. If business be taxed excessively, and if earnings are too much depleted, the businessman becomes hesitant and restricts his operations. The opportunity to make a profit must not be destroyed, or why should a man risk his money in a business? Should unreasonable taxes be imposed upon enterprise, the industrial life of the nation might become stagnant.

*Lightening the Taxes of the Poorer Classes.* Certain types of taxes are always shifted to the consumer. The real estate tax is really paid not by landlords but by their tenants. Except for taxes on net earnings and undistributed surplus, nearly all taxes on business are also passed along to the consumer. Through the shifting of taxes it comes about that the poorer classes pay a far higher percentage of their income to local and state government than do those of comfortable means.

The sales tax, while paid by all classes, is apt to fall heaviest upon the poor. For this reason it is called the "upside-down income tax." It takes buying power away from those who need it most. It is scarcely noticed by the well-to-do buyer, for he probably will not spend all his income anyway.

In order to give more buying power to the masses our tax system may have to be thoroughly overhauled. Local and state taxes are especially in need of revision, since they are derived largely from real estate and from sales, and are a severe burden to farmers and those whose incomes are small.

Later in the chapter we shall discuss taxes as an aid or a discouragement to effort.

From the problem of creating a larger buying power we turn now to that of creating a larger national income. Once we succeed in giving the masses of people the means of buying what they need, the present output of goods and services will have to be expanded.

#### WAYS OF ACHIEVING A LARGER NATIONAL INCOME

*The Use of All Our Man Power.* A large output depends on the full use of all our labor resources. To waste any of our man power is to fall short in producing the goods and services wanted by the masses of people.

That we waste much of our available labor resources is painfully apparent. Before 1929 it is estimated that there were always at least 2,000,000 unemployed. Since 1929 the figure has ranged between 7,000,000 and 14,000,000. This does not include some five million high school and college graduates who have never been employed.

Besides the unemployed there are millions classified as working who might more accurately be described as "under-employed." These include a vast number of farmers scratching out a subsistence on holdings that are too small; many seasonal workers in agriculture and industry who work only a few months out of the year; hundreds of thousands of shopkeepers whose customers are few; thousands of doctors, dentists, nurses, and other professional people who are unable to keep themselves reasonably busy.



There are millions of others who might be brought into the labor market if society undertook to use all its labor resources. Many of these are married women who have no children or whose children are grown. Others are young people who would rather go to work than remain in school. There are also many now regarded as “unemployables” — disabled, handicapped, and elderly persons — who are capable of doing some useful work.

It is difficult to determine what part of our national manpower is utilized. According to the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity, not more than 60 per cent of it is used in prosperous years, or about 35 per cent in periods of extreme depression.

Perhaps this is a good place to point out that the potential demand for labor is unlimited. Of course, we might sometime satisfy all the demand for things, since people have only a certain amount of time in which to use things. But the demand for services is absolutely unending. Take the field of education. In a prosperous society mothers could place their children in nursery school from the age of two. Summer play-schools and camps would be provided for all children. Doctors, nurses, psychologists, guidance counselors, and numerous teachers of special subjects (dramatics, speech, physical education, hobbies, and so on) would be available part or all the time in every school. Classes larger than twenty or twenty-five pupils would not be permitted. Pupils would frequently go on field trips, sometimes far from home. Every pupil would have individual guidance and as much individual instruction as desirable to develop his special talents or overcome his handicaps. Those who wished to do so could continue a program of guided development in their mature years. Thus the field of education might be expanded almost indefinitely. Similarly, in a prosperous society medical and health services, recreational services, and the services of artists, landscape designers, decorators, musicians, and other specialists could be multiplied practically without end. It is important that this fact be clearly understood: *there is no lack of useful work to be done in the world*. If unemployment continues, it is not because there is too little work to use every available worker.

*The Use of All Our Plant.* Capital as well as labor runs to waste. This comes about when the owner of capital finds the market for goods too small to require the full use of his plant and equipment. So long as factories, railroads, trucks, tractors, and other parts of our national productive mechanism stand partly or wholly idle, we cannot turn out the goods that the masses of people urgently need.

The Brookings Institution undertook to measure America's capacity to produce. The purpose of the study was to find out to what extent our existing plant and its accompanying labor force were allowed to stand idle; also, how much more goods they could produce if only they were utilized as continuously as practicable under existing methods.

It was found that 20 per cent of the productive capacity of the nation was not utilized in 1929. This proportion of unused capacity had existed ever since 1900, the earliest year studied. In 1932, the worst year of the depression, 42 per cent of the nation's productive capacity was idle. Taking the fourteen years from 1922 to 1935, the productive mechanism ran at about two-thirds efficiency.

The reason was found to be the lack of purchasing power among the masses. "If \$2,000 may be regarded as sufficient, at 1929 prices, to supply the basic necessities for a family, we find that 16,000,000 families, or about 60 per cent of the total, were (in 1929) below this income level." *Had the unutilized productive capacity been used, and the products distributed to the poorest families, there would have been no family in 1929 with an income of less than \$2,000.*

The Brookings Institution report was criticized as being too conservative. According to another study made with government funds under the direction of competent engineers (the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity), our existing plant and man power, if fully and continuously employed in the production of honest goods and services, could have produced in 1929 a national income of 135 billion dollars. Unlike the Brookings study, this presupposes numerous changes in existing methods in order to eliminate wastes due to fashion, customs of the trade, strikes, unnecessary competition, and the like. It is an estimate of what our productive mechanism could have turned out in 1929 if operated by engineers under ideal conditions. According to this report, the goods that were not produced and the services that were not rendered in 1929 would have been sufficient to give every family an income of \$5,000 a year without taking anything away from the fortunate 8 per cent receiving more than \$5,000 a year. While the

Brookings study is more practical, the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity also deserves serious consideration.

*Loss of Production During the Depression.* Here is what the nation actually produced in goods and in paid services from 1929 through 1938, according to estimates of the Department of Commerce.

NATIONAL INCOME PRODUCED IN BILLIONS OF DOLLARS

1929	81.1	1934	50.0
1930	68.3	1935	55.2
1931	53.8	1936	63.5
1932	40.0	1937	69.8
1933	42.3	1938	60.0 (estimated)

The 1929 national income is the highest we have ever had, although it was closely approached in 1926, 1927, and 1928. The loss due to dropping below the 1929 level of production amounted in nine years to 227 billion dollars. This stupendous sum is equal to three fourths of the total wealth of the United States. It is six times the 1938 national debt (38 billion dollars).

Nor was this the only loss caused by the depression. Because of the depression, there was almost no construction of new plants. Little new machinery was installed to replace worn out or obsolete equipment. Consequently, in 1938 our capacity to produce was no more than it had been in 1929. If there had been no depression, our productive mechanism would have expanded year by year, just as it always has in the past. By 1938 it is reasonable to suppose that the national income, which in 1929 was 81.1 billions, would have reached at least 100 billions. The depression prevented this normal growth in production, on which a higher standard of living depends.

It is clear that one of the most important ways of increasing the national income is to prevent depression. If a government program of public works could actually overcome a depression, it would be cheap no matter how many billions were required.

*The Use of Improved Machinery.* Each horsepower in a modern power-driven machine does thirty times as much as an average man could do by hand. It is estimated that the entire working power of all the people in the United States when Thomas Jefferson was President was less than the power of the steam turbines in the aircraft carrier *Lexington*.

Today we have on the average about fifteen mechanical men (that is, a machine of half a horsepower) working with every human worker in America. Our capacity to produce is therefore sixteen times as large as it would be if no power-driven machines were used.

The industrial worker in the United States is the largest user of horsepower in the world. On the average he uses 5 horsepower; the German industrial worker uses 2.5, the British 2.6, the Italian 2.0 horsepower.

High wages can be paid only when a worker is highly productive. The use of machinery so raises the output per worker that the employer can afford to pay higher wages. According to figures of the Department of Commerce, when the United States was using 23 dollars' worth of machinery per capita, Great Britain was using 10 dollars' worth and paying one third the American wage rate, Germany was using 9 dollars' worth and paying one fourth the American wage rate, and China was using 5 cents' worth and paying one twentieth the American wage rate. It is interesting to note that in spite of the high American wage rate the labor cost per unit of output in many industries is the lowest in the world.

The use of machinery also tends to shorten hours. This is partly because the nervous strain of operating a high-speed machine is greater than that of using hand tools. To prevent damage to materials and accidents to workers, the hours for machine tenders have to be reasonably short. Perhaps a more important reason for shorter hours is the increased output of the worker using machinery. The working hours of the average American factory worker have declined from 51.5 per week in 1914 to about 39 in 1938, or 23 per cent.

People are beginning to know leisure. In consequence they want more clothes for dressing-up and for sports, and more of all kinds of things — books, radios, cars, sporting goods, etc. — for use in their spare hours.

Happily the use of machinery makes it possible to produce countless necessities and luxuries at moderate prices. Thousands of things which were once costly are now turned out very cheaply by mass production methods. According to estimates by Ford Motor Company and General Motors an automobile similar to a Ford or Chevrolet would cost \$100,000 to \$125,000 if made with hand tools. Incidentally, if mass production methods were applied to the building of houses, the best family-size house in the world, says the editor of *American Builder*, could be built for \$2,100.

The accumulated effect of higher wages, lower prices, and shorter hours of work spells a higher standard of living. Therefore we should encourage the introduction of new machines.

*The Promotion of Research and Invention.* Pasteur once said that what really carries civilization forward is a few scientific discoveries and their application. To make a discovery may take few years or many. To apply the discovery for the benefit of the public generally takes a generation or more. It took over a century to develop a successful cottonpicker, and scores of years to perfect the calculating machine. Artificial fibers, radio, television, aviation, and plastic substances have each required many years of painstaking research.

Without research we can have no important technical advance. With it we shall improve old industries and create new ones. It is research that is giving us more employment, shorter hours of labor, more abundant goods, and an advancing standard of living.

As we study other nations we become aware that it is not the number of people that makes a country prosperous but the level of its technology; we begin to realize that scientific research is essential for the future well-being of the nation. America can ill afford to let thousands of college-trained scientists remain idle when by placing them at research

they may be able to contribute to our technical and economic progress.

*The Wise Use of Natural Resources.* The United States is the richest country in the world. This is partly because our workers are the most efficient in the world and partly because of our vast natural resources. Nature has given us almost every raw material needed for an industrial economy, including much of the world's supply of mineral fuels.

Fuel is extremely important to an industrial country. One pound of coal in a first-class, modern electric plant can be converted into as much work as a man can do in an eight-hour day. The United States, possessing a large share of the world's oil and coal, has used these irreplaceable resources with shocking disregard for the future. For every ton of coal mined, another ton is left in the ground in such a way that it will never be recovered. Three barrels of petroleum are forever lost for every barrel used. The waste of natural gas has been still worse. Before it is too late society must learn how to protect these resources from the carelessness of owners seeking only the largest immediate profits.

The state geologist of West Virginia, addressing the conference of governors in 1908, when our consumption of oil and coal was but a fraction of what it is now, declared: "The wildest anarchists, determined to destroy and overthrow the foundation of government, could not act in a more irrational and thoughtless manner than have our people in permitting such fearful destruction of the very sources of our power and greatness."

Our other natural resources — metals, forests, soil, wild life — have also been recklessly destroyed. Due to the idea that a man should be let alone to do as he pleases with his own property, the government was powerless to interfere. Now this idea is being modified. People are fast coming to believe that conservation of natural resources is a proper function of government, and that the owners of these resources must submit to regulation. For example, lumbermen are no longer permitted to leave piles of slash on the land they have cut over. In some states having important

oil fields, a beginning has been made in regulating the production of oil. Hunting, trapping, and fishing, even on one's own land, are restricted by law.

The most satisfactory way of promoting conservation seems to lie in government ownership. On land that is publicly owned there is no difficulty in adopting the best conservation practices. The ownership of forests and water-power sites by the states and by the nation is now generally approved. A few oil fields are being held by the government for naval reserves in case of war. Some people urge that the government buy the coal fields in order that they be made to yield for the longest possible time. Others favor the maximum production of hydroelectric power as a method of saving the mineral fuels.

For the present there is no lack of natural resources. Except in certain areas where the soil has been eroded, the forests destroyed, or the mines exhausted, the waste of resources has not as yet had a very serious effect on the national income.

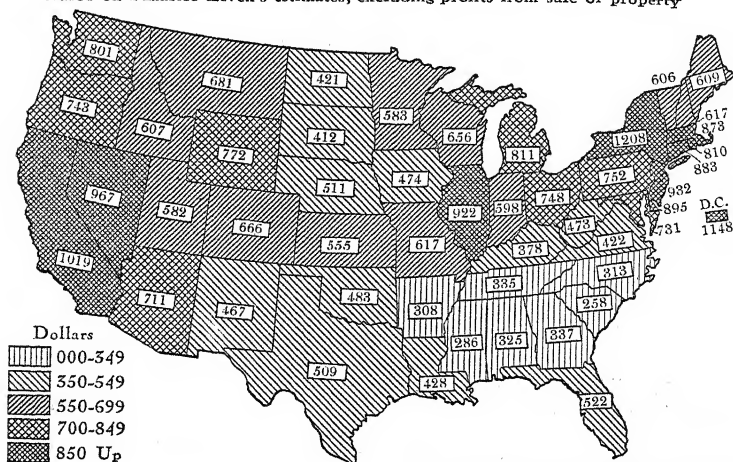
It should be said that the movement to conserve our natural resources is ridiculed by some. They argue that when a natural resource becomes scarce and expensive, a substitute is found. Once people feared that whales would be exterminated and our houses left in darkness, but before all the whales disappeared, petroleum came into use. Perhaps our present worry about the destruction of oil, coal, forests, and soil is equally unnecessary.

*The Need of a More Scientific Taxation.* Wise taxation encourages industry and equalizes opportunity. Unwise taxation cripples industry, rewards laziness, and widens the gap between the poor and the rich.

When we examine the incomes of different individuals, we notice that some are earned through great exertion and personal sacrifice. These are likely to be hardly sufficient to maintain the individual and his family. Other incomes are acquired with comparatively little toil or sacrifice. Some incomes are derived wholly from revenues on inherited fortunes; they represent no toil or sacrifice by their present recipients.

## Per Capita Income, 1929

Based on Maurice Leven's estimates, excluding profits from sale of property

From Goodrich and others, *Migration and Economic Opportunity*, University of Pennsylvania Press

The per capita income varies widely in the different states and sections

Taxation on unearned incomes has always been recognized as just. The best example is the inheritance tax. In common with most other countries, our federal government and many of the states collect a graduated tax on inheritances. The tax is almost nothing when the estate is small, and may amount to one half or more when the estate is large.

Another type of unearned income consists of the gain made from rising land values. When a city grows, all the land in the city increases in value. The added value is not created by those who happen to own the land but by all who live, work, or trade in the city. The increased value, it is argued, should belong to society, which created it. Profits from selling or renting land made valuable by population growth might justly be absorbed in taxes. This type of taxation has not been used in the United States.

A third type of tax on unearned income is the capital gains tax. If one buys property and sells it for a gain, he pays a tax on this increase in wealth, after deducting ex-

penses. By this means the federal government captures part of the profits made from speculation in stocks. Profits from land speculation could also be captured in this way.

Taxation on *earned* incomes now provides most of the revenue of the federal government and a part of the revenue of state governments. The income tax is a graded or progressive tax. The greater the net income, the larger percentage one pays in taxes. Those of small income are exempted. The income tax is based on the ability to pay. Nowadays this is sometimes called the "principle of equal sacrifice."

Personal incomes include two kinds of earnings: (1) labor income — wages and salaries, and (2) property income — rent, royalties, dividends, interest, and profit on speculation. To encourage effort it would seem that labor income should be taxed less heavily than income from property. Present income tax laws for the most part fail to discriminate between the two kinds of earnings.

The inheritance, capital gains, and income tax, besides being just, possess two other features of a good tax. First, they cannot be shifted to someone else. Second, they do not, in general, discourage personal exertion. These merits cannot be claimed for the real estate tax.

Local taxes, which form nearly half of all taxes in the United States, are raised almost exclusively from real estate. About one third of state revenues also come from real estate. In a previous chapter we have shown that this heavy dependence upon the real estate tax places an unfair tax burden on those whose wealth is in the form of land and buildings, while enabling those whose wealth consists largely of securities and savings accounts to escape their just share of taxation. To correct this situation two changes are needed: (1) to decrease the share of the total government revenues derived from real estate, (2) to tax intangible wealth as heavily as that which is tangible.

A considerable number of tax experts believe that the land itself rather than the buildings and improvements thereon should be made to carry most of the real estate tax. They argue that the present system of light taxation on

land and heavy taxation on improvements has the effect of discouraging building on and improving the land. In the cities many a building is torn down to escape the tax assessor, and many a slum building is allowed to remain in bad repair because repairs would mean higher taxes. Were the tax to be assessed chiefly on the land, the effect would be to encourage the improving of the land in order to bring it into the most productive use.

A well-known story illustrates the advantages claimed for taxing land rather than improvements on the land. An Egyptian ruler, Mohamed Ali, needed additional revenues. He ordered a tax on every date tree in his domain. In consequence most of the date trees were cut down, and the next year he had neither dates nor revenues. His wise men then advised him to free the date trees of taxation and to tax the land. Both dates and revenues then became plentiful.

The influence of taxation on our national well-being is much greater than is commonly thought. Further research on taxation and how it helps or hinders our economic progress is urgently needed.

*Summary.* Our basic problem is to produce a larger national income measured in goods and services. We have the plant and equipment, the labor supply, and the natural resources. The obstacle seems to be the lack of purchasing power among the masses of people. They are not able to buy all the output of our existing productive mechanism.

Proposals for correcting this situation include: (1) raising wages, (2) sharing profits, (3) reducing prices, (4) preventing excess savings, and (5) lightening the tax burden of the poorer classes.

After purchasing power is adjusted to our producing power, it will be necessary to increase the output of goods and services. A greatly expanded production is needed if all the people are to live in reasonable security and comfort. A larger output depends on: (1) use of all our manpower, (2) use of all our plant, (3) preventing depressions, (4) use of improved machinery, (5) promotion of invention and research, (6) wise use of natural resources, and (7) a more scientific taxation.

### ACTIVITIES

1. Make a poster-size chart showing changes in the national income beginning with 1929.
2. Make a pictograph showing how the national income is distributed among families.
3. Review the article, "If Industry Gave Science a Chance," in Harper's Magazine, February, 1935, Vol. 170, pp. 257-68. Or find other material showing how science could make us prosperous.
4. Read a chapter in *Tools for Tomorrow*, by Jonathan Leonard.
5. Choose some new invention or discovery in which you are interested and find out what economic and social changes it is expected to bring about.
6. Send to the Falk Foundation, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for the free pamphlet *Economic Progress Without Revolution*, by Harold G. Moulton, a reprint of an article which appeared in *Fortune*, November, 1935. This is an interesting summary of the studies made by the Brookings Institution, and merits careful reading.
7. Prepare a report on what is being done to conserve some one of our natural resources.
8. Appoint a committee to review a few of the most interesting chapters in *The Tragedy of Waste*, by Stuart Chase.
9. Report on some plan of profit sharing.
10. Investigate possible substitutes for mineral fuels.

### WORD STUDY

capital goods	real income
consumption goods	real wages
excess savings	trade association
free market	unearned income

### QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. How can a farm family add to its real income? A city family?
2. Should the unemployed be encouraged to settle on "subsistence farms" in order that they may be as nearly self-sufficient as possible? Why or why not?
3. What can be said for or against adoption of the thirty-hour working week? Is there a limit to the amount of work to be done? Explain.
4. Show that to create more buying power it is necessary to put

a larger share of the national income into the hands of the low-income groups.

5. What are the weaknesses in raising wages as a method for increasing the nation's purchasing power?
6. What are the advantages of profit sharing? disadvantages?
7. What determines the price of a commodity sold on a free market? How are most prices determined today?
8. When is saving by the well-to-do a danger to society? When is it a benefit?
9. What becomes of excess savings? How might prevention of excess savings smooth out the business cycle?
10. Show that wages tend to be high in industries using much machinery. Why is this so?
11. What types of taxes most reduce purchasing power?
12. What are the features of a good tax?

#### READINGS

- Alkins, W. E., and Wubnig, Arthur, *Our Economic World* (For high school use)
- Beard, William, *Create the Wealth*
- Chase, Stuart, *The Economy of Abundance. Men and Machines. The Nemesis of American Business. The Tragedy of Waste*
- Clark, Harold F., *An Introduction to Economic Problems* (Easy)
- Coyle, David C., *Brass Tacks. Waste: The Fight to Save America* (Interesting and provocative)
- Ezekiel, Mordecai, *\$2500 a Year*
- Goslin, Ryllis A. and Omar P., *Rich Man, Poor Man* (Available also in pamphlet form from People's League for Abundance)
- Hill, Howard C., and Tugwell, R. G., *Our Economic Society and Its Problems* (A Study of American Levels of Living and How to Improve Them)
- Johnson, F. Ernest, *Economics and the Good Life*
- Kendrick, M. S., and Seater, C. H., *Taxes: Benefit and Burden*
- Klein, Jacob, and Colvin, Woolf, *Economic Problems of Today*
- Leech, Harper, *The Paradox of Plenty*
- Leven, Maurice, and others, *America's Capacity to Consume*
- Loeb, Harold, *The Chart of Plenty* (Reports the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity; difficult). *Production for Use* (Easy)
- Moulton, Harold G., *Income and Economic Progress* (A very important book by the president of the Brookings Institution)
- Nourse, Edwin G., and others, *America's Capacity to Produce*
- Soule, George, *Useful Art of Economics* (Easy)

# Chapter 29

## THE REGULATION OF BUSINESS

*The world is now at one of the great crossroads of history. The system usually termed capitalist but I think better termed competitive, under which the western world has made its astonishing progress of the last century and a half, has developed deep-seated defects which will threaten its existence unless they can be cured. We need to reform and in large measure to transform this system. . . . If we fail, the only alternatives are chaos or the substitution of a different system inconsistent with personal liberty, perhaps after an intervening period of collapse and anarchy.*

SIR ARTHUR SALTER

TO WHAT extent shall government interfere with private business? Today this question is being hotly debated. Some think that government regulation has already gone too far, others that it has not gone nearly far enough. What is the basis for these contradictory opinions?

### THE NATURE OF CAPITALISM

*Our Economic System.* We live under an economic system known as *capitalism*. This is not simply the private ownership of capital (income-producing property). *Capitalism* is the control of industry by capitalists (those who contribute the capital) or their representatives. It rests upon the sacredness of private property, freedom of initiative, and the right to private profits. It maintains that individual initiative, the urge to get ahead, is the best way to advance the economic welfare.

*The Theory of Free Competition (Laissez Faire).* To defend the capitalistic system, the theory of free competition has been developed. The argument runs as follows:

When each individual pursues his own pecuniary interest,

the greatest social good will be achieved. If men are free to spend their money as they choose, they will purchase those things that give them the greatest satisfaction. Consequently, the very commodities most desired by consumers are the most profitable for businessmen to produce. Likewise, if men are free to use such methods of production as they wish, they will select those which are least costly and most efficient. If workers are free to work for any employer they wish, they will refuse work which is harder or more dangerous than the average unless it carries a higher wage.

Free competition, operating through fluctuating prices, will, it is claimed, automatically regulate all economic activities. Competition for buyers will lead each enterpriser to sell honest goods at reasonable prices. He will be deterred from furnishing adulterated, short-weight, or poorly made goods, and from charging too high a price, for fear of losing his customers. Competition for labor will insure just treatment of workers; an employer will be deterred from exploiting his workers for fear that they may go to some other employer offering better conditions. Furthermore, profits will be automatically restricted to the smallest percentage necessary to attract capital. Should profits in any kind of business be unduly large, competing enterprises will be set up, which will force prices down and thus reduce profits.

According to this theory, government should interfere as little as possible with business. It should confine itself to the enforcement of contracts, the prevention of fraud, and the protection of property. The idea that business should be let alone is named *laissez faire*. It grows directly out of the belief that free competition will sufficiently regulate all economic activity.

*Laissez Faire in the United States.* The idea that business should be let alone was first made popular by a Scotchman, Adam Smith, in the famous book, *The Wealth of Nations*. It appeared in the same year as the American Declaration of Independence, and was especially well received in America. Here was a vast continent to be subdued. Here was virgin forest, rich mineral deposits, and good farm land to be had for a dollar or two an acre. It

seemed as if every encouragement should be given to individual enterprise.

As time went on the "let alone" theory resulted in the passing of many laws by both the states and the nation to make it very easy for individuals to create businesses and to gain control of natural resources to the exclusion of other men. For example, almost the entire cost of building many of the early railroads was paid by the local, state, or federal government. High tariffs were set up to protect domestic industry from competition with foreign-made products. Franchises were granted, allowing a private business to use public property without cost, as when a street railway company is given the exclusive right to lay its tracks on the streets, or a gas company is exclusively permitted to run gas mains under the streets, or a telephone company is given the exclusive right to erect poles on the streets. Companies were allowed to incorporate under charters giving them many privileges not enjoyed by unincorporated businesses. These and various other favors were continually sought and received by the larger business enterprises. In reality all these favors were contrary to the true meaning of *laissez faire*, for they gave special privileges to certain businesses, and thus tended to interfere with the operation of free competition.

On the other hand, *laissez faire* was invoked when laborers asked for laws to protect them from low wages, dangerous working conditions, and excessively long hours. It was argued that such a regulation of business was not a proper function of government; also, that it would deprive businessmen of their liberty. A few laws to protect laborers were passed, only to be declared unconstitutional.

In 1868 the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, containing the phrase, "nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." Most people had supposed that this was intended for the protection of the Negro, but as it was interpreted by the courts it prevented the government from curtailing certain privileges of businessmen. Laws to regulate the rates charged by a utility, to prevent monopoly, to establish minimum

wages, or to protect consumers were time after time declared unconstitutional on the ground that they deprived businessmen of their property. It began to look as if our government were helpless to protect community interests from destruction by individual interests. Economic individualism was in the saddle.

This extreme type of economic individualism lasted until all the good free land was gone and the frontier had disappeared. Then it became obvious that men who own no property cannot escape from the necessity of working for those who do. Without government protection, the propertyless would be at the mercy of the propertied. But nothing could be more contrary to democratic principles than to let the masses of people become the tools of a privileged class. Democracy must curb the rights of property for the sake of human rights.

The acceptance of this new application of the democratic ideal was encouraged by another important change in the economic situation — the rise of huge corporations. Big business grew until it practically controlled the market. In many areas of economic activity free competition ceased to exist. If the rights of small businessmen were to be preserved, government must intervene and laissez faire must be abandoned.

#### THE TREND TOWARD INDUSTRIAL CONSOLIDATION

In the closing years of the nineteenth century, a new trend in business was made clear. This was the movement toward concentration. Large-scale production has so many advantages, both financial and political, that businesses of all kinds began to unite. Today most of the major industries have consolidated into a few large units.

One of the first startling examples of the concentration of industry was the formation in 1901 of a billion-dollar steel corporation. This was followed by mergers of railroads, machinery-making concerns, meat-packing plants, retail stores, and banks. It became the rule and not the exception for business to be organized into enormous units, able to dominate the markets of the country.

*How Far Has Consolidation Gone?* In many lines of business, consolidation is far advanced. Three companies sell 90 per cent of all the automobiles manufactured in the United States. One company controls 40 per cent of the production of steel. One company controls 60 per cent of the production of agricultural implements. Eight companies affiliated with the railroads control 80 per cent of the anthracite reserves. Two companies control 98 per cent of the preparation of cereals. Two companies control 60 per cent of the meat entering interstate commerce. The Bell system controls 89 per cent of the telephone service, and Western Union controls 75 per cent of the telegraph service. Nine electric systems control the majority of electric power. Three companies control practically the entire motion picture industry.

Two hundred of the largest business corporations own over half of the corporate wealth of the United States (exclusive of the fields of banking and finance). The remainder of this corporate wealth is owned by over 300,000 corporations. The two hundred largest corporations have been growing two or three times as rapidly as the smaller ones.

In the financial field consolidation is equally marked. One per cent of the banks have resources equal to those of the remaining 99 per cent.

Other vital facts regarding the concentration of the economic power of the nation are revealed in figures compiled by the Bureau of Internal Revenue. In 1935 one tenth of one per cent of the corporations reporting owned 52 per cent of the net income of them all. Fewer than 5 per cent of the corporations reporting owned 87 per cent of them all.

*Three Types of Consolidation.* There are three general types of business consolidation. The merging of similar businesses, as, for example, the creation of a string of chain stores, theaters, hotels, or banks, is known as *horizontal* consolidation.

Another type is *vertical* or *integrated* consolidation. One automobile concern may not only operate enormous plants for the manufacture of automobiles, but it may own the sources of its raw materials (mines, timber, rubber, and

cotton plantations), and its own transportation lines, shipping facilities, banks, and sales agencies. An oil company may own oil wells, tanks, and tank cars, pipe lines, steamships, trucks, and retail filling stations. By vertical consolidation a concern may control every part of the process of production and distribution from beginning to end.

The third type of consolidation may be called *circular*. This kind is not so effective in regulating output and prices as are the other types. It occurs when companies that produce noncompeting goods are merged in order that their products may be marketed through one central selling agency. The various companies retain their own names, but are owned and managed by a holding company. The Standard Brands concern is an example of circular consolidation, engaging in the manufacture and marketing of yeast, coffee, spices, tea, canned goods, and a wide variety of packaged foods.

*Advantages of Consolidation.* In many kinds of business, large-scale production has important advantages over small-scale production. Some of these advantages are: (1) the use of the most efficient machinery, which may be too large or too costly for a small-sized business; (2) the greater division of labor, which permits the more efficient adjustment of workers to the job; (3) the more complete utilization of by-products; and (4) the buying of larger quantities of raw materials, which lowers their cost. However, beyond a certain point no further savings result from an increase in the size of a business. A business may even be too big for maximum efficiency.

Consolidation of competing businesses brings economies in the production and also in the distribution of goods: (1) patents and secret processes may be pooled, (2) wasteful duplication of effort in the management of business may be eliminated, and (3) the waste of competitive advertising and the high cost of maintaining competitive sales forces are avoided.

As a result of these economies, the cost per unit of producing and distributing goods is greatly reduced. The saving may be passed on to the consumer in lower prices or

to workers in higher wages or may be added to the profits. There is considerable evidence to indicate that most of the savings that result from business consolidation are added to profits. A large number of small businesses make no profit at all, even in good years, while many large businesses make substantial profits every year. The Bureau of Internal Revenue found that 4 per cent of all the manufacturing concerns reporting in 1935 earned 84 per cent of the net profit of all of them. The profit-making concerns were chiefly large corporations.

#### HOW CONCENTRATION OF CONTROL AFFECTS THE NATIONAL WELFARE

If the economies resulting from the consolidation of business were passed on to consumers in lower prices or to workers in higher wages, consolidation would benefit the nation. There would be more goods and the people would have greater purchasing power.

To some extent this has actually taken place. Mass production methods have lowered the prices of many commodities, placing them within the reach of persons of moderate income. The automobile is an outstanding example.

Consolidation has also brought numerous evils. These include both economic evils and social evils. Let us look briefly at the economic evils.

*The Trend toward Rigid Prices.* When one or a few huge corporations dominate an industry, it is very easy for them to control prices. For instance, the prices of steel and iron are determined by the company which dominates this field, and are rarely changed. This tends to hold at a high level the prices of all commodities made from iron and steel.

Before the formation of the United States Steel Corporation the prices of iron and steel had been declining gradually for many years; this was the natural result of the introduction of new machines and methods that cheapened the cost of production. The price of open-hearth steel rails decreased from \$106.79 a ton in 1870 to \$67.52 in 1880, and to \$32.29 in 1900. After the United States Steel Corporation

was formed, technological improvements in the making of steel continued to be made, but the gain no longer went to consumers in lower prices. From 1902 to 1913 the price of steel rails remained absolutely fixed at \$28.00 a ton.

When prices do not fluctuate much over a period of years, it is evident that free competition is not being allowed to operate. On a free market every increase of supply (whether due to new inventions, more efficient methods, or an expansion in the number of producers or plants) would cause prices to drop. Similarly, when supplies pile up due to a depression, prices would drop until consumers could again buy freely. The table following reveals what happens in a depression to commodities sold on a free market and what happens to those whose price is controlled.

#### DECLINE IN PRICES AND PRODUCTION FROM 1929 TO 1933

	Per cent drop in prices	Per cent drop in production
Agricultural implements	6	80
Motor vehicles	16	80
Cement	18	65
Iron and steel products	20	83
Tires	33	70
Textiles	45	30
Food Products	49	14
Leather	50	20
Petroleum	56	20
Agricultural commodities	63	6

Gardner C. Means, *Industrial Prices and Their Relative Inflexibility*, Senate Document 13, 74th Congress.

*The Restriction of Output.* When an industry is dominated by one or a few corporations, it is an easy matter to restrict output in order to maintain prices. Instead of selling a large volume of goods at a low price, the company may find it more profitable in the short run to sell a moderate volume at a high price. That is one reason why 20 to 40 per cent of the nation's productive mechanism is always idle.

The tendency to restrict output instead of lowering prices has increased in the last few decades. In fact, it has ac-

companied the consolidation of business. This is thought to explain, at least in part, why the depression that began in 1929 was so much more severe and lasting than most of the earlier depressions.

Let us turn now to the social evils that appear with giant industrial units.

*Absentee Ownership.* The great corporations are owned by stockholders who may be scattered all over the world. They know practically nothing about the way the business is managed and its policies toward labor, the public, and the government, nor are they interested. Should an ordinary small stockholder take the trouble to inform himself on these matters, and should he discover that reforms were needed, he might have great difficulty in getting the directors of the corporation to listen.

Although the 200 largest business corporations have millions of stockholders, all of these corporations are said to be controlled by approximately 2,000 individuals. This is possible because small stockholders living all over the country or the world rarely attend stockholders' meetings. If they vote at all, they do so by proxy — that is, they mail to one of the officials of the corporation a paper authorizing him to vote for them. Thus the officials may keep themselves in office indefinitely, often voting themselves enormous salaries and bonuses, and sometimes using their inside information to make money by speculating in their own company's securities. Only ten of the 200 largest corporations are controlled by the owners of a majority of the outstanding stock. All the rest are controlled by small groups of minority stockholders, by legal devices, or by the salaried executives themselves. Thus in 190 of these corporations ownership has been divorced from management; the stockholders have no responsibility and practically no voice in the running of the business.<sup>1</sup>

This is a situation of which Adam Smith never dreamed. To him the owners of a business had the duty of managing it. If they managed it skillfully they received profits as

<sup>1</sup> These figures are taken from *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, by A. A. Berle and G. C. Means, Macmillan.

their reward, otherwise they received nothing and might lose their investment. Today, the typical stockholder in a large corporation is not given any share in the management. Nor has he any assurance that the corporation will be run in the interests of the stockholders rather than of those in control.

*Concentration of Power.* It is obvious that those who direct giant corporations have extraordinary power. Their decisions affect the welfare of thousands of employees and millions of consumers. Frequently their power is used to raise prices, to curb labor in its demands for a greater share of the industrial income, to stifle competition, to conceal their huge profits, and to control political parties.

Can our society afford to allow a few men to exercise the immense power possessed by the directors of the larger corporations? That is a social question to which we have not paid much attention.

Should public opinion ever decide that huge size in a corporation is itself an evil, the taxing power might be used to force giant corporations to divide into smaller units. This could be accomplished by a steeply graduated tax on corporate earnings. In every industry there is a size of unit that is most efficient; only units exceeding this size ought to be divided. However, society might prefer to risk some loss of industrial efficiency in order to prevent the undue concentration of power of which we have spoken. In this connection the opinion of a recent governor of Pennsylvania is interesting. "If our democratic government is to survive," he said, "we must have a great many little capitalists, not just a few big ones."

#### EFFORTS TO REGULATE BIG BUSINESS

The essence of the Constitution of the United States, as stated in its preamble, is to "promote the general welfare of the people." Gradually it has become clear that the welfare of the people suffers when business is let alone. The free competition which might automatically have regulated business has in many industries almost ceased to operate.

Few now question that where free competition is absent government regulation is needful.

*Regulation of the Railroads.* The first attempts of the state and federal governments to regulate big business were directed against the railroads. For a long time the government, local, state, and federal, had done everything possible to encourage the building of railroads. As the roads were extended, the prosperity of manufacturers, merchants, and farmers was more and more in their hands. Freight rates were made as high as the traffic would bear; discriminations were made between shippers and between localities; and secret rebates were given to favored shippers. These despotic practices could not be left unchecked.

In the seventies some of the states created commissions to control the railroads within their boundaries, but the United States Supreme Court decided that a state could not regulate a railroad engaged in interstate commerce. After many years of strenuous opposition from the railroads, Congress in 1887 passed the famous Interstate Commerce Commission Act. This established a commission of five members to supervise the railroads. The Act prohibited rate discriminations and required the roads to make their rates public. The practice of charging more for a short haul than for a long one was forbidden. However, it was difficult to find public officials able and willing to enforce the decisions of the commission, and the courts often prevented any exercise of the commission's power. In 1906 and 1910 the powers of the commission were greatly extended, and other means of transportation and communication, including the express, the telephone, and the telegraph companies, were also brought under government regulation.

In 1920 the Interstate Commerce Commission was increased to eleven members and granted additional power. In fixing rates the Commission was directed to prescribe "just and reasonable rates" so that the railroads if efficiently managed may earn a fair return upon their valuation. This proved a difficult task. Should the value used in computing rates be that of the original investment, or the cost of reproducing the road at current prices? If the latter, then the

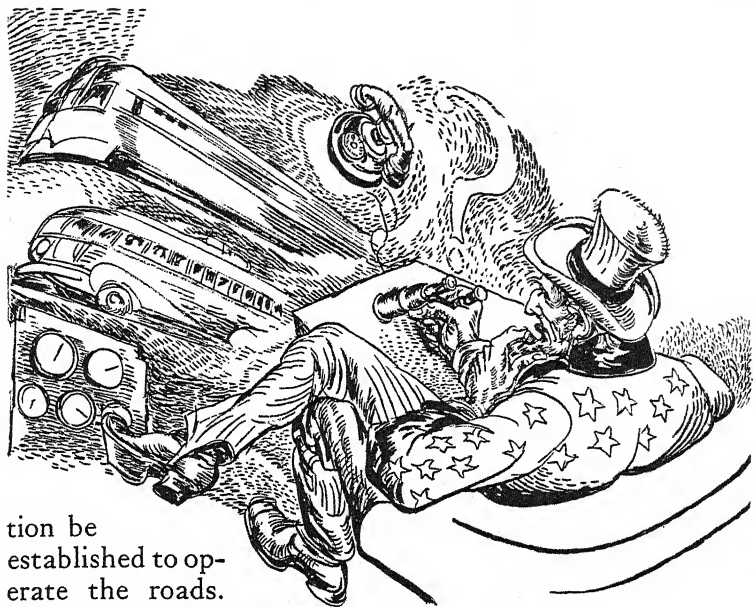


value would be continually changing. Moreover, the rates would be much higher than if they

were based on the value of the original investment. Even yet this question has not been finally determined by the courts.

Since the depression railroad earnings have fallen disastrously. The difficulties of the roads have been attributed to too much regulation combined with too little regulation of competing forms of transportation. For some years the railroads have faced increasing competition from steamboats in the coastwise trade and on the inland waterways, and from trucks, omnibuses, automobiles, pipe lines, and airplanes. Largely at the insistence of the railroads, the Motor Carrier Act was passed in 1935, giving the Interstate Commerce Commission authority to regulate the interstate transportation of freight and passengers by trucks and omnibuses.

In 1933 a Federal Co-ordinator of Transportation (Joseph B. Eastman) was appointed for two years to study the railroad situation and recommend changes. In a comprehensive analysis Mr. Eastman advocated government operation as the only possible solution of numerous, difficult railroad problems. He proposed that a government corpora-



tion be established to operate the roads.

The corporation, administered by five trustees, would acquire the common stock, or at least the majority of it, in each railroad in the United States. Instead of money for the stock, the stockholders would receive certificates entitling them to dividends. The trustees would possess the voting privileges carried by the common stock and would determine the policies to be followed, while the ownership would remain in the hands of the stockholders.

The advantages of government operation, according to Mr. Eastman, would be: (1) low cost of capital, (2) the increased efficiency of operating as one co-ordinated system, (3) the opportunity gradually to reduce or eliminate the bonded debt, using the expected savings due to government operation, (4) freedom from the valuation nightmare which is perpetual under regulation, (5) the constant limelight playing on a corporation with open records, which would tend to prevent corruption and inefficiency.

Many owners of railroad securities are in favor of government operation, for they see no other way that the value of

their securities can be restored. Farmers and others who are eager for cheaper freight rates are also in favor of the proposal. The principal argument against the plan is that co-ordination of all the competing lines and terminals would throw many railroad workers out of employment. For this reason no action will probably be taken unless the plight of the railroads becomes altogether intolerable.

*The Sherman Antitrust Act.* The first step in the consolidation of independent companies began in the 1870's. At that time state statutes placed many obstacles in the way of corporate growth and merger. Two of these obstacles were of major importance. Corporation charters commonly restricted companies to the conduct of a single line of business. Even closely related lines of activity were forbidden. In those days an oil-producing corporation could not operate a refinery, nor a corporation making carriages, produce ice-boxes. Moreover, corporations were prohibited from purchasing or holding the stock of other corporations.

To get around these obstacles to combination, the trust appeared. About 1880 the Standard Oil Trust was born, bringing many competing companies under a single management. The stockholders of these companies simply turned over their stock to a small board of trustees, and received trust certificates in return. The trustees had the voting rights represented by the common stock, and thus a few men were able to direct all the companies in the trust, fixing prices for the industry, limiting the output, and crushing competitors.

The next few years witnessed the formation of a beef trust, sugar trust, whiskey trust, tobacco trust, and a host of others. A few men directing each trust became enormously wealthy in a few years. Frequently their practices were little short of criminal. The property of competitors was often destroyed; legislators and other public officials were bribed; and the prevailing attitude was "The public be damned."

Public opinion, led by small businessmen who felt their interests threatened, cried out for relief. At length Congress responded to popular demand with the Sherman Antitrust

Law of 1890. The law declared "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce" to be illegal. The act, although Congress did not know this, was virtually a dead letter.

One year before the act was passed an event occurred which altered the entire course of the combination movement. In 1889 New Jersey amended its corporation laws to permit one company to purchase the stock of another. In a few brief years the New Jersey statute changed the structure of American industry. The trusts, instead of being forced to dissolve, incorporated under a New Jersey charter. Other states soon changed their corporation law following the New Jersey example. Mergers went on more rapidly than ever. By the turn of the century almost every day brought word of some new huge consolidation.

About 1900 a new crusade began against big business. Many books and articles appeared to show the corrupt practices of big corporations. Among these writings was Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, which exposed terrible conditions in the meat-packing industry, and Ida Tarbell's *Story of the Standard Oil Company*. Lincoln Steffens in his *Shame of the Cities* showed how business was responsible for political corruption.

President Theodore Roosevelt began a vigorous campaign to punish "bad" corporations. He denounced those who had obtained or sought to obtain a monopoly as "malefactors of great wealth." Upon his recommendation, Congress appropriated \$500,000 for the investigation of monopolies and the enforcement of the Sherman Antitrust Act. It is interesting to note that about thirty years later (1938) President Franklin D. Roosevelt asked Congress for the same amount of money to make a thorough study "of the concentration of economic power in American industry and the effects of that concentration upon the decline of competition."

The efforts of Theodore Roosevelt and his successor, William Howard Taft, had little success in curbing the power of big corporations. A very few were found guilty of restraining trade and were obliged to dissolve. In 1911 the Supreme

Court, in condemning the Standard Oil Corporation, laid down its famous "rule of reason," namely that the Sherman Act prohibited only the *unreasonable* restraint of trade. Not many years later the Court found that the United States Steel Corporation, which then controlled half the steel business of the nation, did not restrain trade unreasonably. This and other decisions soon demonstrated that the Sherman Act was powerless to prevent the growth of combinations.

*New Attempts at Regulation under Woodrow Wilson.* When Woodrow Wilson became President in 1913, he began a war on the monopolists. He was a firm believer in free competition, and thought that government should take steps to prevent big business from destroying it. He succeeded in 1914 in getting Congress to pass two important laws dealing with trusts — the Clayton Antitrust Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act.

The Clayton Antitrust Act forbade any corporation to purchase the stock of a competitor if the purchase tended to create a monopoly. Price discrimination for the purpose of "freezing out" a competitor was also forbidden. It was forbidden for a company to make a contract with a retailer keeping him from selling the products of a competing firm. To enforce this legislation Congress passed the Federal Trade Commission Act, which set up a commission of five members. Its powers are: (1) to prevent unfair methods of competition, (2) to investigate the conduct of any corporation engaged in commerce, (3) to require corporations to file annual reports with the Commission, (4) to readjust and reorganize businesses charged with violating the antitrust laws, and (5) to issue orders to corporations and others to cease unfair practices.

The general principle embodied in these two laws may be stated as follows: Practices which tend to lessen competition or create monopoly are illegal. In preventing certain unfair trade practices, such as misleading advertising, there has been a fair degree of success. But the courts have imposed such rigid requirements on efforts by the Federal Trade Commission to show that any combination actually "lessened competition" and lessened it "unreasonably," that nothing

practically has been accomplished in checking new mergers. The Commission in its recent annual reports has repeatedly expressed despair of any prospects of success in curbing the combination movement.

The antitrust laws are concerned only with the merger of companies manufacturing similar products and competing in the same markets. Theoretically at least, one automobile manufacturer may be prevented from purchasing control of another automobile manufacturer, provided such purchase lessens competition unreasonably. However, there is nothing in the law to prevent him from acquiring control of a steel mill, a railroad, a refrigerator factory, or other businesses. No matter how large a portion of the nation's economy is controlled by a single corporation, the law does not interfere. Sixty concerns equal in size to the American Telephone and Telegraph Company would own all the business in the United States. Under our present laws there is nothing to prevent the formation of these supergiants.

*Regulation of Business under the New Deal.* During the prosperous years of the World War and the boom years of the 1920's, there was little agitation against concentrated wealth. Public opinion was molded by constant repetition of the idea that prosperity depended upon the freedom of business from government interference. The government pursued a policy of active encouragement to business.

In 1928 the first signs of impending disaster were detected by the knowing. Our exports to Europe had fallen off; heavy industries were slowing down; the production of consumption goods far exceeded the buying power of the public, and consequently a huge volume of sales was being made on the deferred payment plan; and securities were selling at wildly inflated prices. The stock market crashed in October, 1929, and before people were aware, the country was swept into the vortex of a dreadful depression.

A new policy toward business was urgently demanded. Business wanted more aid from the government. At the recommendation of President Hoover the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was formed in January, 1932, to make loans to tottering banks, insurance companies, and railroads.

The following month the Glass-Steagall Act was enacted to help banks to "thaw out" some of their frozen assets. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt took office the policy of active assistance to business was continued.

The National Industrial Recovery Act was passed in 1933. Competing firms within each industry were required to get together for the purpose of drafting a code of business principles to be followed by all. Hours and wages were made uniform and price agreements were drawn up to which all members of an industry must submit. Thus, under the NIRA, in effect the government had reversed its old policy of trying to maintain free competition.

The public was sharply divided over the merits of this legislation. The small businessman felt that he was penalized, while the big corporations were greatly benefited. Consumers protested that prices were kept at artificially high levels. The Supreme Court decided unanimously that the NIRA was unconstitutional, chiefly because it regulated hours and wages in businesses not engaged in interstate commerce.

While the government attempted to strengthen business and help businessmen to weather the depression, it was obvious that there must be more regulation of business to correct the abuses that had helped to cause the crash. During the New Deal, Congress was chiefly occupied with two problems: (1) to hasten recovery by giving aid to banks, railroads, distressed homeowners, farmers, and the unemployed, and (2) to bring about needed reforms in business. The avowed purpose was not to injure business, nor even to attack big business, but rather to enable the capitalistic system — the control of business by the capitalists — to continue. It was generally agreed during the dark years of the depression that if capitalism was to survive, certain types of business would have to be more closely supervised than they had been in the past.

*Regulating the Stock Market.* It is believed that one of the causes of the terrible stock market crash of October, 1929, was the lack of legal restraint on the stock exchanges of the country. A stock market or stock exchange, be it said, is a

place in the larger cities where investment bankers meet to buy and sell stocks and bonds. An important service is performed by the stock exchange — it creates a ready market for those who wish to buy or dispose of securities.

Many evils arose in the management of the stock exchanges. Prices were sometimes manipulated artificially to the great loss of small investors. The person having money to invest could not always depend upon the information given by those belonging to the stock exchange. To protect investors Congress passed the Federal Security Act (1933) and the Securities and Exchange Act (1934). These laws oblige every firm issuing bonds or stocks that are to be offered on the exchanges to furnish information, under oath, about the true conditions and the management of the firm. The facts about the assets, the liabilities, and the salary roll, and a statement regarding the use of the money must be given the Federal Securities' Exchange Commission.

The conduct of the stock exchanges is also regulated. The purpose of these acts is not to stop the rise and fall of the stock market — that cannot be done — but to end some dishonest practices and make investments for the people a bit safer.

*Regulating the Holding Companies.* Another field of business enterprise in which the government has lately been interested is the holding company. A holding company is a corporation which owns a controlling interest in several subsidiary companies. These subsidiary firms do not change their names, but they come under the management of the small group of men directing the holding company. One purpose of the holding company is to fix prices throughout an industry or a territory. The holding company has thrived best in the public utility field.

As a rule the holding companies carry on a business that is interstate, and, therefore, the states cannot regulate them. The owners of these companies claim that their combinations make for economies which result in giving the public better service and lower prices. But they were characterized by such evils, and so many people lost their life savings by investing in them, that a demand arose for their regulation.

Among the evils said to exist in the holding company are: (1) a few men control industries of enormous size; (2) the few men in control are closely connected with the big banking interests; (3) financial statements frequently do not represent the true condition; (4) the valuation is "padded" and high rates on this fictitious value result in unreasonable profits; (5) "milking" is common. This is the practice of making the subsidiary firm pay a high price for a small service performed by the holding company or its affiliates. When these charges are paid there is often little left for the stockholders. Furthermore, those who use the service of the public utilities are charged high rates to cover these unnecessary or exorbitant charges.

Congress attempted in 1935 to correct many of these evils. A commission was created to examine the financial condition of the holding companies in the public utilities field and to regulate some of their practices. Public utility holding companies are to be abandoned unless it can be proved that the merger is beneficial to the public. If holding companies can be successfully regulated so that investments are safer and unfair methods of business are eliminated, the stability of the public utilities will be greatly improved and the people will get better service at lower cost.

*The Communication Act.* Certain public utilities were subjected to further control by the enactment in 1934 of the Communication Act. The Federal Communications Commission was established to regulate the telegraph, the telephone, and the radio. The telegraph and the telephone had formerly been under the supervision of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the radio under the Federal Radio Commission created in 1927.

Perhaps the most significant of all inventions in the field of communication is the radio. Broadcasting began about 1924, and two years later the first national hookup came into use. More than six hundred broadcasting stations are now licensed by law. The radio is still in its infancy. The visual possibilities of broadcasting challenge the most fertile imaginations. Television and facsimile are fast approaching, and the transmission of color seems to be near.

The realization of some of the new experiments in radio may completely change our whole recreational and educational outlook. The radio has also become a vital part of our commercial and political life, and its power for good or ill can scarcely be realized. The fact that radio programs are carefully scrutinized by broadcasting companies before they are allowed on the air is a possible threat to free speech. Unpopular parties and ideas might be forbidden. Programs of solid educational worth might be neglected. For these reasons it seems clear that public regulation is necessary. The Communications Commission can refuse a license to a station or revoke a license. It is charged with the difficult task of allotting a very limited number of air lanes among all those who wish to use them.

*Protection for Consumers.* Most of the regulations that have been imposed on business have been for the purpose of preserving competition and protecting the smaller or weaker businesses from the unfair practices of their stronger rivals. Thus, railroad rates are regulated, largely, to prevent discrimination between shippers; radio broadcasting is supervised primarily to insure that a few powerful stations do not capture all the channels; holding companies are supervised chiefly to protect the subsidiary companies from being robbed by the company at the top of the pyramid.

The consumer has received very little attention from the federal government. The Food and Drugs Act was passed in 1906 to prohibit interstate commerce in adulterated or falsely labeled foods and drugs, but the Act contained so many loopholes that a great many serious evils in the manufacture and sale of foods and drugs continued unchecked. The Act failed to give adequate protection to consumers and to honest producers. Finally Congress in 1938 enacted a new Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. Cosmetics for the first time come within the range of federal regulation. The Food and Drug Administration is authorized to bar poisonous cosmetics (except hair dyes) from interstate traffic. Food sections of the Act contain several important new measures of protection to consumers. Drug sections of the Act bring healing devices and slenderizing preparations under control

and require more accurate labeling of medicines. New enforcement procedures are set up to supply "teeth" that were missing from the old Food and Drugs Act. While the new law does not wholly satisfy the consumer organizations, it is certainly a long step forward.

Another help to consumers is the Wheeler-Lea Act of 1938, broadening the powers of the Federal Trade Commission in dealing with all types of unfair commercial practices. This is the first major revision of the Federal Trade Commission Act since it was enacted in 1914. The Wheeler-Lea Act extends the power of the Commission in three directions: (1) it directs the Commission to prevent business practices injurious to *consumers* as well as those damaging to business competitors, (2) it makes orders of the Commission more effective, and (3) it gives the Commission new power to prevent false advertising of foods, drugs, cosmetics, and healing devices. It is regarded as a milestone in the growing movement for consumer protection.

#### CAN GOVERNMENT REGULATION SUCCEED?

The regulation of small and moderate-sized businesses is not beyond the power of government. The real contest comes when government tries to bring big business under control.

*Difficulties in Regulating Big Business.* One of the chief obstacles encountered in the effort to regulate big business is the attitude of those who control it. It is natural for men who exercise great financial power to resist any interference with that power. Again and again in our history a small group controlling an important patent, a natural resource like aluminum, or a monopoly like the distribution of electricity, have succeeded in blocking all attempts at genuine control. These small groups are highly organized and can spend large sums of money in presenting their side of the story to the public. They also make a practice of maintaining skillful lobbyists in Washington and the state capitals in order to influence legislative bodies. The power of their wealth and their great prestige succeed oftentimes in quieting any demand for more effective regulation.

*Special Difficulties in Regulating the Public Utilities.* Perhaps no phase of government regulation is more important than the regulation of the rates charged by public utilities, such as railroads and electric light distributors. The Interstate Commerce Commission has been successful in establishing reasonable railroad rates, but the various state commissions charged with establishing reasonable rates for electricity have frequently been unsuccessful.

Extraordinary difficulties arise in the attempt of commissions to fix reasonable rates. The crux of the problem is to establish the rate base — the valuation of the property of the utility. According to the courts, the company must be allowed a fair and reasonable return (generally 7 per cent), not upon the money invested, but upon the real value of the property, including good will. And the value changes continually. Plants are always getting old; buildings must be repaired or rebuilt; new machinery is installed; the price level rises and falls. The courts have ruled that both the *original* costs and the *reproductive* costs must be carefully considered.

In order to determine these costs a public utility commission must have a large and well-trained technical staff. Few commissions have the funds necessary to maintain such a staff. With salaries small and continuance in office uncertain, the commissions cannot compete with the public utilities for the best accountants, engineers, and statisticians. The whole problem is made still more complicated by the attempt of many public utilities to pad their costs by every possible means. The larger the costs can be made to appear, the larger is the rate base, and the higher the rates which the utility can demand for its services. To wring out the water (the fictitious valuation) is necessary before a just rate can be established. So far no way to accomplish this has been found.

After a public service commission has decided to order a rate reduction, there is still another hurdle. The utility will probably fight the order in the courts. The expense of so doing will be charged to the consumers of its services. The New York Edison Company a few years ago spent

\$5,000,000 fighting an attempt to reduce the electric rates to small consumers. A public service commission rarely or never can command the funds necessary to oppose a utility company through years of litigation in the courts.

*Is Government Ownership a Solution?* The difficulties encountered in trying to regulate the electric companies have caused some people to urge government ownership. Little by little many cities have acquired various public utilities. In 1800 there were thirty city-wide water systems in the United States, only one of which was municipally owned. Today over 7,000 cities and villages own water systems. There are now about 100 municipal gas plants and 1,800 municipal power plants. A century ago nearly all canals, ferries, bridges, and improved highways were privately owned; today it is taken for granted that these are public businesses. American cities frequently own trolley lines, piers, terminals, airports, and tunnels. Many of these are operated with the utmost efficiency and with satisfaction to all concerned.

Evidence seems to show that competition with municipal electric plants has done more to reduce electric rates to domestic users than all the work of all the state utility commissions. These municipally owned enterprises are *yardsticks* by which the service and rates of privately owned utilities can be measured. The federal government has lately been engaged in setting up yardsticks in the production and supply of electric power to small users. The accuracy of these yardsticks is, however, being sharply challenged.

If a government-owned enterprise is to be operated efficiently, it must be free of political interference. It should also be able to employ all the devices used by a privately owned business for achieving economy and directness of operation. These conditions seem to be met when the enterprise is organized as a corporation. Indeed, the public corporation has been described as "the most brilliant social invention of the twentieth century."

A variety of new municipal, state, and federal enterprises are organized in corporate form. The Inland Waterways Corporation, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation,

and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation are typical of a large group.

A public corporation need not be owned outright by the government. In order to appoint the directors and determine the policies, the government need only own or hold the majority of the common stock. Under such a plan the management of the business could be carried on by practically the same methods used under private control. So long as the directors are carefully chosen, corruption could not easily creep in. The directors would have complete responsibility for the conduct of the enterprise. Probably they would select the most competent manager they could find and turn the management over to him. He would be able to hire and discharge all employees without political or civil service restrictions. It is claimed that under this plan the government can operate a business as efficiently as it can be operated under private control.

It is believed that there are certain characteristics that a business should have before it would be safe for the government to take it over. Some of these are: (1) a small amount of money invested in relation to the business done; (2) the business should be routine; (3) its activities should be easy to co-ordinate, as for example, the telegraph, telephone, and the parcel post; (4) the business should be of such a nature that it can be easily inspected and supervised; (5) the business should perform a wide community service, as that performed by the railroads, streetcar lines, and water systems. The Post Office seems to fit all of these requirements.

Government ownership is opposed by most businessmen. It is also opposed by many citizens who believe that government should not be given any more duties or powers than is absolutely necessary.

#### ACTIVITIES

1. Summarize the chapter.
2. Write to the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Administration, Washington, for sample copies of the judgments obtained against violators of the law.

3. Report the findings of the investigation of monopoly.
4. Find out more about government yardsticks in the light and power industry.
5. Report on the history of the Fourteenth Amendment. A particularly good reference is *The Rise of American Civilization*, by Charles and Mary Beard.
6. Make a list of all the public property in your community. Is there any other property you think the public should own?
7. Make a report on the work of some public corporation.
8. Investigate the problem of interlocking directorates.
9. Draw a cartoon on government regulation of business.
10. Find out how the gas and electric rates, streetcar fares, telephone rates, and bus fares that you pay are regulated.
11. Make a list of arguments for and against government operation of the railroads.
12. Write a paper on the life of Henry Ford, Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Walter Chrysler, James J. Hill, Andrew Mellon, Edward Filene, or George Eastman.
13. Find examples of unfair competition and methods used in driving the little man out of business.
14. Prepare arguments for and against chain-store taxes.

## WORD STUDY

capital	monopoly
capitalism	proxy
franchise	reproductive costs
holding company	subsidiary
laissez faire	trust
"milking"	

## QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. State the theory of free competition as an automatic regulator of business.
2. Show that laissez faire was disregarded or invoked by enterprises according to the circumstances.
3. Why did small businessmen clamor for antitrust laws?
4. Distinguish between horizontal, vertical, and circular consolidation.
5. State the most striking facts about the 200 largest corporations. How are they controlled?

6. State the advantages of large-scale production and distribution. Who gets these benefits?
7. Discuss the principal economic evils arising from too great consolidation.
8. In a depression what happens to the supply and the price of goods sold on a free market? What happens to the supply of those whose price is controlled?
9. State a possible explanation for the unusual severity and length of the depression that began in 1929.
10. What social evils arise from too great consolidation of economic power?
11. What abuses led to the passage of the Interstate Commerce Commission Act?
12. Outline Mr. Eastman's plan for government operation of the railroads. Why was the plan not promptly acted upon?
13. Why did the trust form of merger become obsolete?
14. How did the "rule of reason" weaken the Sherman Antitrust Act?
15. Why was the regulation of holding companies demanded?
16. Why did consumers demand the new Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act?
17. What are some of the difficulties encountered by commissions charged with regulating the rates charged by public utility companies? What is the "valuation nightmare"?
18. Resolved: That public ownership (or operation) of the electric companies is desirable.
19. Resolved: That all corporations above a certain size (the size to be determined by the requirements of efficient operation in each industry) should be forced by graduated income taxes to sell part of their holdings.

#### READINGS

- Agar, Herbert, and Tate, Allen, *Who Owns America?* (Easy)
- Allen, Frederick Lewis, *The Lords of Creation* (Interesting discussion of financial and economic leaders since 1890)
- Beard, Miriam, *History of the Business Man*
- Berle, A. A., and Means, G. C., *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (This important and scholarly work is recommended for teachers)
- Burns, Arthur R., *The Decline of Competition*
- Carnegie, Andrew, *Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie*
- Chase, Stuart, *The Government in Business*

Filene, A. Lincoln, *Unfair Trade Practices*

Hamm, William A., Bourne, Henry E., and Benton, Elbert Jay,

*A Unit History of the United States*, chapters xxxiv and xl

Henderson, Fred, *Capitalism and the Consumer*

Huberman, Leo, *We the People*

Klein, Jacob, and Colvin, Woolf, *Economic Problems of Today*

Laidler, Harry, *Concentration of Control in American Industry*

McConaughy, John, *Who Rules America?*

MacDougall, Alice Foote, *The Autobiography of a Business Woman*

(Charmingly written; easy)

O'Connor, Harvey, *Mellon's Millions: The Biography of a Fortune*

Soule, George, *The Future of Liberty*

Wade, M. H., *The Master Builders* (Easy)

## Unit XI

### *What Is Social Progress?*

THROUGHOUT the chapters of this book we have been studying the needs of our society. Although we have noted many serious social problems, there is no cause to be dismayed. We know that these problems can be solved. Our society has resources never possessed by any other society, and we are confident that these resources, if wisely used, can give us a new and happier social order.

We live in a period of momentous change. New discoveries and inventions are giving us a material world of which our forefathers did not dream. To the thoughtless these material changes indicate great social progress. They do not realize that millions of people, even in the United States, have little opportunity to enjoy the good things that the inventors have shown how to make. Nor do they realize that our political and economic institutions have lagged behind the vast changes in the material culture, producing widespread insecurity, injustice, and unrest.

True social advance is not measured in terms of skyscrapers, luxurious ocean liners and airplanes, electric refrigerators, and highways crowded with automobiles. It is measured in terms of human welfare.

In the next and concluding chapter of the book let us inquire, What are the criteria of social progress? and What are its instruments?



## Chapter 30

### THE SIGNS AND INSTRUMENTS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

*The golden age of humanity is not behind us; it is to come, and will be found in the perfection of the social order. Our fathers have not seen it; our children will one day behold it. It is our duty to prepare the way for them.*

SAINT-SIMON

SCIENTISTS are developing exact indexes of social welfare. Perhaps the most important of these is the infant mortality rate. Others include the general death rate, the sickness rate, accident rate, divorce rate, crime rate, and suicide rate. These can be used to compare the welfare of one people with that of another, and to discover whether welfare is increasing or declining.

With respect to the first three indexes the welfare of the United States is advancing; with respect to the others, the advance is either slight or absent. The accident rate doubtless will be considerably reduced. But to reduce the rates of divorce, crime, and suicide will not be so easy. These testify to the confusion and disorganization now so conspicuous in our society. Perhaps the development of a new social conscience or a religious reawakening will be necessary to arouse us to wipe out the social causes of individual and family breakdown.

Some of the signs or *criteria* of social progress can never be measured by the statistician. They are not quantities but qualities which the skilled observer can discern. If we understand these qualities we can judge whether any given social change is a step forward or a step backward in humanity's long march.

*Increasing Appreciation of Personality.* With the advance of culture, personality is increasingly valued. This is shown in the higher worth placed on individual life and happiness. It is also shown in the encouragement given to individuals of both sexes and varying walks of life to attain their maximum physical, mental, and cultural development. When individuals are encouraged to develop all their capacities, many types of personality appear. In a primitive society these varied types would not be welcome, since everyone is expected to conform to the same mold, but in a truly civilized society individual differences are not only tolerated but prized.

The growing appreciation of personality is seen in provision for public education, the education of girls as well as boys, free higher education, adult education, and educational programs adapted to individual differences. It is likewise revealed in tolerance and friendliness toward people of other races, nationalities, and religions.

*Increasing Protection of the Weak and Defenseless.* For countless generations might made right. The strong had practically unlimited power over the weak or the defenseless. Husbands exercised dominion over wives, fathers over children, masters over slaves, employers over employees. Strangers had no rights at all and were killed or enslaved. War prisoners were put to death or taken as slaves.

Gradually the power of the strong was curbed. The weak and defenseless were understood to have certain rights, and these were upheld by the community. Husbands ceased to have the power of life and death over their wives, and fathers ceased to have that power over their children. Strangers, slaves, and war prisoners were little by little given some protection under the law. Workers, too, were no longer subject to unlimited hours of work and physical abuse. During the last century the rights of the weak have been increasingly recognized. This is seen in measures for the protection of women, children, workers, immigrants, and prisoners, as well as in the freeing of slaves.

Great progress in this respect can yet be made. The tradition that might makes right has by no means disappeared.

Witness, in Europe, the persecution of the Jews and other minorities; in the United States, child labor and the unjust treatment of Negroes; in the war in China, the reported frequent refusal of the Japanese to take prisoners of war. That nations continue to resort to war is proof that society has not advanced very far in protecting the weak from the strong.

*Increasing Proportion of Human Effort Devoted to the Satisfaction of Psychic Wants.* In the past in most sections of the world nearly all of human toil was directed to the obtaining of food and the bare minimum of shelter and clothing. Productive methods were so inefficient that after the necessities of existence were provided there was not much time or energy left to satisfy any other wants. If the labor necessary to grow food for the population of ancient Rome had been equally divided among all the adults, each would have been occupied six hours every day. In the United States today the food supply could be grown by the equivalent of six minutes labor a day per person. It is estimated that 20 per cent of our labor force could produce all the necessities for life on the health-and-decency level, leaving the other 80 per cent free to produce comforts, luxuries, works of art, and services now enjoyed chiefly by the rich.

Men's wants arise from the four basic drives for security, response, recognition, and new experience. The struggle to obtain the necessities of life is motivated by the wish for security. Psychic wants grow chiefly out of the other drives. Among our psychic wants are the desire for companionship, play, participation in social ceremonies, communication with others sharing like interests, education, music, beauty of person and dress, beauty of surroundings, creation of beautiful things, self-expression, entertainment, travel, and worship.

An individual's psychic wants are expanded by education. A college graduate has psychic wants of which an illiterate person does not dream. Yet even an illiterate person, once his bodily needs are met, has many psychic wants which he longs to satisfy.

As an individual's psychic wants are filled, he develops new ones. The educated person reaches for more education;

the artist for greater perfection in his art; the traveler for more knowledge of the world's peoples; the worshipper for a more continuous communion with God. Psychic satisfactions nourish the human spirit, which alone can bring happiness.

In an advanced state of culture the material needs of all the people would of course be met. This would be accomplished by using efficiently the labor of only a fraction of the population. Most human effort would be expended in awakening and fulfilling the widest possible range of psychic wants.

*Increasing Motivation of Human Effort by Psychic Rewards.* This criterion is a corollary, that is, a consequence, of the preceding one.

In an advanced society all persons willing to work would be guaranteed the necessities of healthful and decent living for themselves and their families. Most people would have greater security than they now have. Consequently the struggle for material rewards would be less severe than it is today. Most labor would be performed for psychic rewards, including recognition by one's fellows, the joy of creating and discovering, and the pleasure of service.

As culture advances it seems likely that the profit motive will play a diminishing role. Possibly many businesses will be conducted by co-operative societies for the mutual benefit of their members. Some will be carried on by public corporations operating without profit. Others of a type which are more efficient when operated by enterprisers seeking private profits will doubtless be conducted in that way. As gain-seeking becomes a less dominating motive in society, it may be easier to restrain selfishness, greed, and lawlessness.

*Change from Autocratic to Democratic Control.* In the past no individuals save rulers and high priests were self-determining. Each was under the control of some authoritative person — father, master, priest, or king, or all of these together. More democratic forms of control did not appear until late in history.

Today in democratic countries the individual has more control over his own destiny and more personal freedom than

ever before. Women and children are increasingly allowed to choose for themselves and to share in making decisions that affect them. Self-determination is essential for the growth of personality; we learn only as we take responsibility for our own conduct. Progress therefore depends on the growth of democratic types of control.

*Wider Social Relations.* As culture advances, the means of communication and transportation are continually improved. People hitherto separated by distance and geographical barriers are enabled to share one another's thoughts and experiences. Today persons having the same interests, although living on different continents, may read the same periodicals, listen to the same broadcasts, and send representatives to international congresses. Scientists working on the same problem in laboratories thousands of miles apart may maintain communication almost as well as if they were in the same city. Clearly the widening of social relations is a sign of progress.

Despite barriers erected by the totalitarian states, the widening of social relations seems certain to continue. International organizations are increasing in number and influence. Students in all parts of the world are learning an auxiliary language, such as Esperanto or Basic English, and it does not seem idle to hope that some day everyone may know a universal language in addition to his native tongue.

#### THE INSTRUMENTS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

*Research.* Just as research helps us to improve our physical environment, so may we count on it to help us improve the social environment. Through scientific study we are learning how to rear stronger, better-balanced, more intelligent people, and how to handle the unbalanced and the antisocial. Research is also helping us to improve the mechanisms of government.

There is urgent need for extended research in many areas of social science. We need to know more about how taxation affects the production of wealth; how tariffs affect the real income of farmers and consumers; how public opinion

responds to propaganda; how to measure the relative efficiency of municipal departments, so as to compare, for instance, the welfare department of Boston with that of Philadelphia; how to predict success in marriage before the marriage takes place; and numberless other things.

We can consciously rebuild our institutions when we have the necessary facts. Tradition, superstition, and prejudice will give way before scientific knowledge.

Large sums are being spent for research in the physical sciences, but very little is spent for research in the social sciences. To the social scientist it seems as if this disparity could only increase the maladjustments — the cultural lags — of our time. "If I could have my way," writes Professor William MacDougall, the eminent psychologist, "I would by every means seek to divert all of our most powerful intellects from the physical sciences into research in the biological, the human, and the social sciences."

*Education as an Instrument of Social Progress.* It is a commonplace to say that all progress depends upon the contributions that one generation makes to the next one. If we cannot improve the thinking and the character of the oncoming generation in the light of our own experience and discoveries, there is no progress worthy of the name. It is not enough simply to hand on the mechanical inventions we have made, or our enlarged store of scientific knowledge. We must transmit habits of clearer thinking and kindlier action than those common in our own generation. This can be brought about only through education; fundamentally the problem of promoting social progress is an educative one.

The best schools are already producing the kind of people who can build a better society. But in many schools traditional methods still flourish, and the graduates are ill-prepared for the conditions that will confront them and the social problems they will be called upon to help solve.

If the schools are to make their full contribution to social progress more progressive methods and materials will be required. Much that is now taught may have to be discarded to make room for activities of greater importance to the individual and to society. More time must be given to

the study of contemporary life and problems and the conditions necessary for social advance. Increasingly the democratic and co-operative spirit must be cultivated.

*Religion as an Instrument of Social Progress.* Religion may be defined as the search for that which is most highly valued. In this sense there can be no individual and no group without a religion.

God personifies the supreme values of the group. He is worshipped in the way which people think will most please Him. Among the primitive Hebrews God was thought to delight in offerings of food and drink and even of human sacrifices, just like an earthly ruler. Later they thought of Him as a Lawgiver and a stern and righteous Judge. Instead of with burnt offerings and sacrifices, He was to be worshipped by living justly and obeying the law. When Jesus came He taught that love is the highest value in life. He proclaimed that God is love, and is to be worshipped in loving service to one's neighbors. Thus, as culture advances, the conception of God is refined and ennobled.

God is the Ideal whom men seek to follow. He is the Judge who knows the hidden deeds and the hearts of men. In worship men seek communion with God, putting away from them and renouncing whatever they think is displeasing to Him. Men become like the God whom they serve. It is the task of organized religion to teach an exalted idea of God and keep it continually before the people. In this way religion not only reflects but reinforces the values of the group.

The enduring religions of the world have much in common. Each teaches that God is the Father of mankind and that men should live as brothers. Each of them is universal, seeking to unite all the peoples of the world. Each exalts justice, truth, peace, and love, and teaches that the highest values of life are spiritual. The essential teachings of the great religions are similar; and community churches where people of every race and creed can worship together now exist in various parts of the world.

Religion is a powerful force which is bound to affect society. Holding high ideals before the people and showing them how to live according to these ideals must make for

social progress. The religion that hastens social advance does not divide but unites the community, is not an empty form but a living faith, does not merely preach the brotherhood of man but leads men to practice it. It is the task of religious people to live their religion and to make their churches an instrument for building a better society.



#### ACTIVITIES

1. Make graphs showing the trend of the infant mortality, general mortality, morbidity (sickness), divorce, homicide, accident, and suicide rates in the United States.
2. Illustrate one of the criteria of social progress with a drawing.
3. List the ways in which the increasing appreciation of personality is shown. Include ways not given in the text.
4. List areas of human relations where the tradition that might makes right still rules.
5. Make a blackboard list of psychic wants, adding to or amplifying those in the text. Which of them are developed by education?
6. List the good and the bad consequences of the gain-seeking motive.
7. Give a report on some proposed universal language.
8. Read something written in Basic English. What advantage does it have over an artificial language like Esperanto?
9. Study the description of some Utopia, as Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, or Samuel Butler's *Erewhon*, or H. G. Wells' *The Shape of Things to Come*. Measure it by the criteria given in this chapter.
10. Write a paper comparing one of the great religions with Christianity. Try to show the resemblance between the basic teachings of both.

#### QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS

1. What material and nonmaterial resources does the United States possess which should contribute to a new and happier social order?
2. Show that our remarkable mechanical inventions do not of themselves mean social progress.
3. How do certain statistical indexes measure the social welfare? Why is the infant mortality rate said to be the most important of these indexes?
4. Show that progress is being made in granting rights to the weak and defenseless.
5. Is it really true that only the psychic satisfactions bring happiness?
6. Show that psychic satisfactions tend to develop the personality. Show that the denial of psychic satisfaction over a long period may be destructive of personality.

7. What are the psychic rewards for labor? What kinds of work are done largely for a psychic reward?
8. Show that authoritarianism in democratic countries is rapidly disappearing.
9. Show that personality develops in proportion as the individual has freedom of choice.
10. Contrast the social relations of the common man in George Washington's day and in our own.
11. How may a universal auxiliary language change the world?
12. What is the proper field of religion?
13. Show that religion sometimes divides rather than unites society.
14. Do you think the brotherhood of man will eventually be achieved? If so, by what means?
15. Apply the criteria of social progress to some country with which you are familiar. Is it, on the whole, going forward or backward?
16. In what ways do you think that social progress is likely to come here within the next century?

#### READINGS

- Beard, Charles, ed., *A Century of Progress and America Faces the Future*  
 Cobb, Stanwood, *Security for a Failing World*  
 Ellwood, Charles, *Reconstruction of Religion*  
 Hart, Hornell N., *The Technique of Social Progress*  
 Hertzler, Joyce O., *Social Progress*  
 Houf, Horace T., *What Religion Is and Does*  
 Huxley, Julian S., *Science and Social Needs*  
 Johnson, F. Ernest, *The Church and Society*  
 King, William P., *Social Progress and Christian Ideals*  
 Marshall, Leon C., *Readings in the Story of Human Progress* (Easy)  
 Niebuhr, Reinhold, *Does Civilization Need Religion?*  
 Overstreet, Harry A., *We Move in New Directions*  
 Rall, H. F., ed., *Religion and Public Affairs*  
 Randall, John Herman, *Unity of Religions*  
 Visser 't Hooft, W. A., and Oldham, J. H., *The Church and Its Function in Society*  
 Wallis, Wilson D., *Culture and Progress*

## THE CHILDREN'S CHARTER

*President Hoover's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection Recognizing the Rights of the Child as the First Rights of Citizenship Pledges Itself to These Aims for the Children of America*

I. For every child spiritual and moral training to help him to stand firm under the pressure of life.

II. For every child understanding and the guarding of his personality as his most precious right.

III. For every child a home and that love and security which a home provides; and for that child who must receive foster care the nearest substitute for his own home.

IV. For every child full preparation for his birth, his mother receiving prenatal, natal, and postnatal care; and the establishment of such protective measures as will make child-bearing safer.

V. For every child health protection from birth through adolescence, including: periodical health examinations and, where needed, care of specialists and hospital treatment; regular dental examination and care of the teeth; protective and preventive measures against communicable diseases; the insuring of pure food, pure milk, and pure water.

VI. For every child from birth through adolescence, promotion of health, including health instruction and a health program, wholesome physical and mental recreation, with teachers and leaders adequately trained.

VII. For every child a dwelling place, safe, sanitary, and wholesome, with reasonable provisions for privacy, free from conditions which tend to thwart his development; and a home environment harmonious and enriching.

VIII. For every child a school which is safe from hazards, sanitary, properly equipped, lighted, and ventilated. For younger children nursery schools and kindergartens to supplement home care.

IX. For every child a community which recognizes and plans for his needs, protects him against physical dangers, moral hazards, and disease; provides him with safe and wholesome places for play and recreation; and makes provision for his cultural and social needs.

X. For every child an education which, through the discovery and development of his individual abilities, prepares him for life; and through training and vocational guidance prepares him for a living which will yield him the maximum of satisfaction.

XI. For every child such teaching and training as will prepare him for successful parenthood, home-making, and the rights of citizenship; and, for parents, supplementary training to fit them to deal wisely with the problems of parenthood.

XII. For every child education for safety and protection against accidents to which modern conditions subject him — those to which he is directly exposed and those which, through loss or maiming of his parents, affect him indirectly.

XIII. For every child who is blind, deaf, crippled, or otherwise physically handicapped, and for the child who is mentally handicapped, such measures as will early discover and diagnose his handicap, provide care and treatment, and so train him that he may become an asset to society rather than a liability. Expenses of these services should be borne publicly where they cannot be privately met.

XIV. For every child who is in conflict with society the right to be dealt with intelligently as society's charge, not society's outcast; with the home, the school, the church, the court, and the institution when needed, shaped to return him whenever possible to the normal stream of life.

XV. For every child the right to grow up in a family with an adequate standard of living and the security of a stable income as the surest safeguard against social handicaps.

XVI. For every child protection against labor that stunts growth, either physical or mental, that limits education, that deprives children of the right of comradeship, of play, and of joy.

XVII. For every rural child as satisfactory schooling and health services as for the city child, and an extension to rural families of social, recreational, and cultural facilities.

XVIII. To supplement the home and the school in the training of youth, and to return to them those interests of which modern life tends to cheat children, every stimulation and encouragement should be given to the extension and development of the voluntary youth organizations.

XIX. To make everywhere available these minimum protections of the health and welfare of children, there should be a district, county, or community organization for health, education, and welfare, with full-time officials, co-ordinating with a state-wide

program which will be responsive to a nation-wide service of general information, statistics, and scientific research. This should include:

- (a) Trained, full-time public health officials, with public health nurses, sanitary inspection, and laboratory workers.
- (b) Available hospital beds.
- (c) Full-time public welfare service for the relief, aid, and guidance of children in special need due to poverty, misfortune, or behavior difficulties, and for the protection of children from abuse, neglect, exploitation, or moral hazard.

*For EVERY child these rights, regardless of race, or color,  
or situation, wherever he may live under the  
protection of the American flag.*

## SOCIAL IDEALS

*Adopted by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ  
in America, 1932*

- I. Equal rights and justice for all men in all stations of life.
- II. Protection of the family by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage, proper housing.
- III. The fullest possible development of every child, especially by the provision of education and recreation.
- IV. Abolition of child labor.
- V. Such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.
- VI. Abatement and prevention of poverty.
- VII. Protection of the individual and society from the social, economic, and moral waste of the liquor traffic.
- VIII. Conservation of health.
- IX. Protection of the workers from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases, and mortality.
- X. The right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, for safeguarding this right against encroachments of every kind, for the protection of the workers from the hardships of enforced unemployment.
- XI. Suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury.
- XII. The right of employees and employers alike to organize, and for adequate means of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.

XIII. Release from employment one day in seven.

XIV. Gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.

XV. A living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.

XVI. A new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property, and for the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised.

## INDEX

- Accidents, and alcohol, 174-5; industrial, 615-6
- Adequacy, 126-7
- Adolescence, 144-6
- Adult education, 295-7
- Agricultural Adjustment Act, 572-3
- Alcohol problem, 166-80
- Alimony, 270
- American Federation of Labor, 589-90
- Amnesia, 153
- Attitudes, 125-30
  
- Ballot, short, 462-4
- Behavior, defined, 81-3
- Birth rate, 581
- Blighted areas, 383-5
- Blind, the, 292
- Boss, political, 436-7
- Budgeting, 212-5
- Business, cycle, 608-10, 635; regulation of, 422-4, 645-69
- Buymanship, 218-20
  
- Campaign funds, 457-8
- Capacity to produce, 634-5
- Capitalism, 645
- Cartoons, 28
- Child labor, 594-8
- Children, cost of rearing, 275; in foster homes, 114
- Church, 68, 487, 557-8, 681-2
- City manager plan, 453-5
- Civil rights, 200, 410-12, 491-3
- College education, 286-7, 302-3, 311
- Colonies, 507-12
- Communication agencies, 481-91
- Community planning, 380-401
- Compensation, psychic, 150, 230; workmen's, 615-6
- Conditioned responses, 122-3
- Congress of Industrial Organizations, 590-1
- Conscience, 57
- Conservatism, 72, 433
- Consumer co-operatives, 222-3
- Consumer movement, 221-2
- Consumers, protection for, 605-6
- Co-operatives, 222-3, 566-7, 573-4
- Corporations, how controlled, 649; public, 668-9
- Courts, international, 523-4
- Courtship, 249
- Credit unions, 217, 574
- Crime, 178, 183-204, 367-8
- Cro-Magnon men, 41-2
- Croppers, 547-9
- Crops, new uses for, 675-6
- Crowd, 478
- Cultural inertia, 71-5
- Cultural lag, 49-50
- Culture, defined, 37; pattern, 38
- Custom, defined, 21
  
- Daydreaming, 150
- Deaf, the, 292-3
- Delinquency, 188-99, 367-8
- Democracy, compared with dictatorship, 407-27; experiments in, 446-69; party system, 430-43; and public opinion, 473-97
- Dentistry, 336
- Dictatorship, 407-27, 476
- Direct legislation, 460-1
- Direct primary, 459
- Disabled, the, 293
- Disease, degenerative, 337-9; mental, 153-61; occupational, 336-7
- Divorce, 264-8
- Domestic relations courts, 270-1
  
- Education, 68-71, 281-324, 487, 556-7, 680-1
- Educational inequalities, 297-305
- Election reforms, 457-69
- Electoral college, 461
- Electrification, rural, 559
- Emotion, 85-6
- Environment, defined, 37; and education, 323-4; and inherited differences, 102-5

- Erosion, soil, 545-6  
 Esperanto, 679  
 Ethics, 57-8  
 Extroversion, 127-8  
  
 Fact, defined, 21  
 Fair Labor Standards Act, 602-5  
 Faith healing, 154  
 Family, characteristics of successful, 254-8; forms of, 60-1; income needed by, 209-11; new-fashioned, 263-4; old-fashioned, 261-3  
 Farm problem, 535-82  
 Farmers' holiday movement, 553  
 Fatigue, 614  
 Fear-anger emotion, 85-6  
 Federal aid to education, 301  
 Federal Trade Commission, 660, 666  
 Feeling, 88-9  
 Fetish, 4  
 Foreign policy, 421, 500-2, 520-9  
 Franchises, corporation, 438-9  
 Free competition, theory of, 645-6  
 Freedom of speech, 491-3, 517  
 Frontier Nursing Service, 343  
  
 Garden cities, 386-90  
 Genes, 98-101  
 God, idea of, 7, 68  
 Government, city, 452-5; county, 456-7; nature of, 65-6; ownership, 66-9; and public opinion, 473-97; rural, 455-7; state, 449-52; totalitarian, 407-27  
  
 Habit, 89, 131-4  
 Health, and alcohol, 173-4; and crime, 196; and housing, 363-7; and income, 339-41; insurance, 349-51; of Negroes, 341-2; public, 329-52; rural, 342-4  
 Heredity, 98-102  
 Homework, industrial, 596, 600  
 House, functions of, 356-7  
 Housework, 255-6, 273-4, 356-7  
 Housing, 356-75, 558-9  
 Hysteria, 154  
  
 Identical twins, 114  
 Identification, 150-1, 235-6  
 Income, of families, 209-11; of farmers, 546; national, 620-42  
 Infant mortality, 334, 339  
  
 Inferiority feeling, 125-7  
 Insanity, 157  
 Instincts, 84  
 Institutions, growth of, 54-75  
 Intelligence, 110-6  
 Interest groups, 495  
 International Labor Organization, 525-6  
 International law, 524  
 International organization, 522-8  
 Interstate Commerce Commission, 655-8  
 Introversion, 127-8  
 Invention, 11-12, 47, 606-7  
  
 Junior colleges, 286-7  
 Juvenile delinquents, 188-99  
  
 Kindergartens, 293-5  
 Knights of Labor, 589  
  
 Labor, farm, 549-51; problems, 587-617; in totalitarian state, 416  
 Laissez faire, 645-8  
 Land, for homesteads, 535-6; submarginal, 551-2; for tenant farmers, 563-4  
 Law, common, 65; customary, 63; political, 64; rule of, 417; in science, 7, 9  
 Leadership, 475  
 League of Nations, 526-8  
 Learning process, 317-20  
 Leisure, 230-43  
 Libraries, public, 296, 487  
 Loans, to farmers, 563-6; foreign, 501-2  
 Love, nature of, 85, 90-4; why blind, 248-9  
  
 Machine, political, 435-40  
 Magic, 3  
 Malnutrition, 335-6  
 Marriage, 61-2, 247-76  
 Master plan, 391-401  
 Material culture, 48-9  
 Maturity, 146-8, 250-3  
 Medical care, ability to pay for, 344-6; cost of, 346-7  
 Mental defects, 113, 196-7  
 Mental disease, 153-61  
 Mental health, 143, 161-2  
 Merit system, 447-8  
 Metal poisoning, 337  
 Migration, to and from cities, 555

- Migratory workers, 549-51  
 Mores, 54, 417  
 Motion pictures, 484-5  
 National Labor Relations Act, 591-2  
 Nationalism, 514-5  
 Natural resources, 638-9  
 Neanderthal man, 40-41  
 Negro, health problem, 341-2; housing, 361-2; intelligence of, 115; schools, 290-2; teachers, 556; workers, 601-2  
 Nervousness, 153-7  
 Neurosis, 153-7  
 Neutrality Act, 520-1  
 New Stone Age, 42-7  
 Newspapers, 27, 481-4, 489-90, 517  
 Non-material culture, 49  
 Nordic delusion, 108-9  
 Nursery schools, 294-5  
 Objective thinking, 30-1  
 Old Age assistance, 611-2  
 Old Stone Age, 40-1  
 Open door policy, 510-1  
 Organism, defined, 83-4  
 Overcrowding, 364  
 Party system, 430-43  
 Patriarchal family, 43  
 Peace machinery, 523-8  
 Personality, nature of, 120-2  
 Phantasy, 149-53  
 Planning, community, 380-401; regional, 399-401  
 Play, 229-43  
 Politics, 407-69; defined, 442  
 Population, age groups in, 16; distribution of children, 299; and land, 513; migration of, 555, 580-2; urbanization, 74  
 Pressure groups, 495-7  
 Prices, 626, 651-2  
 Primaries, 435, 458  
 Profit sharing, 625  
 Progress, 13-14, 675-82  
 Prohibition, 179-80  
 Propaganda, 26-30, 494-5, 503-4, 516-8  
 Property, primitive, 66-7  
 Proportional representation, 464-8  
 Psychosis, 157-60  
 Public health, 329-52  
 Public opinion, 473-97  
 Race, differences, 105-9; and intelligence, 115; *see also* Negro  
 Radio, 485-6, 489-90  
 Railroads, regulation of, 655-8  
 Random movement, 86-8  
 Rating services, 220-1  
 Rationalization, 25-6, 151-2  
 Recall, 460-1  
 Recreation, 229-43, 415-6  
 Reflexes, 84-5  
 Regional planning, 399-401  
 Regression, 152  
 Regulation of business, 422-4, 645-69  
 Religion, 67-8, 487, 681-2  
 Repression, 152-3  
 Research, 637, 679-80  
 Rumor, defined, 23  
 Rural problems, 342-4, 535-82  
 Savings, excess, 626-30; program, 215-8  
 Schools, and crime, 195-6; for the handicapped, 292-3; for Negroes, 290-2; rural, 299-300, 556-7; secondary, 284-5, 311; for young children, 293-5  
 Science, and dictatorship, 413; nature of, 4-10; and propaganda, 29; and social problems, 12, 14-17; and social progress, 679-80; stages in, 10-2  
 Scientific method, 7-9  
 Senescence, 148-9  
 Slot machines, 321  
 Slum, defined, 383  
 Social sciences, 14  
 Social Security Act, 611-3  
 Sociology, defined, 12  
 Standard of living, 211-2  
 States' rights, 431  
 Stereotypes, 27-8, 478-80  
 Subdivision control, 397-9  
 Suggestion, 478  
 Superstition, 3-4, 10, 347  
 Tabloids, 490  
 Taboo, 56-7  
 Taxes, 275, 568-9, 630-1, 639-42  
 Teachers, preparation of, 322-3; Negro, 556; rural, 322, 556-7  
 Temperance, 166-80  
 Tenancy, farm, 538, 547-9  
 Testimony, errors in, 23-5  
 Totalitarianism, 407-426

- Trade agreements, 677-8
- Tradition, defined, 22
- Unemployment, 605-13
- Unicameral legislature, 450-2
- Unions, labor, 588-94
- Universal language, 679
- Vested interest, 72-3
- Voting, neglect of, 440; simplification of, 462-4
- Wages, and machinery, 636; minimum, 600-4; right, 604
- War, 500-29
- Wishes, four, 89-91
- Women, education of, 287-90; in industry, 598-601
- World Court, 523-4
- World trade, 508-11, 677-8
- Worship, 67-8, 681-2
- Zoning, 391-2, 395-7

